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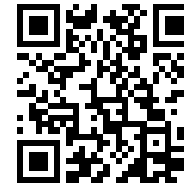

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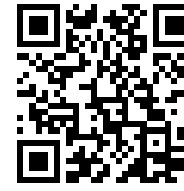

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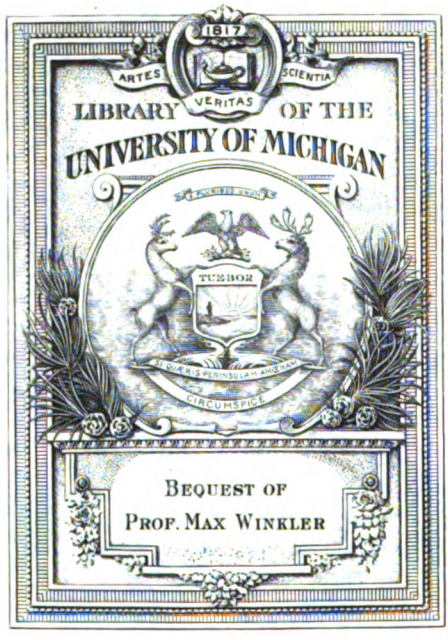

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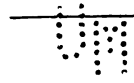

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CONTENTS

PAGE

RAYSOR, THOMAS M.—The Downfall of the Three Unities, - - - 1
BRINKLEY, R. FLORENCE.—Nathan and Nathaniel Field, - - - 10
CLARK, WILLIAM S.—Dryden's Relations with Howard and Orrery, - 16
WATTS, GEORGE B.—An Early Version of Voltaire's 'A Monsieur Louis Racine,' - - - - - - - - - - - - - 20
ZEYDEL, EDWIN H.—Ludwig Tieck's Library, - - - - - - 21
FORSYTHE, ROBERT S.—Tacitus, 'Henry VI, Part III,' and 'Nero,' - 25
PIERCE, FREDERICK E.—Some Literary Echoes, - - - - - 27
SPRAGUE, ARTHUR C.—A New Scene in Colley Cibber's 'Richard III,' - 29
McCUTCHEON, ROGER P.—"Amelia, or the Distressed Wife," - - 32
STEIN, HAROLD.—A Note on the Versification of 'Childe Harold,' - 34
HILLEBRAND, HAROLD N.—Thomas Middleton's 'The Viper's Brood,' - 35
SEHRT, EDWARD H.—German 'Trespe,' - - - - - - - - 38

REVIEWS:—

R. MENÉNDEZ PIDAL, Orígenes del Español. [*C. Carroll Marden.*] - - 40
B. M. WOODBRIDGE, Gatien de Courtilz, sieur du Verger. [*Ch. Samaran.*] 45
H. J. CHAYTOR, Dramatic Theory in Spain. [*Joseph E. Gillet.*] - - 47
CLIFFORD S. PARKER, The Defense of the Child by French Novelists. [*Benj. M. Woodbridge.*] - - - - - - - - - - 50
ALEXANDER G. FITE, *Le Repas du Lion*, by F. de Curel. [*Maxwell A. Smith.*] - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 51
NEMOURS H. CLEMENT, The Influence of the Arthurian Romances on the Five Books of Rabelais. [*H. Carrington Lancaster.*] - - 52
HENRI L. BOURDIN, RALPH H. GABRIEL and STANLEY T. WILLIAMS, Sketches from Eighteenth Century America. [*Helen R. Reese.*] 53
MARTIN B. RUUD, Thomas Chaucer. [*Robert K. Root.*] - - - - 56
EDUARD HARTL, Wolfram von Eschenbach. Sechste Ausgabe von Karl Lachmann. [*W. Kurrelmeyer.*] - - - - - - - - 58
SIR ISRAEL GOLLANCZ, Hoccleve's Works. II. [*Kemp Malone.*] - - 59
A. J. WYATT, The Threshold of Anglo-Saxon; E. CLASSEN and F. E. HARMER, *An Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.* [*Kemp Malone.*] - - 60
ERNEST WEEKLEY, Words Ancient and Modern. [*Kemp Malone.*] - 61
THOMAS O. MABBOTT and FRANK L. PLEADWELL, The Life and Works of Edward Coote Pinckney. [*John C. French.*] - - - 62
MAXIMILIEN RUDWIN, Satan et le Satanisme dans l'Oeuvre de Victor Hugo. [*Gilbert Chinard.*] - - - - - - - - - 63
W. H. HOLL, Über den Einfluss der lateinischen Vagantendichtung auf die Lyrik Walthers von der Vogelweide und die seiner Epigonen im 13. Jahrhundert. [*A. Le Roy Andrews.*] - - - - 64
H. BRINKMANN, Entstehungsgeschichte des Minnesangs. [*A. Le Roy Andrews.*] - - - - - - - - - - - - - 66
STANLEY RYPINS, The Old English Prose Tracts in MS. Cotton Vitellius A xv. [*F. P. Magoun, Jr.*] - - - - - - - - - 67

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
Raysor, Thomas M., The Downfall of the Three Unities	1
Brinkley, R. Florence, Nathan and Nathaniel Field	10
Clark, William S., Dryden's Relations with Howard and Orrery	16
Watts, George B., An Early Version of Voltaire's *A Monsieur Louis Racine*	20
Zeydel, Edwin H., Ludwig Tieck's Library	21
Forsythe, Robert S., Tacitus, *Henry VI, Part III,* and *Nero*	25
Pierce, Frederick E., Some Literary Echoes	27
Sprague, Arthur C., A New Scene in Colley Cibber's *Richard III*	29
McCutcheon, Roger P., *Amelia, or the Distressed Wife*	32
Stein, Harold, A Note on the Versification of *Childe Harold*	34
Hillebrand, Harold N., Thomas Middleton's *The Viper's Brood*	35
Sehrt, Edward H., German *Trespe*	38
Lancaster, H. C., Sidney, Galaut, La Calprenède: an Early Instance of the Influence of English Literature upon French	71
Lemmi, C. W., Italian Borrowings in Sidney	77
Case, A. E., Some Stage-Directions in *All's Well that Ends Well*	79
Gifford, G. H., A Note on Rabelais I, 1	83
Fletcher, H., Milton and Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (1657)	84
Baker, H. T., Shakespeare misquoted	87
Fenton, F. L., The Authorship of Acts III and IV of *The Queen of Corinth*	94
Smith, H., The New Sainte-Beuve Material	97
Curtiss, J. T., The Meaning of the Word "Dade,"	100
Allison, T. E., On the Body and Soul Legend	102
Anibal, C. E., Mira de Amescua and *La ventura de la fea*	106
Watts, G. B., Eustache Le Noble's *Le Fourbe*	107
Noad, A. S., Ugo Foscolo and an English Magazine	108
Sehrt, E. H., German *Krieg*	110
Hespelt, E. H., Irving's Version of Byron's *The Isles of Greece*	111
Schaffer, A., A Note on René Boylesve's *La Becquée*	112
Ibershoff, C. H., Nietzsche the Romanticist	113
Hart, Elizabeth, The Heaven of Virgins	113
Scudder, H. E., A Queen at Chesse	141
Nock, S. A., Denis Saurat on Milton's Color Vision	146
Tilley, M. P., The Comedy *Lingua* and the *Faerie Queene*	150
Richards, I. T., A New Poe Poem	158
Gilman, Margaret, *Le Dissipateur* and *Timon of Athens*	162
Balderston, Katharine C., Goldsmith's Supposed Attack on Fielding	165
Brown, J. E., Goldsmith and Johnson on Biography	168
Schwartz, W. L., The Influence of E. A. Poe on Judith Gautier	171
Magoun, F. P., Jr., The Burning of Heorot: an Illustrative Note	173

Digitized by Google

PAGE

Watts, G. B., An Unpublished Letter by Louis Racine 174
Case, A. E., Aaron Hill and Thomson's *Sophonisba* 175
Kurrelmeyer, W., The Term *Sturm und Drang* 176
Bush, D., The Influence of Marlowe's *Hero and Leander* on early Mythological Poems 211
Gould, C. N., "Which are the Norns who take Children from Mothers?" 218
Taylor, A., *Das Schloss in Österreich* 222
Lineberger, Julia E., An Examination of Professor Cowling's new Metrical Test 229
Noyes, E. S., Another Smollett Letter 231
Stewart, G. R., Jr., A Note on the Sleep-walking Scene 235
Malone, K., A Note on *Brunanburh* 238
Freeman, E. L., A Note on Bacon's Influence 239
Vos, B. J., Two Notes on Heine's *Harzreise* 241
Zucker, A. E., A Note on the Poet of the *Trutz-Nachtigall* 242
Shanks, L. P., A Possible Source for Rousseau's Name *Émile* 243
Emerson, O. F., Two Lexical Notes 244
Kane, E. K., Parrot and Pajarote 246
Bernbaum, E., Recent Works on Prose Fiction before 1800 281
Tilley, M. P., The Comedy *Lingua* and Du Bartas' *La Sepmaine* 293
Stevenson, L., A French Text-book by Robert Browning 299
Austin, H. D., Dante Notes, IX 305
Nykl, A. R., Old Spanish Terms of Small Value 311
Lemmi, C. W., Some Allusions to Spenser 314
Coffman, G. R., A Note on Shakespeare and Nash 317
Dale, G. I., Spanish *Fondo en* once more 319
Caskey, J. H., Two Notes on Uncle Toby 321
Caskey, J. H., Tracing an Epigram 323
Sehrt, E. H., Goethe's *Faust* Line 1520 323
Cooper, L., A Note on Legouis and Cazamian, *Histoire de la Littérature Anglaise* 325
Schwartz, W. L., The Significance of D'Annunzio's "Outa Occidentale," 325
Walz, J. A., An English *Faustsplitter* 353
Crawford, J. P. W., Francisco de la Torre and Juan de Almeida 365
Banks, T. H., The Personal Relations between Denham and Waller 372
Bradner, L., A Test for Udall's Authorship 378
Clark, W. S., The Early Stage History of the First Heroic Play 381
Stout, G. D., Leigh Hunt and *The Plain Dealer* 383
Knaplund, P., Correspondence relating to the Grant of a Civil List Pension to William Wordsworth, 1842 385
Klaeber Fr., Analogues of the Story of Cædmon 390
Hawkins, R. L., A Letter by George Sand on World Peace 391
Matulka, Barbara, Voltaire and the Queen of Prussia: a Letter Recovered 394
Dickman, A. J., A Reply 396

Digitized by Google

PAGE

Reynaud, L., Une Réponse 398
Snyder, Alice D., Coleridge on Giordano Bruno 427
Morrill, Dorothy I., Coleridge's Theory of Dramatic Illusion 436
Lovejoy, A. O., "Nature" as Aesthetic Norm 444
Blankenagel, J. C., Titus in Hebbel's *Herodes und Mariamne* 451
Gray, A. K., The Song in *The Merchant of Venice* 458
Turner, R. E., An Early Edition of the *Geta* of Vital de Blois 459
Harper, G. M., Wordsworth's "Vast City," 464
Walz, J. A., Fynes Moryson and the Tomb of Till Eulenspiegel 465
Van Roosbroeck, G. L., Neglected Strophes by Saint-Amant 467
Raysor, T. M., The Study of Shakespeare's Characters in the Eighteenth Century 495
Smith, A. L., The Primitivism of Joseph Warton 501
Whiting, G. W., The Date of Hazlitt's First Visit to Coleridge 504
Hilles, F. W., "Mother of Dead Dogs," 506
Baldwin, T. W., Sir John Denham and *Paradise Lost* 508
Baldwin, T. W., Elizabethan Players as Tradesfolk 509
Wright, L. B., The Male-Friendship Cult in Thomas Heywood's Plays 510
Greenlaw, E., Una and her Lamb 515
Campbell, K., Marginalia on Longfellow, Lowell, and Poe 516
Zucker, A. E., Bismarck the Father in Sudermann's *Heimat?* 522
Warren, F. M., Some Notes on *Hernani* 523
Jackson, J. F., Dating Balzac's Adoption of the Title of *La Comédie Humaine* 525
Jenkins, T. A., Deschamps and Eustace 527
Steiner, A., *Et, Rose, elle a vécu ce que vivent les roses* 528
Deferrari, H. A., Trocho in *El Abencerraje* 529

REVIEWS

R. Menéndez Pidal, Orígenes del Español. [*C. Carroll Marden.*] 40
B. M. Woodbridge, Gatien de Courtilz, sieur du Verger. [*Ch. Samaran*] 45
H. J. Chaytor, Dramatic Theory in Spain. [*Joseph E. Gillet.*] 47
Clifford S. Parker, The Defense of the Child by French Novelists. [*Benj. M. Woodbridge.*] 50
Alexander G. Fite, *Le Repas du Lion*, by F. de Curel. [*Maxwell A. Smith.*] 51
Nemours H. Clement, The Influence of the Arthurian Romances on the Five Books of Rabelais. [*H. Carrington Lancaster.*] 52
Henri L. Bourdin, Ralph H. Gabriel and Stanley T. Williams, Sketches from Eighteenth Century America. [*Helen R. Reese.*] 53
Martin B. Ruud, Thomas Chaucer. [*Robert K. Root.*] 56
Eduard Hartl, Wolfram von Eschenbach. Sechste Ausgabe von Karl Lachmann. [*W. Kurrelmeyer.*] 58
Sir Israel Gollancz, Hoccleve's Works. II. [*Kemp Malone.*] 59

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PAGE

A. J. Wyatt, The Threshold of Anglo-Saxon; E. Classen and F. E. Harmer, *An Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.* [*Kemp Malone.*] 60
Ernest Weekley, Words Ancient and Modern. [*Kemp Malone.*] 61
Thomas O. Mabbott and Frank L. Pleadwell, The Life and Works of Edward Coote Pinckney. [*John C. French.*] 62
Maximilien Rudwin, Satan et le Satanisme dans l'Oeuvre de Victor Hugo. [*Gilbert Chinard.*] 63
W. H. Holl, Über den Einfluss der lateinischen Vagantendichtung auf die Lyrik Walthers von der Vogelweide und die seiner Epigonen im 13. Jahrhundert. [*A. Le Roy Andrews.*] 64
H. Brinkmann, Entstehungsgeschichte des Minnesangs. [*A. Le Roy Andrews.*] 66
Stanley Rypins, The Old English Prose Tracts in MS. Cotton Vitellius A xv. [*F. P. Magoun, Jr.*] 67
Mary S. Gretton, Writings and Life of George Meredith. [*J. W. Beach.*] 117
C. H. C. Wright, Background of Modern French Literature. [*G. Chinard.*] 119
A. W. Secord, Studies in the Narrative Method of Defoe. [*H. Buck.*] 121
D. Mornet, La Pensée française au dix-huitième siècle. [*G. Chinard.*] 124
Antonín Frinta, A Czech Phonetic Reader. [*J. B. Dudek.*] 125
Walter Graham, The Beginnings of English Literary Periodicals. [*R. P. McCutcheon.*] 126
Louis Brandin, *Berthe au Grand Pied,* d'après deux romans en vers du XIIIe siècle. [*J. E. Harris.*] 127
Antichrist and *Adam,* two Mediaeval Religious Dramas Translated into English by Sarah F. Barrow and William H. Hulme. [*G. R. Coffman.*] 129
F. E. Schelling, Elizabethan Paywrights: A Short History of the English Drama from the Beginning to the Closing of the Theaters in 1642. [*F. M. Padelford.*] 133
Charly Clerc, Le Génie du Paganisme. [*H. Peyre.*] 135
Walter v. Wartburg, Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch. [*D. S. Blondheim.*] 137
R. V. Merrill, The Platonism of Joachim du Bellay. [*Hélène Harvitt.*] 138
Oliver M. Johnston and Jefferson Elmore, A French Grammar for High Schools and Colleges. [*H. E. Haxo.*] 139
Materials for the Study of the English Renaissance. [*E. Greenlaw.*] . 178
Louis Reynaud, Le Romantisme. [*G. Chinard.*] 188
Barry Cerf, Anatole France. [*H. Smith.*] 194
Elisabeth Westergaard, Studies in Prefixes and Suffixes in Middle Scotch. [*F. P. Magoun, Jr.*] 196
Heinrich Gelzer, Guy de Maupassant. [*Eunice R. Goddard.*] 198
Adolphe J. Dickman, Le Rôle du surnaturel dans les chansons de geste; Constantin Bila, La Croyance à la magie au XVIIIe siècle en France. [*M. Rudwin.*] 199

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PAGE

H. W. Fowler, A Dictionary of Modern English Usage. [*K. Malone.*] 201

D. H. Crawford, *Beowulf*, translated into English Verse. [*K. Malone.*] 202

Conrad Borchling, Das Landrecht des *Sachsenspiegels;* Agathe Lasch, Aus alten niederdeutschen Stadtbüchern. [*E. H. Sehrt.*] 203

Paul C. Weber, America in Imaginative German Literature in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century. [*E. H. Zeydel.*] 204

Julius Petersen, Die Wesensbestimmung der deutschen Romantik. [*W. Silz.*] 207

A. W. Moore, Sophia Morrison, and Edmund Goodwin, A Vocabulary of the Anglo-Manx Dialect. [*George T. Flom.*] 208

Ralph L. Rusk, The Literature of the Middle Western Frontier. [*F. E. Farley.*] 249

John M. Manly, Some New Light on Chaucer. [*J. F. Royster.*] 251

E. de Selincourt, *The Prelude*, by William Wordsworth. [*R. D. Havens.*] 256

English Place-Name Society, Vol. I and II. [*K. Malone.*] 259

Kaarle Krohn, Die folkloristische Arbeitsmethode. [*A. Taylor.*] 260

L. A. Willoughby, The Classical Age of German Literature, 1748-1805. [*E. H. Zeydel.*] 263

L. Grootaers en G. G. Kloeke, Handleiding bij het Noord- en Zuid-Nederlandsch Dialectonderzoeck. [*A. J. Barnouw.*] 265

E. C. Armstrong, The Authorship of the *Vengement Alixandre* and of the *Venjance Alixandre;* B. Edwards, A Classification of the MSS. of Gui de Cambrai's *Vengement Alixandre.* [*Grace Frank.*] 266

L. M. Riddle, The Genesis and Sources of Pierre Corneille's Tragedies from *Médée* to *Pertharite.* [*L. Rivailles.*] 269

Marius Barbeau and Edward Sapir, Folk Songs of French Canada. [*J. M. Carrière.*] 274

Americo Castro, El pensamiento de Cervantes. [*J. Robles.*] 275

E. H. R. Tatham, Francesco Petrarcha, The First Modern Man of Letters. [*W. P. Reeves.*] 277

Georges Roger, Chateaubriand: Selections. [*G. Chinard.*] 280

Louis Cons, L'Auteur de la farce *Pathelin.* [*R. H. Holbrook.*] 327

José F. Montesinos, Lope de Vega, *El Marqués de las Navas.* [*W. L. Fichter.*] 331

Benjamin Bissell, The American Indian in English Literature of the Eighteenth Century. [*F. E. Farley.*] 335

Otto Jespersen, The Philosophy of Grammar. [*Mildred E. Lambert.*] 339

David D. Griffith, A Bibliography of Chaucer, 1908-1924. [*M. B. Ruud.*] 343

Camillo von Klenze, From Goethe to Hauptmann. [*E. Feise.*] 345

Edna Görte, Der junge Tieck und die Aufklärung. [*E. Zeydel.*] 347

P. Merker und W. Stammler, Vom Werden des Geistes. Festgabe Gustav Ehrismann. [*L. A. Andrews.*] 349

Mary Howitt, Hans Christian Andersen, by Himself. The True Story of My Life. Translated. [*A. B. Benson.*] 351

Digitized by Google

PAGE

Caroline F. E. Spurgeon, Five Hundred Years of Chaucer Criticism and Allusion, 1357-1900. [*J. M. Manly.*] 401

C. H. Herford and Percy Simpson, Ben Jonson—Vols. I and II, The Man and his Work. [*W. D. Briggs.*] 404

Karl Lokotsch, Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Europäischen Wörter Orientalischen Ursprungs. [*H. Collitz.*] 412

René Bray, La Formation de la Doctrine Classique en France; La Tragédie cornélienne devant la critique classique d'après la querelle de *Sophonisbe* (1663). [*H. C. Lancaster.*] 414

J. Fransen, Les Comédiens français en Hollande au XVII^e^ et au XVIII^e^ siècles. [*H. C. Lancaster.*] 416

E. Van der Ven—Ten Bensel, The Character of King Arthur in English Literature. [*J. J. Parry.*] 417

J. Hurtado y A. G. Palencia, Antología de la Literatura Española. [*J. Robles.*] 420

A. W. Reed, Early Tudor Drama. [*L. B. Wright.*] 421

E. Schnippel, Die Englischen Kalenderstäbe. [*K. Malone.*] 422

Charles du Peloux, Répertoire Général des Ouvrages Modernes Relatifs au Dix-Huitième Siècle Français (1715-1789). [*G. B. Watts.*] 423

Thérèse Labande-Jeanroy, La Question de la langue en Italie. [*D. S. Blondheim.*] 424

Neusprachliche Studien, Festgabe Karl Luick. [*K. Malone.*] 425

J. F. Bense, A Dictionary of the Low-Dutch Element in the English Vocabulary. [*K. Malone.*] 426

Paget Toynbee, Satirical Poems Published anonymously by William Mason. [*J. W. Draper.*] 468

Allardyce Nicoll, A History of Late Eighteenth Century Drama, 1750-1800. [*D. MacMillan.*] 472

George Lafenestre, La Légende de St. François d'Assise;
Louis Gillet, Sur les pas de Saint François d'Assise; } [*Maud E. Temple.*] 475

Carl Stolle, Fritz Stavenhagens *Mudder Mews.* [*E. Feise.*] 476

Carl von Kraus, Mittelhochdeutsches Übungsbuch. [*A. L. Andrews.*] 477

John W. Draper, William Mason: A Study in Eighteenth-Century Culture. [*A. D. McKillop.*] 478

William P. Dunn, Sir Thomas Browne: A Study in Religious Philosophy. [*A. C. Howell.*] 479

Armand Rastoul, Pierre-Simon Ballanche, *La Ville des Expiations.* [*L. Landré.*] 481

E. M. Butler, The Saint-Simonian Religion in Germany. [*W. Kurrelmeyer.*] 482

Morris P. Tilley, Elizabethan Proverb Lore in Lyly's *Euphues* and in Pettie's *Petite Pallace.* [*R. Jente.*] 484

A. Belis, La Critique française à la fin du XIX^e^ siècle. [*H. Peyre.*] 486

Frederick Tupper, Types of Society in Medieval Literature. [*G. R. Coffman.*] 489

Digitized by Google

PAGE

Rose Mary Davis, Stephen Duck, the Thresher Poet. [*J. C. Pope.*] 492

Ludwig Mühlhausen, Die Vier Zweige des Mabinogi. [*Kemp Malone.*] 494

Katharine C. Balderston, A Census of the Manuscripts of Oliver Goldsmith. [*R. D. Havens.*] 494

E. H. Zeydel, Early References to Storm and Stress in German Literature. [*J. A. Walz.*] 531

J. M. Murry, Keats and Shakespeare;
C. M. Haines, Shakespeare in France;
E. K. Chambers, Shakespeare, A Survey;
Esther C. Dunn, Ben Jonson's Art;
H. D. Sykes, Sidelights on Elizabethan Drama; [*W. D. Briggs.*] 539

Evelyn M. Albright, Dramatic Publication in England, 1580-1640. [*A. Thaler.*] 547

E. Gros, Philippe Quinault. Sa vie et son œuvre. [*H. C. Lancaster.*] 551

G. Cohen, Histoire de la Mise en scène dans le théâtre religieux français du Moyen-âge. [*L. Cons.*] 553

A. H. Schutz, The Peasant Vocabulary in the Works of George Sand. [*U. T. Holmes.*] 555

D. N. Smith, The Oxford Book of Eighteenth-Century Verse. [*R. D. Havens.*] 556

Probleme der englischen Sprache und Kultur. Festschrift Johannes Hoops. [*K. Malone.*] 557

S. H. O'Grady and R. Flower, Catalogue of Irish MSS. in the British Museum. [*K. Malone.*] 559

R. S. Loomis, Celtic Myth and Arthurian Romance. [*W. A. Nitze.*] 560

E. N. S. Thompson, The Seventeenth-century English Essay. [*M. W. Croll.*] 563

Index 565

Recent Publications ..... i-xlviii

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Modern Language Notes

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THE DOWNFALL OF THE THREE UNITIES

The rebellion in the eighteenth century against the three sacred unities of time, place, and action has been described at great length in Lounsbury's *Shakespeare as a Dramatic Artist.* All students of Shakespeare's fame and its influence upon the drama must be grateful for Professor Lounsbury's elaborate study. But it is unfortunately inaccurate in details and vague in dealing with the period of transition in the last half of the eighteenth century. And, curiously enough, it ascribes to Lessing "the credit of being the first to demonstrate the inapplicability of the unities to the modern drama except under special conditions,—conditions which the modern author is generally unwilling to observe."[1] This honor concerns literary theory rather than theatrical practice, says Lounsbury, for Lessing had almost no influence in England in the latter part of the eighteenth century. The real determining influence in the theatre was the actual popularity of Shakespeare's plays on the stage.[2]

This, briefly, is Lounsbury's argument, which gives to the much vilified Shakespearean criticism of the eighteenth century much less than its due, and to Lessing more. In the famous review of Voltaire's *Mérope*[3] to which Lounsbury refers, Lessing merely recapitulates in two paragraphs an argument of his English predecessors that the unities of time and place were necessary in the ancient drama only because of the chorus. Then he goes on, not to attack the rules but to expose the evasion of them in Voltaire's

[1] Lounsbury, p. 75.
[2] Lounsbury, pp. 87-91.
[3] *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*, Nos. 44-50, especially 46.

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Mérope and the French drama generally. Excellent as this long essay is, it is scarcely, in the beginning [4] of 1768, a radical attack upon the unities. And, of course, it had no immediate influence in England.

In the introduction to his volume of *Eighteenth-Century Essays on Shakespeare* [5] Nichol Smith gives a brief account of the period of transition. Nichol Smith says justly that Dr. Johnson's Preface to his edition of Shakespeare gives the final blow to the defenders of the unities; but he does not attempt to give evidence in support of his assertion. The purposes of this article are to give the evidence, to prove that Nichol Smith errs (if he errs at all) on the conservative side, and to discuss the very interesting periodical reviews of Dr. Johnson's Preface.

It will not be necessary to discuss again the early protests of Howard [6] (1668), Temple [7] (1690), and Farquhar [8] (1702). Sensible and unanswerable as they were, they were isolated and ineffective. They had, moreover, little direct reference to Shakespeare. For three-quarters of a century, the neo-classical criticism of Shakespeare was not challenged in serious argument. But the increased popularity of Shakespeare's plays after the season of 1734-35, the rise of Garrick in 1741, the series of new editions of Shakespeare were signs of a new point of view. This was not, however, fully expressed in literary criticism, though in 1736 the anonymous [9] essay *Some Remarks on the Tragedy of Hamlet* attacked the unities, and showed clearly the hostility toward the rules which was characteristic of the followers of Longinus and of Addison, who emphasized sympathetic criticism.

Ten years elapsed before John Upton's timid protest in his *Critical Observations on Shakespeare* [10] (1746). The irrepress-

[4] The weekly articles of the *Hamburgische Dramaturgie* began May 1, 1767. The attack on *Mérope* began in No. 44.

[5] *Eighteenth-Century Essays on Shakespeare*, Introduction, pp. ix-xxxviii.

[6] Preface to *The Great Favourite*, or *The Duke of Lerma*.

[7] *Of Poetry*.

[8] *Discourse upon Comedy*.

[9] This excellent essay is generally attributed to Sir Thomas Hanmer on the authority of his biographer, Sir Henry Bunbury. See *The Correspondence of Sir Thomas Hanmer*, p. 80. Without offering evidence, Lounsbury (p. 60) questions this attribution.

[10] *Critical Observations on Shakespeare*, pp. 60-65. Second ed., 1748.

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ible satirical dramatist, Samuel Foote, was more bold in *Roman and English Comedy Considered and Compared* (1747) but disdained argument. Fielding's ironical fling at the unities in *Tom Jones*[11] (1749) is equally bold, but too casual for discussion, like Sterne's attack in *Tristram Shandy*[12] (1761). Dr. Johnson's serious argument in *The Rambler*[13] (1751) is more important, but Dr. Johnson in 1751 is very different from Dr. Johnson in 1765. He rather deprecates the dogmatism of the critics than trusts to his own convictions.

But with the mid-century, the time had come for bolder and more numerous rebellions. Three of these have not been previously noticed. In 1755, an article in *The Monthly Review*[14] on *L'Orphelin de la Chine* by Voltaire protested against the unity of time as ridiculous and recommended a liberal interpretation of the unity of place. In 1760 the writers of *The Monthly Review* again showed a heterodox tendency by supporting with their approval[15] two new attacks on the rules. "Shakespeare—an Epistle to Mr. Garrick" is an anonymous poem attributed to Robert Lloyd, who published at the same time an "Ode to Genius" attacking "Taste" as inhibiting "Fancy." The protest against the rules in "Shakespeare" is not argumentative and is much less important than that in *An Essay upon the Present State of the Theatre in France, England, and Italy.* The passage in this book which the reviewer singled out for approving quotation[16] is the discussion of the Greek chorus. The chorus, said the anonymous author, required the unities of time and place; but these rules are quite unnecessary in the modern drama.[17] Thus at last, exactly a century after the Restoration, the historical argument enters into the controversy, eight years before it was advanced by Lessing.

The favor which *The Monthly Review* accords to such views shows that the rebels are now much stronger. Daniel Webb, in

[11] *Tom Jones*, Book V, ch. 1.
[12] *Tristram Shandy*, Book III, ch. 12.
[13] *The Rambler*, No. 156.
[14] *Monthly Review*, vol. XIII, pp. 493-505. For the unities, see pp. 494-496.
[15] *Monthly Review*, vol. XXIII, pp. 371-5; vol. XXII, pp. 455-60.
[16] *Ibid.*, vol. XXII, pp. 455-60.
[17] *Present State of the Theatre*, pp. 119-20.

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his *Remarks upon the Beauties of Poetry*[18] (1762), carries the war into the enemy's camp by asserting that Shakespeare gains rather than loses by violating the unities. The critics are singularly blind, Webb thinks, to condemn Shakespeare for violating the unities and to praise him for the singular beauty and energy of his sentiments. The virtue springs from the supposed fault. The simple plot is not capable of variety either of incidents or sentiment. It substitutes description for action, and forces the dramatist into countless improbabilities. One is glad to find Webb's original little book favorably reviewed, as it deserves. He is a true precursor of the romantic point of view in his sympathetic attitude toward poetry, and discusses versification and poetic imagery (always with reference to Shakespeare) almost like a disciple of Coleridge. He is, in fact, another sympathetic critic of the "beauties and faults" school, dominated by the eighteenth century interpretation of Longinus.

In the same year, 1762, comes the most important attack upon the unities between Farquhar and Dr. Johnson. This occurs in the three-volume *Elements of Criticism* by the Scotch judge, Henry Home, Lord Kames. Kames's thoughtful and almost too sober book went through seven editions before the end of the eighteenth century and was reviewed with extreme respect. The writer in *The Critical Review*[19] entertains "no doubt, but the Elements of Criticism may one day supersede the critical labours of the Stagyrite." History has not confirmed this prophecy and has, indeed, treated Kames with too little rather than too great respect. The book is worthy of considerable attention in the general history of Shakespeare criticism, for it refers to Shakespeare as a standard in the discussion of every subject which regards either poetry or the drama.

We are here concerned only with its treatment of the unities of time and place.[20] Kames repeats more fully the historical argument in *The Present State of the Theatre*. The chorus made continuous representation an essential characteristic of Greek drama, and thus made necessary the unities of time and place. They forced many improprieties upon the Greek dramatist, which the

[18] *Beauties of Poetry*, pp. 103-06.
[19] *Critical Review*, vol. XIII, p. 302.
[20] *Elements of Criticism*, ch. XXIII.

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modern dramatist should be spared, since he has no chorus. But this explanation, while quite sufficient to meet the argument by authority, has little weight against the classical appeal to nature and reason, the argument that the pleasure of dramatic performances is destroyed by the unnatural and unreasonable shifts in time and place. So Kames, with all the authority of his judicial sobriety—a sobriety which he retained in literature more consistently than on the bench—re-stated the arguments of the too emphatic Farquhar. Shifts of time and place require no more of the audience which must follow them in imagination than the other conventions of the drama. Kames, like Farquhar, makes the practical reference to the facts of theatrical experience, which is usually conspicuously absent in the neo-classical age. He speaks frequently of "the waking dream" and the "impression of reality" which an audience must feel in the presence of a good play.

Lounsbury mentions both Webb and Kames, and discusses Kames; but he inclines to give Dr. Johnson and Lessing the credit which really belongs in large part to their predecessors. Johnson and Lessing brought forward no new arguments; and indeed Dr. Johnson's reasoning, aside from its summing-up of Farquhar's essay, is open to very serious criticism. It may easily seem to imply a disbelief not only in literal delusion but also in any kind of dramatic illusion whatever. This was the impression of Coleridge and of the critic who reviewed the Preface in *The Monthly Review*. *The Monthly Review* insists, moreover, that apparent probability rather than literal delusion is the argument for the unities and that Dr. Johnson's reasoning was, therefore, "false, or foreign to the purpose." [21] The assertion may be partly supported with regard to England, though not for France. It may justly be said that Dr. Johnson's prestige made his assault upon the unities more significant than those of earlier critics. But one must guard against the tendency to exaggerate Johnson's preëminence. Though their names are now forgotten, Webb enjoyed some public favor, if the reviews may be trusted; and in his way, Kames occupied a most distinguished literary position. Dr. Johnson's literary au-

[21] *Monthly Review*, vol. XXXIII, p. 298. Nichol Smith (Introduction, lx) gives the impression that *The Monthly Review* defended the unities, which is scarcely the case; it merely attacked Dr. Johnson.

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thority was greater than theirs, but not so much greater in the eighteenth as in the twentieth century.

When Dr. Johnson made his famous attack upon the unities in 1765, he said, "I am almost frighted at my own temerity"; and critics have taken the timidity of so dominant a personality as the surest possible proof of the continued power of the unities. One may wonder, however, whether it does not rather indicate the battle of Johnson's essential conservatism with his powerful common sense. The long series of protests against the unities, always growing more frequent, and culminating in the very influential work of Kames, and the general immediate acceptance of Johnson's opinions in the reviews make one think that the ground had been thoroughly prepared.

The Gentleman's Magazine[22] thought adverse criticism impossible. *The London Magazine*[23] and *The Critical Review*[24] both singled out the attack upon the unities for approving quotation, though *The London Magazine* deprecated extreme violations of the rules. *The Monthly Review*[25] was very captious throughout and would accept neither Dr. Johnson's arguments in defence of tragicomedy nor his argument against the unities; yet in each case it gave a reserved approval to his conclusions. "Indeed the point is almost universally given up with regard to the unity of *place;* the preservation of which gives rise to more improbabilities than the breach of it.[26] . . . The unity of time, is, indeed, so far essential to the drama, that the successive actions represented must be confined to the time of actual representation; although the intervals between them may be as long as the poet pleases, consistent with the preservation of the unity of character and that of the design of the fable."[27] The reviewer, who is very involved, but really thoughtful, seems to draw part of his material from Kames, cen-

[22] *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. xxxv, p. 479.

[23] *London Magazine*, vol. xxxiv, p. 536, n.

[24] *Critical Review*, vol. xx, p. 329. *The Critical Review* also objects to Dr. Johnson's deference "to the rules of the French Academy, and the *little* English writers who adopted them, as the criterions of *taste*." Vol. xx, pp. 321-2.

[25] *Monthly Review*, vol. xxxiii, pp. 285-301; 374-89.

[26] *Ibid.*, vol. xxxiii, p. 379.

[27] *Ibid.*, vol. xxxiii, p. 380.

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suring extreme licences like those of *The Winter's Tale*[28] and arguing that extreme indifference to the unities of time and place may interfere with the unity of action and with "the unity of character." His chief charge against Dr. Johnson is that already mentioned, the irrelevance of the argument in the Preface. At the end, he seems to turn even against Dr. Johnson's and his own conclusions, saying cautiously that "The unities are essential to the drama, though not in that degree as hath been asserted by the critics."[29]

Despite the reservations of *The London Magazine* and *The Monthly Review*[30] the reviews seem to have given up the dogma of the unities—at least as a dogma. Their opinions are perhaps more valuable in representing the common judgment of literary men than anything which could be said by a man of genius, like Johnson. The number of attacks on the unities immediately before the Preface and the number which succeeded give further proof that it was necessary for Englishmen to read German criticism to free themselves from the fundamental rules of neo-classical dramatic theory.

But the controversy was not yet dead. In 1769 appeared Mrs. Montagu's popular and effusive defence of Shakespeare against Voltaire.[31] Mrs. Montagu is so patronizing about Shakespeare's irregularities that she gives away by implication the cause which she set out to defend. Her book called forth another, which replied not only to her, but to Dr. Johnson. In 1774, Edward Taylor, who had been too long abroad to sympathize with recent English dramatic criticism, published anonymously his *Cursory Remarks on Tragedy.* The introduction is an answer to Dr. Johnson, and, from the theoretical neo-classical point of view, it answers him well, using arguments similar to those of *The Monthly Review.* But it is belated and isolated, though it found uncertain later echoes in William Richardson's "Faults of Shakespeare"[32] (1784), in Thomas Whateley's *Remarks on Some of the Characters of Shakes-*

[28] Cf. also *The London Magazine*, vol. XXXIV, p. 536 n.

[29] *Ibid.*, vol. XXXIII, p. 381.

[30] *The Monthly Review* had in 1755 and 1760 shown greater liberality than in the review of Dr. Johnson's Preface. See notes 14-16 above.

[31] *An Essay on the Writings and Genius of Shakespeare.*

[32] *Essays on Shakespeare's Dramatic Characters*, pp. 112-46, especially 142.

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peare[33] (1785), and J. P. Kemble's *Macbeth Reconsidered*[34] (1786). It is interesting to note the fact that all of these later writers are among the forerunners of the new criticism of Shakespeare's characterization, and that Kemble, when he revised and amplified his essay in 1817, found it wise to face about and condemn the unities in his introduction.

It is easy to carry further the list of attacks upon the unities. In 1770, the interesting Francis Gentleman, who could not stomach tragi-comedy, nevertheless thought the unities a mere burden to the dramatist.[35] In 1775, William Cooke took over Kames's discussion of the unities for his compilation called *The Elements of Dramatic Criticism*.[36] The prestige of Kames was indicated again by the appearance of his chapter on the unities in early editions of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.[37] In 1777, John Berkenhout published his *Biographia Literaria* and abused the unities as unnatural and foolish. *The Monthly Review* disliked his vehemence, though it would not make the unities obligatory, or reproach Shakespeare for violating them.[38] In 1783, Hugh Blair followed his friend Kames in his *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres*,[39] a frequently reprinted work. Blair's habit of patronizing Shakespeare[40] makes his liberalism on the unities rather unexpected,[41] but all the more significant. In the same year, another Scotch professor, James Beattie, poet and essayist, added the authority of academic conservatism to the side of the erstwhile rebels in his *Dissertations Moral and Critical*.[42] This book, like Blair's, is composed of university lectures. The students at Aberdeen, then, as well as Edinburgh, were taught that the accepted doctrine was to contemn the unities, that the rules restrain

[33] *Remarks, Introduction*, pp. 1-2.

[34] *Macbeth Reconsidered*, p. 1. These three critics are all very mild.

[35] *The Dramatic Censor*, vol. I, p. 40.

[36] *The Elements of Dramatic Criticism*, ch. XI.

[37] *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 2nd edition, Edinburgh, 1778-82, vol. VIII, pp. 6292-7. Article on "Poetry." I have not had access to the first edition of 1771, but the fourth edition (1810) still retains Kames's discussion.

[38] *Monthly Review*, vol. LVII, pp. 191-5. Berkenhout's abuse of the unities is quoted in the review. I have been able to see it only there.

[39] *Lectures on Rhetoric*, 1st edition, Lecture XLV, vol. II, pp. 498-501.

[40] *Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 41-3, 303, 309; vol. II, pp. 511, 523-4, 542.

[41] Lounsbury (p. 64) counts Blair as a defender of the unities.

[42] *Dissertations*, pp. 186-7.

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genius, create many improbabilities, and are quite useless in creating an impression of reality. Beattie follows Dr. Johnson, and refers to him in a note. In 1786, the learned Reverend Martin Sherlock published *A Fragment on Shakespeare,* pointing out the improbabilities into which the unities lead the dramatist.[43] In 1791, the anonymous "W. N.," writing for Anderson's *Bee,*[44] repeated in two pages all the familiar arguments of the liberals. In 1799, the historian Belsham reechoed Dr. Johnson's Preface in *Essays Historical and Literary.*[45] By the beginning of the nineteenth century, no one, surely, could consider himself a radical in following such a long series of rebels.[46]

The modern student of the drama will be forcibly impressed by the limitations of the controversy over the unities. The supporters of the rules leaned heavily on the authority of the ancients, the dramatists as well as Aristotle; but the argument was essentially weak as soon as it was pointed out that the absence of the chorus changed conditions. The argument from nature and reason was strong theoretically, but it could not endure reference to the actual imaginative experience of the audience in following shifts of time and place. The constant performance of Shakespeare's plays furnished all the evidence necessary for this comparison of theory and fact. But a third argument was possible, although there was no one to exemplify its power until the rise of Ibsen. This is the aesthetic and formal argument, based on the concentration of emotion of the retrospective drama. This type of play was the natural ideal of the neo-classicist. But in less skilful hands than Ibsen's—even in the hands of Racine—it meant not mental action, full of suspense, but the absence of action and the substitution of description. This was pointed out by Webb, and there was no reply possible. The growth of Shakespeare's fame might have been delayed if a dramatist like Ibsen had arisen in the eighteenth century to demonstrate anew the possibilities of the 'regular' drama.

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[43] *A Fragment on Shakespeare,* pp. 34-5.

[44] Anderson's *Bee,* vol. I, pp. 61-62.

[45] *Essays,* vol. II, p. 551. I have not seen this book and am indebted to Lounsbury (p. 65), for the reference.

[46] Of the nine references cited, Lounsbury mentions four: Cooke, Berkenhout, Beattie, Belsham.

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NATHAN AND NATHANIEL FIELD

It is only recently that a question has arisen concerning the correctness of the name *Nathaniel* Field for Field, the clever "son of Ben" and actor second in rank only to Burbage. In spite of the fact that the parish registers of St. Giles Cripplegate record a *Nathaniell Feilde,* 1581, and a *Nathan Feilde,* 1587, both sons of that controversial Puritan minister, John Field, the similarity of name has led to the fusion of the identity of Nathaniel, the printer, and Nathan, the actor-playwright. It was assumed that John Field could not have had two living sons with these names. That this assumption was based on insufficient evidence is shown by the fact that in naming his sons Nathan and Nathaniel, John Field was only completing an odd quartette begun with John, 1572, and Jonathan, 1577. John and Jonathan seem to have preserved distinct identities, but Nathan and Nathaniel became almost hopelessly confused. For all the importance of the person Nathan, it is the name Nathaniel which has been preserved by fame. Nathan has been given his brother's publishing business in addition to his own profession; his brother's place of residence; his brother's wife and five children; and, as if this were not enough, the additional thirteen or more years of life enjoyed by Nathaniel after Nathan's death.

The history of this confusion of names is an interesting one. The first time that the name Nathaniel occurs in connection with the actor is in two of the six actor lists recorded in the 1679 folio of the Beaumont-Fletcher plays. Here in the actor lists of *The Loyal Subject* and *The Mad Lover* the name is given *Nathanaell.* Before that time all the formal documents referring to the actor give the name *Nathan.* In the account of his impressment for the Chapel Royal[1] the name is *Nathan ffeilde.* The agreement with Henslowe and Meade in regard to the Hope Theatre[2] is made by *Nathan ffeilde gent.* The name appears as Nathan in Cunningham's record of the payment for the court performance of *Bartholomew Fair,* November 1, 1614;[3] in the Patent for the

[1] Fleay, F. G. *A Chronicle History of the London Stage,* 128.

[2] Greg, W. W. *Henslowe Papers,* 23.

[3] Cunningham, Peter. *Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at the Court in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth and King James I,* p. xliv.

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King's Men,[4] March 27, 1619; in the Livery Allowance,[5] May 19, 1619; in the documents of the Witter-Heming's case where reference is made to his share in the Globe;[6] in the 1623 folio of Shakespeare's plays; in the *Sharers Papers* of 1635[7] in the entry in the *Stationers' Register* of the collaborative play, *The Jeweler of Amsterdam;*[8] and below his portrait in Dulwich College. In other contemporary documents the name is found in abbreviated form, never as Nathaniel. The actor lists of the Jonson plays give *Nat*; Field's early commendatory verses are signed *Nat., Nath., or N. F.*; Chapman's verses are addressed to *Nat Field*; and Field's letters to Henslowe are signed *Nat.* Yet in the face of all the above evidence every early biographer, beginning with Langbaine in *Momus Triumphans* (1688), gives the name of the player as Nathaniel. Until recently these biographers have been followed in this error by even the most reputable scholars. The very first person to suspect the confusion of names was Joseph Hunter. In the manuscript biographical sketches, *Chorus Vatum,*[9] Hunter calls Field the player "a wild irregular person" and tries to get around identifying him as the son of the Puritan minister. He says, however, "If it should ever turn out that Field the actor was son of John Field, the divine, I should think that the entry of the apprenticeship belongs to Nathaniel the son born 1581 and that it was Nathan born 1587 who was the actor." William Rendle in his book, *Old Southwark and Its People,* correctly refers to the player as Nathan.[10] No one else has returned to Nathan his individuality until Mr. E. K. Chambers in the *Elizabethan Stage*[11] boldly printed the conclusion that I was attempting to maintain in my doctorate thesis of the same year,—namely, that Nathan was himself and not his brother. Since that time Mr.

[4] Hazlitt, W. C. *The English Drama and Stage,* 50-52.

[5] *Historical Manuscripts Commission,* IV, 299.

[6] Wallace, C. W. *Shakespeare and His London Associates,* Univ. of Neb. Studies, X, 1910, p. 63.

[7] Halliwell-Phillipps, J. O. *Outlines,* I, 312.

[8] Eyre and Rivington. *Transcript of the Stationers' Register,* I, 445.

[9] Hunter, Joseph. *Chorus Vatum Anglicanorum,* Add. MS. Brit. Mus. 24490.

[10] Rendle, William. *Old Southwark and Its People,* 175.

[11] Chambers, E. K. *Elizabethan Stage,* II, 316.

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T. W. Baldwin has written in support of the theory that Nathaniel, the publisher, and Nathan, the actor, were identical.[12]

Instead of questioning this matter of dual personality, biographers who have been aware of the two baptismal entries have gone to various lengths in accounting for the similarity of name. Collier, for example, assumed that Nathaniel Field died in infancy since a second son was named Nathan. He did not, however, suggest the death of John to account for Jonathan! He ignored the fact that there is no record of any such death in the parish registers of St. Giles Cripplegate, although these registers contain an unusually complete account of the Field family. Various biographers have overlooked the inconsistency of attributing the apprenticeship of Nathaniel to Nathan when Nathan was not even nine years old and was probably then attending St. Paul's Grammar School in which he was a scholar when he was impressed for the Chapel Royal in 1600.

How did this vexing problem of Nathan versus Nathaniel originate? Was it due to the two actor lists of the Beaumont-Fletcher folio or had the names become confused earlier? Some basis for the interchange, it seems to me, extends as far back as the baptismal records of the parish of St. Anne Blackfriars, 1619-27. The first two entries of the children of Nathaniel and Anne Field give the name of the father as Nathan, but the appearance of the entry indicates abbreviation. One of these entries is corrected in the register; when the second child died, the record of his burial gives him as the son of Nathaniel and Anne Field. Collier seems not to have noted this fact, and even Mr. Chambers assumes that children of both Nathan and Nathaniel are given in these registers.[13] Of course each of the brothers might have married an Anne just to carry on the joke in names, but that they did not have so keen a sense of humor not only is indicated by the comparison of the entries in the parish registers mentioned above, but is definitely proved by two letters of administration found among the documents of Somerset House.

The first and most important of these is the grant of letters of administration to Dorcas, the second child of John Field, who

[12] Baldwin, T. W. "Nathaniel Field and Robert Wilson," in *MLN.*, January, 1926, p. 32.

[13] Chambers, *op. cit.*, 317.

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married Edward Rice,[14] giving her the administration of the goods of Nathan Field.[15] In this brief document we learn several things about the actor-playwright. The date of his death is fixed between May 19, 1619, when his name appears in the Livery Allowance, and August 2, 1620, when the above letters of administration were granted. Field's sudden and mysterious disappearance from the stage is thus explained by a very natural cause—his death; and Mr. Fleay's theory of Field's departure because of jealousy over Taylor's taking the leading rôles after Burbage's death, is proved empty fiction.[16] It has been impossible for me to ascertain the exact date of Field's death. It seems quite likely that he was gone from the stage before the production of *Sir John van Olden Barnevelt* in August 1619, for his name does not appear among the actors listed in the stage directions and the vacancy is filled by that of John Rice, whose name again appears in the Livery List of 7 April 1621. From the Letters of Administration we learn that Nathan Field was a bachelor and that at the time of his death he resided in the parish of St. Giles-in-the-Fields. The latter fact is especially interesting because in 1616 Field was a parishioner of St. Savior's (Southwark Cathedral). In his reply to the attack on players made by Mr. Sutton, the minister, Field accuses Sutton of having hindered him from the sacrament and attempted to banish him from his "owne parishe church."[17] It seems possible, therefore, that Sutton succeeded in forcing Field from the church.

The Commission reads as follows:

> The second day (of August 1620) a commission was granted to Dorcas Rice otherwise Feild natural and lawful sister of Nathan Feild late of the parish of Saint Giles in the county of Middlesex bachelor deceased having etc. to administer the good rights and credits of the deceased etc. sworn.

The second document referred to above is the commission granted on March 26, 1632 (1633) to Anne Field for the administration of the goods of her husband, Nathaniel.[18]

[14] Marriage Register, St. Giles Cripplegate, 9 November, 1690.
[15] Admon. Act Book, P. C. C., Aug. 2, 1620; in Somerset House, London.
[16] Fleay, F. G. *Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama*, I, 173.
[17] *S. P. DOM. JAC.*, I, LXXXIX, 105.
[18] *Probate and Admon. Act Book*, 1632, P. C. C., Somerset House, London.

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On the 26th day of March 1632 Letters of Administration were granted to Anne Feild relict of Nathaniel Feild late of the parish of Saint Anne Blackfryers London intestate deceased to administer the goods credits chattels etc. of the said deceased etc.

This is the Nathaniel whose children are entered in the registers of Saint Anne Blackfriars and whose burial is recorded there under the date, February 20, 1632 (1633).

Since we can no longer make one biography serve for the two brothers, it becomes necessary to suggest the known biographical facts for each. Relatively little is known about Nathaniel. He was the fifth child of that famous Puritan divine, the learned Doctor Field, and was born 13 June, 1581, when the Field family was undergoing many vicissitudes. His father was either then in Newgate to which he had been sent for a second period by the Ecclesiastical Commission, or he had been recently released by the intervention of the Earl of Leicester.[19] In 1596 he was apprenticed to Ralph Jackson, Stationer, of London.[20] Though the entry names the period of apprenticeship as eight years, Nathaniel did not take up his freedom until 1611.[21] He seems to have found difficulty in entering into his profession, for it is not until 1624 that the Stationers' Register records the license of a book for Nathaniel Field. Field is associated with Thomas Harper, who also took up his freedom in 1611.[22] Between the years 1624 and 1628 five sermons by Theophilus Field, Nathaniel's brother, are licensed to Nathaniel Field and Thomas Harper.[23] The last entry to Nathaniel Field is November 9, 1627.[24] This is of the book called "The true historye of the tragique loves of Hipolito and Isabella," which is interesting because it contains verses by Chapman, the friend of Nathan. After the above date Thomas Harper continued publishing, but there is no mention of Field. Between the years 1619 and 1627 the parish registers of Saint Anne Blackfriars record the birth of five children and the burial of two of these in infancy. All else that we know about Nathaniel is found in the record of his death and in the previously mentioned Letters of Administration

[19] Brit. Mus. Cotton. MS. Titus B VII, fol. 22. Letter to the Earl of Leicester, Nov. 25, 1581.
[20] Arber, II, 215.
[21] *Ibid.*, II, 215 and III, 683.
[22] *Ibid.*, III, 29.
[23] *Ibid.*, IV, 133, 137, 167, 191.
[24] *Ibid.*, IV, 188.

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granted to his "relict" Anne. At his death the oldest child was a daughter of fourteen. The family was left with property appraised at only £45, 14s, 6d.

The life of Nathan is both more interesting and more important. Born March, 1587, he escaped the ministerial influence of his father, who died March, 1588. If John Field had lived to shape the ideals of his son, the stage would probably have lost one of its best actors and most interesting minor playwrights. John Field would never have allowed a son of his to cast a wishful eye toward theatres, which he termed "sincks of synne," for he thought of players as evil men and of plays as "the schooles of as great wickednesses as can be." But Nathan was to become the proverbial black sheep of the fold, for in 1600 when he was attending St. Paul's Grammar School, he was seized for the Chapel Royal by the authority of the Queen's commission to Nathaniel Giles.[25] Ben Jonson took an interest in Nathan and is quoted by Drummond as saying, "Nid Field was his schollar, and he had read to him the Satyres of Horace and some Epigrams of Martiall."[26] Soon Nathan was taking leading rôles in Jonson's plays and in the other plays produced by the Children. During the nineteen years of his dramatic career, he was also connected with the Children of the Queen's Revels at Blackfriars and at Whitefriars, with Henslowe's company at the Hope, and with the King's Men. As actor he attained a rank second only to Burbage. In 1609-10 and about 1611 he wrote two sparkling comedies, *Woman Is a Weathercock* and *Amends for Ladies*. After these youthful efforts he entered into collaborative writing with Massinger and Fletcher. Just when his work had become so much like that of Beaumont that it is almost impossible to distinguish the composition of the two, Nathan Field disappeared from the stage, and we know only the fact of his death as given in the Letters of Administration granted to his sister August 2, 1620.

R. Florence Brinkley.

Goucher College.

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[25] Wallace, C. W. *Children of the Chapel at Blackfriars*, 61.

[26] Drummond, William. *Conversations*. ed. Laing, 11.

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DRYDEN'S RELATIONS WITH HOWARD AND ORRERY

Dryden's relations during his early years in London with Sir Robert Howard, son of Thomas Howard, Earl of Berkshire, have been known only from the clues afforded by his prefatory poem in Howard's volume of verses, published in 1660; by his marriage to Howard's sister on December 1, 1663; and by his collaboration with Howard in the composition of *The Indian Queen*. One other source of information, generally regarded as of doubtful value, is Thomas Shadwell's satirical poem on Dryden, *The Medal of John Bayes*. In this poem Shadwell sets forth Dryden's relations with Howard at that period as follows:[1]

> Then by th' assistance of a Noble Knight,
> Th' hadst plenty, ease, and liberty to write.
> First like a Gentleman he made thee live;
> And on his Bounty thou didst amply thrive.

No historical substantiation of Shadwell's statements has ever been discovered by Dryden's numerous biographers, so far as I have been able to observe. The Sloane collection of manuscripts in the British Museum contains, however, a letter[2] which furnishes evidence of the greatest interest. This letter has escaped apparently the notice of scholars, for it reveals a new and important fact in Dryden's biography—namely, that in the summer of 1663 Dryden was living with Howard in Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, and seemingly had been residing with him for some time previous.

The letter in question is written to Sir Robert Howard by Sir Andrew Henley, First Bart. of Bramshill, Co. Hants, and of Henley, co. Somerset, and reads as follows:

Sr.

I had as ill luck as yor self in missing you one munday whe[n] I made sure of being one the guard or at Wincester sessions, I rode Directly thither and in that Confidence Answered not yor Letters nor Excused my not meeting at yor Rendezvous, All which must now be Remidyed all the wayes I can: for my part had I not missed you I had not beene at Sessions yor request to us had not recd such Dispatch as now it Did, The

[1] 1682 ed., p. 8.

[2] Sloane MS. 813, f. 71.

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objections are not weighty Enough to be Delybred in a Letter but soe strong that they had hindred yor satisfactione; next the business of the house must be menconed in which all yt I can say is that for the serge Bed Mr Dreidon useth that bed you lye in and the little green serge furniture I shall use at Bramshill as the pewter, All the other things I desire may be valued and that by one of yor and another of my Choosing, And I hope you will Think what I put in new into the house when you Came to it little the worse for using and all that I can I will take for my owne use thereof And besides particularly the furniture of the Dyning Roome but for the tyme I referr that to yor owne Conveniency, In this and all other transactions I desyre to appeare under no other Character then of

Yor most affectionat friend,
& very humble servant
Andrew Henley

Bramshill 8"
8ber 1663

For Sr Robert Howard
In Lincols In feilds the sixth
Doore from Turnstyle Holborne Row
London these

The foregoing letter discloses as a most natural circumstance the collaboration of Dryden and Howard in the composition of *The Indian Queen* during the fall of 1663. It is a close parallel to the famous Beaumont and Fletcher situation. Here were Dryden and Howard, both of whom previously had written plays independently,[3] now living together in bachelor's quarters. Under such conditions it is not at all surprising that Dryden, ambitious for fame but as yet a dramatic poet of no reputation, should collaborate with Howard, who already had an influential place at court, and a controlling position in the management of the Theatre Royal as one of its chief shareholders.

Dryden's great intimacy with Howard also seems the likely cause for his introduction to Roger Boyle, Earl of Orrery, while the latter was residing in Ireland between 1661 and 1664. The Earl of Orrery had married Margaret Howard, daughter of Theophilus Howard, Earl of Suffolk, who was brother to Thomas Howard, Earl of Berkshire. Thus by marriage Dryden's patron and Orrery were first cousins. Dryden himself in 1663 became of kin to Orrery by his marriage to Lady Elizabeth Howard, the

[3] Dryden: *The Wild Gallant* (T. R. Feb. 1662/3); Howard: *The Surprisal* (T. R. 1662).

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sister of his patron. Dryden sent Orrery in Ireland specimens of his writings, seeking his counsel and favor. Of this literary correspondence Dryden writes in the *Epistle Dedicatory to The Rival Ladies:*[4]

> But for this confidence of my dedication, I have an argument, which is too advantageous for me to publish it to the world. It is the kindness your lordship has continually shown to all my writings. You have been pleased, my lord, they should sometimes cross the Irish seas, to kiss your hands; which passage (contrary to the experience of others) I have found the least dangerous in the world. Your favor has shown upon me at a remote distance, without the least knowledge of my person; and (like the influence of the heavenly bodies) you have done good, without knowing to whom you did it. It is this virtue in your lordship, which emboldens me to this attempt; for, did I not consider you as my patron, I have little reason to desire you for my judge: . . . .

The kinship of Dryden and Orrery through the Howard family has never been noted, and even their literary acquaintance previous to 1664 has been quite overlooked. Yet these facts hint at probable connections of considerable literary influence between Dryden, Howard, and Orrery as regards the early composition of "heroic plays."

The most striking innovation in *The Indian Queen,* the first "heroic play" to be actually produced on the London stage, was to the Restoration audience the dialogue in heroic rimed verse throughout. As early as December, 1660, however, the possible use of rimed verse in English serious plays, following the prevailing French fashion, had been warmly discussed in the literary circle around Charles II. The Earl of Orrery had been a leading proponent for the innovation, and at the behest of the King had written a play entirely in heroic couplets soon after he had settled in Ireland at the beginning of 1661.[5] This piece, the pioneer "heroic play," was *The General.*[6] It so pleased the King that he in time gave it to Thomas Killigrew to be acted at the new Theatre Royal, which was to open the spring of 1663. Without question *The General*

[4] *Works* (Scott & Saintsbury edit.), vol. 2, p. 131.

[5] See Morrice's *Memoirs*, p. 81, in Orrery's *State Letters* (Dublin, 1743), vol. 1; also *State Letters*, vol. 1, p. 76.

[6] See for evidence on these points concerning the history of *The General* my note, *Heroic Plays of the Earl of Orrery*, in the *Review of English Studies*, April, 1926, p. 206-11.

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in manuscript form circulated during 1661 and 1662 among the court "wits" and created a stir by the novelty of its verse. If Dryden and Howard had not seen a manuscript of *The General* before Killigrew received his copy from the King, Howard in all probability procured Killigrew's copy for their perusal. The high favor which Orrery's experiment in rimed verse won with Charles and his literary coterie increased, no doubt, the interest of Dryden and Howard in the possibilities of rime for the dialogue of regular stage plays. The fact that the actual innovator of the fashion was a relative and a personal, literary acquaintance must have also added to their interest. Perhaps the scattered passages of rime in *The Rival Ladies,* generally conceded to have been written in 1663, are the result of Dryden's efforts to imitate in a tentative manner the form of verse he had recently observed employed successfully in Orrery's play, for he thus begins his *Epistle Dedicatory to The Rival Ladies:*

> **This worthless present was designed you long before it was a play; when it was only a confused mass of thoughts, tumbling over one another in the dark. . . . And I confess, in that first tumult of my thoughts, there appeared a disorderly kind of beauty in some of them, which gave me hope something worthy of my Lord of Orrery might be drawn from them.**

Then the appearance of another and finer play by Orrery in rimed verse, *Henry V,* must have still more attracted the attention and thought of Dryden and Howard toward the new fashion of dramatic writing. The manuscript of *Henry V* reached London at least by the fall of 1663, for on or before November 3 Davenant had the play licensed for production.[1] There can be but little question that both Dryden and Howard had an early opportunity to read or hear about the play, and that in consequence they should be more inclined than ever to try their own hands at a dramatic composition in rimed verse, which promised speedily to come into popular vogue because of the favor it was receiving in high places.

Sometime probably in the late fall of 1663 Dryden and Howard, living under the same roof, determined to write a play entirely in heroic rimed verse, as Orrery had done, and to produce it speedily that it might be the "hit" of the winter theatrical season.

[1] *The Dramatic Records of Sir Henry Herbert* (edit. by J. Q. Adams), p. 138.

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The Indian Queen, first performed at the Theatre Royal in January, 1664, was the result. It lived up to the expectation of its authors by winning the greatest applause and by establishing on the Restoration stage the popularity of the heroic couplet in serious plays—a popularity which continued for a decade.

Such appears to be the story of the composition of the first "heroic play" which appeared on the stage. The example of the pioneer plays by the Earl of Orrery plus the direct, personal relations existing between Dryden, Howard, and Orrery, seem the chief influences that occasioned the writing of *The Indian Queen* in rimed verse. Is not the truth of this view borne out by the fact that, when Dryden came to write in the summer of 1664 a dedicatory preface to *The Rival Ladies,* the most important feature of which play he plainly considered the scenes in rime, he chose to address the preface to the Earl of Orrery? His preface is largely concerned with a discussion of "the new way of writing scenes in verse." He concludes his arguments in favor of "the new way" with these words:[8]

> But, my lord, though I have more to say upon this subject, yet I must remember, it is your lordship to whom I speak; who have much more commended this way by your writing in it, than I can do by writing for it. Where my reasons cannot prevail, your lordship's example must.

Amherst College. WILLIAM S. CLARK.

AN EARLY VERSION OF VOLTAIRE'S *A MONSIEUR LOUIS RACINE*

In *M. L. N.,* XL, III, 189, I called attention to an early printing of Voltaire's verses against Louis Racine's *De la Grâce.* In the *Examen du Poème sur la Grâce,* a publication of 1723 containing two letters to L. Racine in reference to his poem, there is a second version which seems to have escaped the attention of Voltaire's bibliographers. The variants from the edition of 1722, as found in this obscure pamphlet (p. 93), are as follows: line 1, tes vers *didactiques* (this reading appears in later versions); l. 2, les *dogmes* fanatiques; l. 6, *mon culte* (usual reading of later editions); l. 9, *Cesse donc de flatter.*

Davidson College. GEORGE B. WATTS.

[8] *Works* (Scott & Saintsbury edit.), vol. 2, p. 139.

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LUDWIG TIECK'S LIBRARY

Nothing throws more light upon the multifariousness of Ludwig Tieck's literary interests and upon his consuming love for books than his remarkable library. When he had reached the age of seventy-six and could no longer use it to advantage, he decided, being presumably also in need of ready money, to dispose of it. It was sold at auction in Berlin on December 10, 1849, and the following days by the firm of A. Asher and Company. The catalog of this sale has fortunately come down to us.[1]

An examination of the original Asher catalog of 1849 discloses a total of 7930 titles. But the number is considerably increased by the fact that now and then entire collections are listed as a single unit. Thus Calderon, according to this plan, shows only ten titles, but one of them, his entire *Teatro,* alone comprises about 150 separate titles and numbers. Similarly the complete *Teatro espagnol,* about 1300 numbers, is listed as a unit. A conservative estimate leads me to believe that the Tieck library contained over 9500 actual titles and considerably over 12,000 volumes. That in sheer size this was a quite remarkable private collection for those days is readily shown by comparison. The famous library of Karl Lachmann, for instance, sold also at auction by Asher in 1852, contained only 5979 titles, that is, several thousand less.

The Tieck catalog falls into six major divisions, viz. A. Language and Literature (4333 numbers), B. History (2365 numbers), C. Literary History and Bibliography (364 numbers), D. Drama (160 numbers), F. Miscellanies: Theology, Philosophy, Archaeology, etc. (733 numbers) and F. Addenda (75 numbers).

Under A. German and Spanish literatures are best represented with 1619 and about 1800 numbers, respectively.

The German collection is surprisingly complete. Alphabetically every author of any importance at all, from Abraham a Santa Clara to Zschokke, is listed. Goethe's works are present in 80 titles, among

[1] Catalogue de la Bibliothèque célèbre de M. Ludwig Tieck qui sera vendue à Berlin le 10. Décembre 1849 et jours suivants par MM. A. Asher et Comp. Berlin, 1849. Imprimé chez Trowetzsch et fils. 362 pp. What remained of the library after this sale was listed again one year later by the same firm in another catalog.

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them many first editions; Schiller has 35 titles, among them the rare *Versuch über den Zusammenhang der tierischen Natur des Menschen mit seiner geistigen* (Stuttgart, 1780). Jean Paul has about 30 numbers, including an English translation, *The Death of an Angel and other Pieces* (London, 1839). Remarkably enough Friedrich Schlegel's novel *Lucinde,* which we know Tieck admired at first but later despised, is missing. Tieck's own writings, of course, are well represented by about 30 titles, including translations into English and Danish. It is interesting to note that Tieck possessed also a copy of the pirated Nicolai edition of his own works in 12 volumes (1799). Of Heine he had only *Atta Troll, Buch der Lieder, Über Ludwig Börne* (2 editions) and the tragedies. Grimm's fairy tales are present only in the English translation of E. Taylor. Of Grabbe Tieck had merely *Das Theater zu Düsseldorf,* and E. T. A. Hoffmann the *Seltsame Leiden eines Theaterdirektors,* the *Nachtstücke,* the *Nachlass des Katers Murr* and *Aus Hoffmanns Leben und Nachlass.* Of the other writers of the classical period Bodmer, Bürger, Gellert, Gessner, Gleim, Hagedorn, Haller, Hebel, Heinse, Herder, Hippel, Iffland, Jacobi, Klinger, Klopstock, Kotzebue, Lavater, Leisewitz, Lenz, Lessing, Lichtenberg, Lichtwer, Matthisson, Mendelssohn, Moser, Pfeffel, Rabener, Ramler, Seume, Stilling, the Stolbergs, Thümmel and Wieland are all fairly well represented. Earlier works, among them those of the minnesingers, the great epics (among them nine editions of the *Nibelungenlied*), Sachs, Fischart, Murner, Luther, Rollenhagen, Frischlin and the writers of the seventeenth century, are unusually well represented, often in very old and rare editions, as we shall see.

The Spanish section consists mainly of a wonderfully complete collection of Spanish dramas. In addition, over 50 numbers are devoted to Cervantes.

Second only to the German and Spanish sections are the English (about 750 numbers) and the Italian (700 numbers) collections. Shakespeare alone covers over 100 numbers. Chaucer too is well represented. *Beowulf* is present in a German translation. In the Italian collection Dante, Boccaccio, Gozzi and Goldoni are prominent.

The French collection, with 400 numbers, is notable too, the emphasis being placed upon the classics. Rétif de la Bretonne,

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whose influence upon *William Lovell* has been proved, is present in 13 numbers.

Other languages—Asiatic (about 60 titles, all in translation); Portuguese (several dozen); Greek (about 100); Dutch (about 40); Latin (about 110); Scandinavian (about 90); and Slavonic (about 20, all in translation)—are far from neglected. It has been noted that works in Asiatic and Slavonic literatures are represented in translation, mostly German. The other languages are represented partly by original works, partly by translations. Thus Tieck had Homer in German (Voss), English (Pope) and Spanish (Perez); Euripides in Greek, Latin and German; Aristophanes in German and French, Lucian in German; Terence in Latin, German and English; Ovid in German, Italian, French and Dutch (14 numbers); and Vergil in Latin, German, English, Spanish and French.

The historical section, including also biography, geography and travel, is large, as we have seen. The fact that about 400 titles—over one-sixth of the total—deal with America, particularly Spanish America, is notable.

Of the histories of literature, particularly German literature, Tieck possessed Denina, *La Prusse littéraire sous Frédéric II* (Berlin, 1790-1791), Bouterwek, *Geschichte der Poesie und Beredsamkeit* (12 volumes, Göttingen, 1801-1819), Horn, *Geschichte und Kritik der deutschen Poesie und Beredsamkeit* (Berlin, 1805), and the same author's *Poesie und Beredsamkeit der Deutschen* (4 volumes, Berlin, 1823-1829), Koberstein (in two editions, 1827 and 1837), Gervinus, *Zur Geschichte der deutschen Literatur* (Heidelberg, 1834) and the same author's history of German literature (1840-1842), and Wolfgang Menzel's work on the same subject.

Tieck's collection of works on philosophy and related subjects is interesting because it throws light upon his attitude toward that field. Here as nowhere else do we find gaps that stamp him as one uninterested in the abstruse problems of philosophy. Thus he had none of the philosophical writings of Leibnitz or Descartes. Spinoza is well represented by Berthold Auerbach's German translation (1841). But of Kant he had only the *Kritik der reinen Vernunft*. Hegel is missing altogether; Schelling is represented only by a pamphlet on the *Jenaische Literaturzeitung*, volume 2 of

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Zeitschrift für spekulative Physik, and *Bruno;* Fichte is present in 13 titles; Schleiermacher's *Reden über die Religion* and *Vertraute Briefe über die Lucinde* are included; of Feuerbach we find only *Merkwürdige Rechtsfälle* (1839); of Swedenborg the *Theologische Schriften* (1789); of Tieck's close friend Solger the *Philosophische Gespräche* (1. Sammlung, 1817) and *Erwin;* and of Jerusalem *Philosophische Aufsätze* (edited by Lessing, 1776); and of Jacobi three philosophical papers. Of Jakob Böhme, who we know influenced Tieck very early in life, there are *Alle göttliche Schriften* (edition of 1715) and *Morgenröte im Aufgang* (1780). Naturally enough G. H. Schubert is prominent, both his *Ansichten von der Nachtseite der Naturwissenschaft* (1808) and his *Symbolik des Traumes* (1814) being listed.

In the field of early Germanic literature Tieck had the older *Edda* both in Swedish and German, the *Snorra-Edda* (1818), the *Heldenbuch* (Hagenau, 1509—a very rare edition), and Snorri's *Heimskringla* (Stockholm, 1697) and *Konungasögur* (Holm, 1816). He had also the Zahn edition of Ulfilas (Weissenfels, 1805)

The following titles, too, are worthy of note: the Sakuntala in English, C. Lassen's *Anthologia Sanscrita* (Bonn, 1838), the Arabian Nights in German, French and English, H. H. Wilson's dictionary of Sanscrit and English (Calcutta, 1832), also Yates's *Sanscrit dictionary* (Calcutta, 1846), a *Neu-eingerichtetes Teutsch-Arabisches Wörterbuch* (Oettingen, 1764), one work in Bohemian, a Russian grammar in French by Gretsch (St. Petersburg, 1837), a book of Serbian poetry, a Wendish grammar in German, Voltiggi's *Illirisch- italienisch- und deutsches Wörterbuch und Grammatik,* and J. Long, *Voyages and travels of an Indian interpreter and trader, describing the manners and customs of the North American Indians, with a vocabulary of the Chippeway language* (London, 1791).

I shall close this account with a list of some of the incunabula and other early and rare prints which formed a part of Tieck's remarkable collection: Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Tyturell,* s. l. fol., 1477; *Cosmographiae introductio,* Deadatae, 1507; *Das Heldenbuch,* Hagenaw, 1509; Murner, *Die geuchmat,* Basel, 1519; *Olivier de Castille* (2 tales tr. from French into German by W. Ziely, Basel, 1521); *Fier-a-Bras, Eyn schöne kurtzweylige history*

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von eym mächtigen Riesen us Hispanien, Fierrabras genannt, fol. Siemern, 1533; *Pontus, Eyn rhumreich . . . histori von dem . . . Ritter Ponto,* Strassburg, 1539; Boccaccio, *Cento Novella Joh. Boccatij. Hundert newe Historien* etc., Strassburg, 1540; Chaucer, London, Bonham, 1542; Vitruvius (German edition), Nürnberg, 1548; Sachs, *Sehr herrliche . . . Gedicht* (vols. 1 and 2), Nürnberg, 1558 and 1560; *Reynicke Voss,* Frankfurt a. M., 1562; Geiler von Keysersperg, Basel, 1574; Fischart, *Binenkorb,* Christlingen, 1581 (also an edition of 1584); Frischlin, *Phasma,* Greifswald, 1593; Rollenhagen, *Froschmeuseler,* Magdeburg, 1595.

The following seventeenth-century prints also belonged to Tieck's library: Jac. Ayrer, *Opus Theatricum,* Nürnberg, 1618; Fleming, *Geist- und Weltliche Poemata,* Jena, 1651 (also Merseburg, 1685); Gryphius, *Poetische Wälder,* Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1698; Lohenstein (plays and poems), Breslau, 1685-1689; Mühlpforth, *Teutsche Gedichte,* Breslau, 1698; Neumark, *Der neu sprossende Palmbaum,* Nürnberg, 1668; Opitz, *Acht Bücher deutscher Poematum,* Breslau, 1625; Schottelius, *Ausführliche Arbeit von der teutschen Hauptsprache,* Braunschweig, 1663; *Simplicissimus,* Mömpelgart, 1669; Weckherlin, *Weltliche und geistliche Gedichte,* Amsterdam, 1648; Chr. Weise (plays in various seventeenth-century editions); Zesen, *Hochdeutsche Helikonische Hechel,* Hamburg, 1668.

Apart from the significance of this catalog as an index of Tieck's bibliophile and literary interests, I would point out its importance for all scholars engaged in Tieck research.

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TACITUS, *HENRY VI, PART III,* AND *NERO.*

In *M. L. N.,* for November, 1910, I pointed out the close resemblance between *Nero,* III, 4, and a portion of *Henry VI, Part III,* II, 5.[1] In *Nero,* a Man and Woman enter during the burning

[1] References are to H. P. Horne's edition of *Nero,* in the "Mermaid Series" volume, *Nero and Other Plays,* and to W. A. Neilson's *Shakespeare's Complete Works,* "Cambridge Edition."

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of Rome; one bears the body of his father, the other that of her child. They mourn their bereavement, and retire, cursing Nero, who has been a spectator. In the Shakespearian play, as King Henry is passing the time during the battle of Towton in meditating upon the preferability of a shepherd's life to a king's, a Son enters, with the body of his father whom he has slain. Recognizing his victim, he laments his parent. A Father now enters, with the corpse of his son, whom he has killed. Again comes a lament; and the two unfortunates bewail their losses together, assisted by the King.

When discussing these two incidents in my earlier article, I derived that in *Nero* from the scene in *Henry VI.* I do not feel inclined to change my opinion. There is, however, an occurrence in Roman history, related by Tacitus of a time slightly later than that of Nero, which may quite likely have been in the mind of the author of this portion of *Henry VI, Part III,* during the composition of the passage in question.

The narrative of this event is to be found in Chapter 25 of Book III of the *Historiae* of Tacitus,[2] in which is described the battle near Cremona between the forces of Otho and those of Vitellius. The historian says:

> That which above all made the carnage memorable was the slaughter of a father by his son. I report the event and the names on the authority of Vipstanus Messala. Julius Mansuetus, originally from Spain, had entered the legion of Rapax. He had left a son who was then a child. The boy, on growing up, had been enrolled in his turn in the seventh legion raised by Galba. Chance having opposed him to his father, he wounds his parent, strikes him down, and as he searches his victim, he recognizes his father, and is recognized by him. Then he embraces his dying parent, and in a distressed voice supplicates the paternal manes to be appeased. and not to turn from him as from a parricide. It was the crime of the State for what else is the part of a soldier in a civil war? At the same time he took up the corpse, dug a grave, and paid his father the last rites. Those who were near him knew of this occurrence first; others learned later; and gradually in the whole army it became the occasion for sorrowful astonishment, for an outcry of pity, for execration against a war so cruel. Nevertheless it did not prevent the soldiers from putting as much ardor as before into massacring and robbing their relations, their connections by marriage, their brothers. They say to them-

[2] *Histoires*, edited and translated bp H. Goelzer, Vol. I, p. 168. My translation is from Goelzer's text, with assistance from his French version of the passage.

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selves: 'That which has been committed is a crime'; and in their turn they commit it.

This anecdote of the Roman historian is, I believe, not directly a source of the scene in *Nero*,[3] but it is perhaps responsible for the development of the bare hint in Hall's *Chronicle*, which has been suggested by H. C. Hart [4] as the source of the passage in *Henry VI, Part III*. Hall thus writes:

This conflict was in maner vnnatural, for in it the sonne fought against the father, the brother against the brother, the nephew against the vncle and the tenaunt against his lorde.[5]

It should be noted that we have, in a scene doubtfully Shakespearian, the slaying of father by son, the recognition of the victim as the young man is robbing him, and his retirement, after he has mourned the deed, to bury the body. For the purpose of heightening the pathos, the author has introduced a father who has slain his son. This is simply a trick, however, a heaping of the pathetic upon the pathetic by the employment of simple addition, and has no special significance, as far as the source is concerned, though there is a hint in Tacitus' account of the civil war in Italy which may have been developed.

The University of North Dakota. ROBERT S. FORSYTHE.

SOME LITERARY ECHOES

1. *John Webster*

In Webster's *Duchess of Malfi*, IV, 2, occur the following often quoted lines:

Glories, like glowworms, afar off shine bright,
But, looked to near, have neither heat nor light.

In *The Scourge of Folly* by John Davies of Hereford (1611), written several years before Webster's play, the 5th Epigram begins:

[3] Tacitus' story has not been mentioned by Professor W. P. Mustard in his interesting "Notes on *The Tragedy of Nero*," *Philological Quarterly*, I, 173-78; neither has it been referred to by F. Ernst Schmid in *Die Tragoedie "Nero" und Thomas May*, in *Materialien*, XLI. In fact, Schmid calls the incident in *Nero* "eine Zutat des Dichters" (p. 167), which it literally is. On the other hand, it is probably derived from Tacitus through *Henry VI*.

[4] In his edition of *Henry VI, Part III*, "Arden Shakespeare," p. 65, note.

[5] Quoted by Hart, *ibid.*

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> Delia still paints; so Nature hurts with Art,
> And form with fashion utterly doth spill;
> She (glowworm like) doth shine, if put apart,
> But near at hand, she looks as black, as ill.

The reference to glowworms seems to have been more or less proverbial,[1] but as Bosola was speaking of the Duchess's fading beauty, Webster may have intended an allusion to Davies' satire.

2. *Wordsworth*

In his well-known sonnet "On the Extinction of the Venetian Republic" Wordsworth says of Venice:

> She was a maiden City, bright and free;
> No guile seduced, no force could violate.

Very probably this natural and noble metaphor came spontaneously out of Wordsworth's brain. But it may possibly have been suggested to him by Coryat's *Crudities,* a well-known book of the seventeenth century, which had been republished when Wordsworth was a boy. In Vol. II, p. 58, of the 1776 edition Coryat says of Venice:

> It is a matter very worthy the consideration, to think how this noble city hath like a pure virgin and incontaminated maid . . . kept her virginity untouched these thousand two hundred and twelve years . . . though emperors, kings, princes, and mighty potentates, being allured with her glorious beauty, have attempted to deflower her, every one receiving the repulse.

3. *Hartley Coleridge*

In Hartley Coleridge's poem *Album Verses* is the couplet:

> I own I like to see my works in print;
> The page looks knowing, though there's nothing in't.

This is probably an echo from Byron's *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers,* which had first become popular when Hartley Coleridge was a boy. In that poem are two lines that run:

> 'Tis pleasant, sure, to see one's name in print;
> A book's a book, although there's nothing in't.

Yale University. FREDERICK E. PIERCE

[1] See, for example, William Browne's *Britannia's Pastorals,* III, i, 204-207:

> "A man, near frozen with December's ire,
> Hath, from a heap of glowworms, as much ease
> As I can ever have by dreams as these."

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A NEW SCENE IN COLLEY CIBBER'S *RICHARD III*

That Cibber rewrote his *Tragical History of King Richard III* is a point which has seemingly escaped recognition. From iv, 2, of the melodrama, as it appears in the collected *Plays* of 1721, we learn that Tirrel has been bribed by Richard, who will give him "farther orders" in his closet. The next scene is in the Tower. Tirrel sends in Dighton and Forest to murder the princes. Richard reappears, anxiously awaiting the event. Perhaps there is a scream within, for he cries: "Hark, the Murder's doing"; and a moment later enter Tirrel to assure him that 'the brats were disposed of.'

Francis Gentleman in his *Dramatic Censor* (1770) found the King's soliloquy admirable, but "the scene between Tirrel, Dighton and Forest, should for two reasons have been made longer; first, to have raised our pity more, even by the immediate murderers; next, to have given Richard more time for his appearance at the Tower."[1] The abruptness at this point is, in fact, a direct result of Cibber's revision. For in the first edition of the play (1700) there is a new scene following the departure of Tirrel, Dighton, and Forest—a scene sufficiently curious to deserve quotation.[2]

SCENE: *a Chamber, the Princes in Bed. The Stage darkned.*

Pr. Ed. Why do you startle, Brother?
D. York. O! I have been so frighted in my sleep!
Pray turn this way.
Pr. Ed. Alas, I fain wou'd sleep, but cannot
Tho' 'tis the stillest night I ever knew.

---

[1] P. 3.

[2] Dr. Hazleton Spencer describes it briefly in his unpublished *Restoration Stage Versions of Shakespeare's Plays*, Harvard dissertation, 1923, p. 594, but had not consulted the later editions; while only the later editions were used for Genest's *Account of the English Stage*, II, 306, Richard Dohse's *Colley Cibber's Bühnenbearbeitung von Shakespeare's Richard III*, Bonn, 1897, pp. 7, 24, Frederick Kilborne's *Alterations and Adaptations of Shakespeare*, Boston, 1906, the Furness *Variorum*, pp. 603, 604, Miss A. I. P. Perry's *Stage History of Richard the Third*, 1909, pp. 85, 173, De Witt C. Croissant's *Studies in the Work of Colley Cibber*, Lawrence, Mass., 1912, pp. 6, 7, 64, and, seemingly, for G. C. D. Odell's *Shakespeare from Betterton to Irving*, 1920, pp. 75, 76.

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Not the least breath has stir'd these four hours
Sure all the World's asleep but we.

D. York. Hark! Pray Brother count the Clock! (*Clock strikes.*
—But two! O tedious night: I've slept an Age.
Wou'd it were day, I am so melancholy.

Pr. Ed. Hark! What noise is that?
I thought I heard some one upon the stairs!
Hark! Again!

D. York. O dear, I hear 'em too! Who is it, Brother?

Pr. Ed. Bless me! a light too thro' the door! look there!

D. York. Who is it? Hark! it unlocks! O! I am so afraid!

Enter Dighton *and* Forrest *with dark lanthorns.*

Pr. Ed. Bless me! What frightful men are these?

Both. Who's there?

Pr. Ed. Who's there?

Digh. Hist, we've wak'd 'em! What shall we say?

For. Nothing. We come to do.

Dich. I'll see their Faces——

D. York. Won't they speak to us?
(Dighton *looks in with his Lanthorn.*)
O save me! Hide me! Save me, Brother!

Pr. Ed. O mercy Heaven! Who are you, Sirs,
That look so ghastly pale and terrible?

Digh. I am a Fool.—I cannot answer 'em.

For. You must die, my Lord, so must your Brother.

Pr. Ed. O stay, for pity sake! What is our Crime, Sir?
Why must we die?

Digh. The King, your Uncle, loves you not.

Pr. Ed. O Cruel man!
Tell him we'll live in Prison all our days,
And, when we give occasion of offense,
Then let us die: H'as yet no cause to kill us.

For. Pray.

Pr. Ed. We do, Sir, to you. O spare us Gentlemen!
I was some time your King, and might have shown
You mercy: For your dear Souls sake pity us.

For. We'll hear no more.

Both. Pr. O Mercy, Mercy!
For. Down, down with 'em. } *They smother them, and the Scene shuts on them.*

Then enter Tirrel, followed a moment later by Richard; and the rest of the act proceeds as in the later editions.[3]

[3] There are minor variations throughout. Thus, where the edition of 1721 has: "Scene *draws, and discovers Lady* Anne *in Mourning, Lord*

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I am still at a loss to fix the exact date when Cibber recast the act. Mr. Walter Powell of the Birmingham Public Libraries has assured me that their copy of the second edition, as listed by Jaggard,[4] a 12mo. printed in 1718, does not contain the scene given above, but falls into line with the subsequent editions of 1721, 1734, etc. And this reduces the interval a little. I have made a cursory examination of the unfortunately incomplete file of *The Daily Courant* at Yale for some advertisement which might reduce it still further, and have had the performances recorded by Mr. Nicoll [5] looked up in the Latreille MS. at the British Museum, but without success.

Why so effective a piece of gruesomeness should have been rescinded is a matter for conjecture. Cibber tells us, himself, that owing to the objections of the Master of the Revels the actors "were forc'd, for some few Years, to let the Play take its Fate with only four Acts divided into five," [6] the whole of the first act being omitted. Perhaps, when it was restored [7] some reduction was felt to be necessary elsewhere, and the scene of the princes' murder went by the board. Perhaps the audience rebelled—the *première* was admittedly a failure [8]—but Mr. Spectator's description of the vogue of the horrible, a few years later, makes this conjecture seem unlikely.[9] At any rate, we may be sure that Aristotelian injunctions against visible violence did not prompt

Stanley, Tressel, Guards *and* Bearers, *with King* Henry's *Body*" (II, 2, p. 89) that of 1700 has: "*Enter Bearers with King* Henry's *Body, the Lady* Ann *in Mourning, Lord* Stanley, Tressel, *and Guards, who all advance from the middle Isle* (sic) *of the Church*" (p. 12).

[4] *Shakespeare Bibliography*, p. 51.

[5] *History of Early Eighteenth Century Drama*, p. 307.

[6] *Apology*, ed. R. W. Lowe, I, 276.

[7] Penkethman's "Medley," October 12, 1702, included "The Death of King Henry VI," with Cibber as Richard (Genest, II, 255). The play was revived April 4, 1704, as "not acted these three years" (Mr. Nicoll overlooked this performance, which is chronicled in *The Daily Courant*, and by Genest, II, 300) but there is no hint of innovations. On March 27, 1710, the part of King Henry was acted by Wilks (Genest, II, 449).

[8] Cibber did not get five pounds from his third day ("To the Reader," prefixed to *Ximena*, 1719).

[9] No. XLIV.

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the change. For was not poor Henry brought on the stage only to be butchered there?[10]

ARTHUR COLBY SPRAGUE.

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"AMELIA, OR THE DISTRESSED WIFE"

In the monthly booklist of the *Gentleman's Magazine* for May, 1751, under the heading "Poetry and Entertainment," there appeared this item: "Amelia, or the distressed wife. 5s. sewed. T. Osborne, Dodsley, Dod, Baldwin, Willock." A copy of this book is now in the British Museum. As Fielding's *Amelia* was published only six months later,[1] a brief account of this earlier *Amelia* may be of some slight interest, and may serve to answer any conjectures about indebtedness.

The title-page of the British Museum copy reads: "Amelia, or, The Distress'd Wife: A History Founded on Real Circumstances. By a Private Gentlewoman. London: Printed for the Authoress, 1751." The book was thus characterized in the *Monthly Review* for June, 1751 (pp. 71-2):

> As this is a piece of secret personal history, to which we have no key, we shall take no further notice of it, except that it is printed by a subscription, which seems to have been merely a charitable one, for the benefit of the writer, a woman, who gives her own history under the name of *Amelia*.

It is apparent that the reviewer did not consider the book to be fiction at all, in spite of its being listed under "Poetry and Entertainment" in the *Gentleman's Magazine*.

The narrative opens with the story of Amelia's wooing by a Mr. Johnson. After a romantic courtship, they were married, and "Amelia's Study now is, how to make a good and engaging wife" (p. 18). But she soon discovered that her husband possessed a

[10] Richard's death-scene might also be adduced—but the whole play is gory.

[1] On December 18, 1751, according to W. L. Cross, *The History of Henry Fielding*, II, 304.

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secret vice, a passion for old books, which became so inordinate that he could find no money for her needs, although he could always purchase a rare first edition. She had to separate from her husband, and lived on an annuity which he granted, but which was often in arrears. After many reverses of fortune, she wrote this book, hoping that the publicity would make it unnecessary to seek legal aid in collecting what was due her. According to her own account, she remained loving, dutiful, and forgiving throughout, her sweet docility at times enraging her own people.

It will be readily apparent that Fielding could find very little to his purpose in "Amelia, or the distressed wife." True, his Amelia frequently appears in moods more amiable than gay, and Booth's secret faults threaten to wreck the marriage more than once, but here resemblance ceases. The similarity of the names of the heroines can hardly be intentional, since the two books are not related as *Pamela* and *Joseph Andrews* are.

The book is badly written, and would be unintelligible at times but for a list of "Names mentioned in this Work," which serves as a *dramatis personae*. The writer admits in the preface a "Want of Ability," but continued because reassuring friends said that "*Truth* . . . wanted not Ornament; and *Nature* and *Simplicity* were all that were required." Readers are asked to suspend judgment until finishing "the whole Artless Story; and then, I flatter myself, that the Calamities and Injuries of *Amelia* will have raised in their Bosoms so much generous Pity, as will make them pass over all Imperfections."

The question occurs, are books like this fiction or biography? Its first reviewer called it "a piece of secret personal history." An investigation might show that such "secret histories" frequently handled fact with the same freedom that the writers of the criminal biographies used.

ROGER P. MCCUTCHEON.

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A NOTE ON THE VERSIFICATION OF *CHILDE HAROLD*

A count of the run-on lines and stanzas of *Childe Harold* gives the following table:[1]

	Percentage of times each line is run on:								Average no. of run-on lines per stanza	Average no. of run-on stanzas
	Line 1	Line 2	Line 3	Line 4	Line 5	Line 6	Line 7	Line 8		
[2]Canto I....	24	5	13	7	29	16	21	13	1 1/5	1 in 41
[3]Canto II...	32	7	13	9	29	13	18	12	1 1/4	1 in 38
Canto III...	33	41	41	30	42	48	44	33	3 1/9	1 in 39
Canto IV...	41	43	44	41	54	48	47	45	3 2/3	1 in 5

From this simple chart several rather interesting conclusions may be drawn.

1. The metrical construction in the first two cantos is very rigid, the stanzas are self-contained, there is normally a sharp break after the fourth line, and, most important, *Byron is really writing in couplets.* The thought is usually expressed in two lines, and the even lines are, therefore, comparatively end-stopped.

2. The second canto shows a slightly greater metrical freedom than the first.

3. The third canto has lost the rigidity of the first two, *and the bondage to the couplet is broken.*

4. The fourth canto shows a further advance in run-on lines within each stanza, and besides, *an abrupt and complete emancipation from the closed stanza.* This emancipation may be due to

[1] The text used is that in E. H. Coleridge's edition of *Byron's Poetry*, Vol. II, 1899. The test of run-on lines and stanzas is the simple one of punctuation: run-on lines are those which have no mark of punctuation at the end, run-on stanzas, those which are not ended with an exclamation point, a question mark, or a period.

[2] In the first canto I have not counted those stanzas which were added in 1812 or 1814, since they represent an intermediate stage of development. They are the stanzas To Ianthe, and stanzas 1, 8, 9, 43, 85, 86, 88-92.

[3] As in the first canto the additions of 1812 and 1814 are omitted, viz: stanzas (numbered as they are in E. H. Coleridge's edition) 8, 9, 15, 27, 53, 64, 77-83, 88-90, 93-98.

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Byron's growing familiarity with Pulci's and Ariosto's ottava rima, but, whatever its inspiration, it indicates an amazing facility and technique in versification.

HAROLD STEIN.

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THOMAS MIDDLETON'S *THE VIPER'S BROOD*

The subjoined, hitherto unpublished, suit was brought in Trinity Term, 1609, by Robert Keysar against Thomas Middleton. The plaintiff alleges that the defendant was indebted to him for £16; that on May 6, 1606, he entered into an obligation to pay £8–10–0 before June 15 following; but that he failed to keep the conditions of his bond. The defendant Middleton, however, declared that the conditions had been fulfilled, in that on May 7, the next day after the signing of the obligation, he had delivered to Keysar, in full satisfaction of the bond, a certain tragedy called "The Viper and Her Brood," which had been accepted as payment by the plaintiff. These few facts are all that the legal summary contains, and I have no information as to the further success of this suit.

Slight as these facts are, they are not without interest. To be able to add another title to Middleton's plays, even though the play itself is lost, is something, just as it is something to know that as early as 1606 he had written a tragedy. Then too, the suit tells us a little more about the movements of that very interesting man Robert Keysar.

Keysar, a goldsmith and probably well to do, came into the management of the Revels children at Blackfriars in 1605 or early in 1606. Mr. J. Q. Adams thinks it was in 1605, after the troubles over *Eastward Ho* and the consequent flight of John Marston.[1] We know that Marston sold his share to Keysar, but not the precise date. Mr. Chambers holds for the early months of 1606, when the troubles over the *Isle of Gulls* had resulted in a reorganization of the company,[2] and this seems to me rather more likely, inasmuch as we hear nothing of Keysar's connection with the Revels

[1] *Shakespearean Playhouses*, 1917, p. 218.
[2] *The Elizabethan Stage*, 1923, II, p. 52.

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company before 1606. Up to this time Middleton had devoted himself to the children of Paul's, for whom he had written *Blurt, Master Constable, The Phoenix, A Trick to Catch the Old One, A Mad World, my Masters, Michaelmas Term, The Puritan* (?), and perhaps the *Family of Love*. The earliest of these plays date 1601-2 and the latest 1606. He then wrote at least one of his extant plays for the Revels children (the old Chapel Royal company), *Your Five Gallants* (1607), and at least one of the Paul's plays (*A Trick to Catch*) passed over into the Revels repertory. Now 1606 seems to be the year in which the Paul's boys ceased playing; their last recorded performance was on July 30, when they gave *The Chances* before the King of Denmark, and they are not heard of as an active body after that. One might, therefore, suppose that on their cessation Middleton carried his wares to the rival company. But the Paul's company was still alive in July, whereas the present suit tells us that Middleton was delivering plays to Keysar in May. There is every reason to think that Middleton was dealing with Keysar not as a money broker but as a theatrical manager, and that the debt he incurred was in earnest of a play. It looks as though the star playwright of Paul's were deserting his old friends and taking on with new.

Undoubtedly something happened to Paul's before the close of 1606, else they would not have shut down in the face of a signal honor at court. Were they insidiously undermined by the new manager of the Revels boys. Or was there a gentlemanly agreement that Pierce was to stop playing, for a consideration? We know that in 1608 he was being paid £20 a year to lie still, and that the initiator of his purchase was Keysar. The key of the mystery seems to be in Keysar's hands; we are given the merest glimpse of it in the present suit. For my part, I am quite willing to believe that he was at the bottom of the closing of Paul's. At any rate, he is an intriguing figure, about whom we ought to know more.

One other fact about Keysar is puzzling. On February 20, 1606, he and Edward Kirkham were paid for supplying the Westminster boys with apparel for a play, date unknown but recent. Whence came this apparel? From Blackfriars, presumably, supposing that Keysar was by this time a member of the governing board. But we have reason to think that Kirkham was no longer connected with that company, having gone over to Paul's in 1605 and taken

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some of the Revels plays with him. What is the meaning of this association?

From these questions, which I raise in the hope that someone can answer them, I pass to the text of the Keysar-Middleton suit.

Coram Rege Rolls, Trinity Pt. II, A° 7 Jas. I. Memb. 1056b.

Memorandum quod alias scilicet Termino Pasche vltimo preterito coram domino Rege apud Westmonasterium venit Robertus keysar per Edwardum Pye Attornatum suum Et protulit hic in Curia dicti domini Regis tunc ibidem quandam billam suum versus Thomam Middleton de Newington Butts in Comite Surrey generosum in Custodia Marrescalli &c de placito debiti Et sunt plegii de prosequendo scilicet Johannes Doo & Ricardus Roo Que quidem billa sequitur in hec verba // london// Robertus keysar queritur de Thome Middleton de Newington Buttes in Comite Surrey generoso in Custodia Marrescalli Marescalsie domini Regis coram ipso Rege existente de placito quod reddet ei sexdecim libras legalis monete Anglie quas ei debet & iniuste detinet pro eo videlicet quod cum predictus Thomas sexto die Maij Anno regni domini Jacobi nunc Regis Anglie quarto apud london videlicet in parochia beate Marie de Arcubus in warda de Cheap london per quoddam scriptum suum Obligatorium Sigillo ipsius Thome sigillatum Curieque dicti domini Regis nunc hic ostensum Cuiusque datum est eisdem die & Anno Cognoscit se teneri & firmiter Obligari prefato Roberto in predictis sexdecim libris Soluendis eidem Roberto cum inde requisitus esset predictus tamen Thomas licet sepius requisitus &c predictas sexdecim libras prefato Roberto nondum soluit sed illas ei hucusque soluere omnino Contradixit & adhuc Contradicit ad dampnum ipsius Roberti quinque librarum Et inde producit sectam &c.

Et modo ad hunc diem scilicet diem veneris proximum post Crastinum sancte Trinitatis isto eodem Termino vsque quem diem predictus Thomas Middleton habuit licenciam ad billam predictam interloquendum & tunc ad respondendum &c Coram domino Rege apud Westmonasterium venerunt tam predictus Robertus keysar per Attornatum suum predictum quam predictus Thomas Middleton per Michaelem Moseley Attornatum suum. Et idem Thomas defendit vim & iniuriam quando &c Et petit auditum scripti Obligatorij predicti Et ei legitur &c petit eciam auditum Condicionis eiusdem scripti. Et ei legitur in hec verba // The Condicion of this Obligacion is such That yf the within bounden Thomas Middleton his executors or Assignes do well and trulie paye or cause to be paid vnto the within named Robert keysar his executors or Assignes Att or in the nowe Shopp of the said Robert in Cheapeside in london The some of Eight powndes & tenn shillinges of lawfull money of England On the ffifteenth daye of June next ensuing the date hereof That then this Obligacion to be void Or ells yt to stand in full force & vertue. Quibus lectis & auditis idem Thomas Middleton dicit quod predictus Robertus keysar accionem suam predictam inde versus eum habere

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seu mauntenere non debet quia dicit quod post confessionem scripti Obligatorij predicti Et ante predictum decimum quintum diem Junij in Condicione predicta mencionatum scilicet septimo die Maij Anno regni dicti domini Regis nunc quarto supradicto predictus Thomas Middleton apud domum mancionalem cuiusdem Willelmi Bannyster scituatam & existentem in Warwicke Courte in parochia Ecclesie Christi in warda de ffarringdon infra london deliberauit prefato Roberto keysar quendam librum lusorium tragicum vocatum the vyper & her broode in plenam satisfaccionem contentacionem & exoneracionem predictarum Octo librarum & decem solidorum in Condicione predicta superius specificatarum quem quidem librum predictus Robertus keysar adtunc & ibidem de eodem Thoma Middleton recepit & acceptavit Et hoc paratus est verificare vnde petit indicium si predictus Robertus keysar accionem suam predictam versus eum habere seu mauntenere debeat &c.

Et predictus Robertus keysar dicit quod ipse per aliqua per predictum Thomam Middleton superius placitando allegata ab accione sua predicta versus ipsum Thomam Middleton habenda percludi non debet quia dicit quod idem Thomas Middleton non deliberauit prefato Roberto keysar predictum librum lusorium tragicum in plenam satisfaccionem & exoneracionem predictarum Octo librarum & decem solidorum in Condicione predicta superius specificatarum modo & forma prout predictus Thomas Middleton superius placitando allegauit Et hoc petit quod inquiratur per patriam Et predictus Thomas Middleton similiter &c Ideo venire inde Juratur coram domino Rege apud Westmonasterium die veneris proximo post Octabas sancti hillarij Et qui nec &c ad recognoscendum &c qui tam &c Idem dies datus est partibus predictis ibidem &c.

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GERMAN *TRESPE*

As far as I am aware no satisfactory etymology of this word has ever been given. To be sure, Kluge in his *Wörterbuch* connects it with Dutch *drep,* a dialectic form, and Middle English *drawk* and these in turn with *Treff* found in several modern German dialects. Apart from semantic considerations, it is at once apparent that this derivation will not hold water. The *s* is altogether unaccounted for. Under these circumstances it is perhaps permissible to suggest another source.

As is well known, many plants (flowers, weeds and vegetables) are loan words from Latin. Cf. English *vetch* < *vicia;* Germ. *Lolch* < *lolium, Raps* < *rapicium, Kerbel* < *caerefolium,* etc. These loan words often undergo all sorts of mutilation by aphesis, apo-

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cope, syncope, metathesis and otherwise. *Cf.* Latin *cucurbita* > Germ. *Kürbis, narcissus* > *Zisse* (Ostfriesland), *labrusca* > *Proza, serpyllum* > *Huhner-serb, portulaca* > *Burtzel,* etc. In a similar way the Greek (*via* Latin of course) word *tetrasperma* has been treated: *te* | *traspe* | *rma.* The original *a* of *tetra* is perhaps still found in such dialect forms as *draspe, trasp, traspen.* Forms like *trefs, trefzen* are also met with, but in these we have simply a metathesis of the consonants (cf. *kinster* for *knister* < *genista*). It is very likely that the mutation of *p* to *f* as well as of *t* to *d* was simultaneous with the reception of the word into those dialects that had already shifted original *p* to *f* or in which *d* was the only dental, a process similar in many respects to the Low German back-shift in such words as *Krettelkrut* for *Krässelkraut* < *crassula, Zittelröschen* for *Zissel* < (*Nar*)*cissus* + *el* (cf. *Toffel* from [*Chris*]*toph* + *el*) etc.

The botanical names for *Trespe* are *bromus secalinus, lolium temulentum* (Taumellolch) and *zizania.* It was thought that the seeds of this weed produced a sort of intoxication or narcosis; hence the name *lolium temulentum.* It is interesting to note in this connection that the word *durth* found in the Old Saxon *Heliand* and still current in modern German dialects had probably the same meaning, if Jacob Grimm has rightly connected it with Greek θύαρος = *lolium* (Schwindelhafer). The Greek ἄιρα "a weed in wheat, darnel" was also a narcotic plant.

In conclusion I wish to call attention to the fact that English *tare*(*s*) first known about 1330 is glossed with *tetrasperma* (cf. *New Engl. Dictionary,* IX, 92). Kluge connects it with Lithuanian *dirva,* "wheatfield." Might it not also be derived from *tetra*(*sperma*)?

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[1] Cf. Pritzel u. Jessen, *Die deutschen Volksnamen der Pflanzen,* p. 243.
[2] *Ibid.,* p. 443.
[3] *Ibid.,* p. 401.
[4] *Ibid.,* p. 303.
[5] *Ibid.,* p. 68 and Nemnich, *Allgemeines Polyglotten-Lexicon der Naturgeschichte,* II, 436.
[6] Pritzel u. Jessen, p. 219.
[7] *Ibid.,* p. 442 and Kluge, *Wörterbuch, s. v. Ginster.*
[8] *Ibid.,* p. 371.

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REVIEWS.

Orígenes del Español. Estado lingüístico de la península ibérica hasta el siglo XI (*Revista de Filología,* Anejo I). Por R. Menéndez Pidal. *Madrid:* Casa Editorial Hernando, 1926, 8vo., xii + 580 pp.

For the preliterary period of the Spanish language we have a dearth of reliable source-material. The *Poema del Cid* and the *Auto de los Reyes Magos* have been not only the basis of our studies of twelfth-century Spanish, but also the basis for reconstructing the language of the previous centuries. The spanning of the period between the seventh and twelfth centuries has been largely theoretical. Our best results in the way of phonetic laws have left many gaps and many uncertainties in regard to chronology and geographical distribution of the elements of the language during this preliterary period.

Those Latin documents of the twelfth century that deal with the daily life of the people consist largely of cartularies, city charters, and royal grants, written in the scholastic Latin of the period. These documents throw little light on the actual speech of the contracting parties, except in those cases where the scribe or notary vacillates between the use of the specific Romance and the specific Latin form of a word, as in *otro* versus *alterum.* In Latin notarial documents of the end of the eleventh century there is even less colloquial material, and interesting Romance variants are practically non-existent. This condition is explained by Menéndez Pidal as due to the influence of the Order of Cluny, which had control of the Spanish Church at that time, and was instrumental in insisting on a pure scholastic Latin.

If we look now at the notarial and monastic-Latin documents of the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries (to 1078) published and studied in the book under review, we find a totally different state of affairs. This Latin was largely an outgrowth of the Vulgar Latin of the earlier centuries, and contains not only archaisms from the earlier Latin, but also new words and forms of the vulgar, or Romance, speech. Here the scribe did not vacillate merely between Latin *alterum* and Romance *otro,* but also between Romance *autro, outro,* and *otro.* Similarly, we find him using for *Dominicum* the Romance variants *Dominigo, Domingo, Domengo.* We know through him that the preterit *levantot, levantod,* existed at one time side by side with *levantait, levantaut, levantaot,* that *trídico* and *trídigo* were current variants, for modern 'trigo.' In other words, this preliterary Spanish of the ninth, tenth and

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eleventh centuries shows a vacillation in usage that is foreign to the literary language, and contains documented forms of speech in place of the forms reconstructed by the modern philologists.

A second group of material found in these earliest Latin documents is that due to false erudition or "ultracorrección" on the part of the notary; thus, *deforamar* for *deformar, conticuos* for *contiguos, púplica* for *pública, fuerma* for *forma,* and even *Kórtoba* for *Córdoba.* Not only in phonology and morphology do the preliterary documents contain Romance forms that disappeared before the literary period, but the same is true of lexicography, and we find the reinforced demonstrative *eleiso* < *ille* **picsu;* the indefinite pronouns *qualbis* < qualevis, *quiscatique* 'cadaquisque,' *niquenti* 'ninguno'; the preposition *yestra* < extra; the adverbs *algondre* < aliundre, *alquieras* < alid quaeras (p. 569).

From the preceding discussion it is hoped that the reader may have some idea of the purpose of the *Orígenes del Español;* namely, a history of the Spanish language of the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, based on material actually found in the contemporary documents. In view of the fact that certain phases of that language show contemporary archaisms and false erudition, we gain a glimpse, at least, into a still earlier period that embraces the seventh and eighth centuries. Indeed, in presenting and studying this vast new field, Menéndez Pidal has made a monumental contribution of facts and conclusions, and has opened up stages of language-evolution that were entirely unknown to us.

This brings us then to the method of the book. The material is divided into four parts: *Textos, Gramática, Regiones y Épocas,* and *Conclusiones.* The first part, *Textos,* contains the texts of the tenth-century *Glosas Emelienses* and *Glosas Silenses.* Then follow four documents from Léon, one each from Monzón, Liébana, and Carrión, and two from Aragón; these documents range in date from 980 to 1078. It is needless to add that all are edited with the most scrupulous care and exactitude. The linguistic sources are not confined, however, to the texts here published, since in the subsequent portions of his book the author has drawn vast stores from printed texts of medieval documents, from collections of monastic manuscripts, and from the archives of Spain, especially the Archivo Histórico Nacional. In the matter of critical source-material special mention should be made of that pertaining to the Arabic and Mozarabic languages.

Part II treats *Gramática* under the subheads of orthography, phonology, morphology, syntax, and lexicography. To analyze this section of nearly 400 pages is, of course, impossible. In spite of the mass of material recorded and studied by the author, the presentation is clear and logical; there are numerous linguistic maps, and in many chapters a paragraph of summary is included.

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The basic fact in the whole question of orthography is the insufficiency of the Latin alphabet for transcribing those sounds that were foreign to Classic Latin. Consequently, the scribe or notary had no symbols at hand for writing such consonants as *ñ, ľ, ch, z, s, š, ž,* nor such diphthongs as *ou, ue, ie.* The present reviewer has called attention to this in his review of Menéndez Pidal's *Documentos Lingüísticos.*[1] In illustration from the texts before us, for the single consonant *y* we find *g, ig* and *gi* (*magore, arigenzos, Frogilani*); for *ñ* we find *ni, in, inn, nni, ng, gn, nn;* for *ľ* we find *li, il, ill, lg, gl, ll, l.* But, as Menéndez Pidal remarks, this orthography is not so irregular as at first sight it seems, and contains in itself all the elements that produced the admirable phonetic orthography of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. His conclusions on this point seem beyond challenge (p. 77):

> La ortografía, pues, en que se publicaron las obras de la gran literatura de los tiempos de San Fernando y de Alfonso el Sabio, no fué invención de los que escribieron esos que figuran entre los códices más antiguos conservados de la literatura castellana, sino que es fruto de large práctica, de lenta selección, ejercitada en los siglos que precedieron al XII; la ortografía alfonsí procede por tradición interrumpida de la grafía usual en los siglos X y XI.

As an illustration of the treatment of phonology the material on Latin *ai* > *e* is typical. It occupies 25 pages, and may be divided into groups represented by the following words: 1) *vaiga,* 'vega'; 2) caseum > *kaiso,* 'queso'; 3) carraria > *caraira,* 'carrera'; 4) ferraginem > *ferraine,* 'herrén'; 5) vigila > *veila,* 'vela'; 6) pactare > *pait'ar,* 'pechar,' lectum > *leit'o,* 'lecho.' The examples of *ai* came into the language a different times and in diverse districts; they became *ei* under similarly varying conditions and eventually became *e,* though at different periods. In other words, certain districts were more conservative than others; Galicia-Portugal never developed beyond the *ei*-stage, while Castilla, Aragón, and Léon show varying stages of conservatism. The last-mentioned district, at a time when *ei* had become *e,* shows a preference for the archaism *ai* rather than for *ei.*

For *o* we find the main stages *uo, ue, ua,* the last-mentioned being especially characteristic of Léon and Aragón. Menéndez Pidal's evidence that in the *uo*-stage the stress fell on the last vowel (*uó*) seems to be conclusive. But he goes one step further in regard to the scribal *ue* of the *Poema del Cid,* and is inclined to believe that in rhyme and assonance with *o* it represented simple *o* instead of the diphthong *uo.* This belief is based on the abundant use of *o* in notarial documents as late as the middle of the thirteenth century.

[1] *Cf. Mod. Lang. Notes,* XXXVIII (1923), 226-227.

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From the standpoint of lexicography, dialect history is beautifully illustrated by the treatment of the word-groups *prunum-nixum-cereolum, parire-fetare, cottum-collis-podium-altarium-cirrum,* and by the various names for 'mustela' (pp. 410-433). The last two groups are further illustrated by maps in color. Somewhat similar is the chronological and geographical history of *medietatem,* through the stages that finally resulted in *meatad, meetad, meitad, mitad, metad* (pp. 272-278). As a further illustration the etymology of *bravo* is definitely settled as *pravus,* 'fiero, salvage, inculto,' as applied to both land and animals, since the voiced initial in *bravo, bravum,* is found as early as 1030, and side by side with *pravus.* In somewhat lighter vein is the fact that while the double title *domnus domnus* is practically unknown for men, the feminine *domna domna* (domna donna Sancia) seems to be "un uso propio principalmente para halagar la vanidad feminina" (p. 335).

Throughout Part II, *Gramática,* the material under each phenomenon is classified primarily on geographical lines, accompanied by numerous linguistic maps, with the chronology following as a sub-classification. In Part III, *Regiones y Épocas,* this material is readjusted and amplified to form a consecutive narrative history. The four main geographical divisions are Mozarabic Spain, Asturias and Léon, Navarra and Aragón, Castilla. The treatment of the Mozarabs is especially illuminating. Throughout their existence they retained their Spanish or Spanish-Latin speech, although with distinctly local or dialect divisions as evidenced by the Arabic glosses. The various sub-dialects are localized and characterized from a linguistic point of view and from their influence on the purely Christian dialects. The mere citation of certain chapter headings will give a fair idea of the treatment of the *Épocas:* "Época visigoda 414-711," "Epoca asturiano-mozárabe 711-920," "Hegemonía leonesa desde 920 hasta 1067," "Lucha por la hegemonía castellana 1067-1140."

The *Conclusiones,* which form Part IV, present in concrete narrative form the author's ideas and principles of historical grammar as revealed in the more detailed portions of the book. Indeed, this masterly final chapter may be regarded as the introductory chapter, and can be read with profit before entering upon the earlier chapters which furnish the more detailed items of fact and deduction.

Within the plan of the book as a whole there are many special studies that stand out for one reason or another. In selecting for mention a few from the large number, the reviewer is influenced by his own personal interests. Possibly the most striking hypothesis presented by Menéndez Pidal is that of an Osco-Umbrian dialect center in preliterary Spain. The triple phonetic phenomena

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nb > *n*, *mb* > *m*, and the voicing of an occlusive mute when in contact with a voiced fricative (*algalde* for *alcalde*, *rangura* for *rancura*, *aldo* for *alto*) are a striking characteristic of the Osco-Umbrian dialect of Italy; the same triple phenomena are likewise found restricted to the region of Osca in Spain. Furthermore, Sertorius, born in the Oscan district of Italy, selected the Spanish city of Osca as the location of the schools for educating and Romanizing Spanish youths. Consequently, Menéndez Pidal posits the Italian etymon for Spanish *Osca*, and concludes that the above-mentioned group of linguistic traits show the transplanting and localizing of a specific Latin dialect of South Italy. The broader application of this logical conclusion touches the question of whether popular Latin showed dialect variations or whether the variations were simply chronological.

A second chapter that has a more than national import is the treatment of Latin *f*. Here the author presents the most extensive and best-arranged study that has appeared on the subject (pp. 219-240). He finds a probable example of *f* > *h* as early as 1057 (*hayuela* based on *fabea*), and an assured example in 1092 (*Ormaza* < *formacea*). From this date isolated examples are numerous in place- and person-names, and there is even one example of a common noun, *honsata* < *fonsatum*, in the year 1132. With the exception of the last, all examples are from the district of Castilla or Rioja, and the later examples of the thirteenth century tend to confirm this restricted geographical area. So it is evident that the passage of *f* to *h* is not a phenomenon that should be identified as a fourteenth- and fifteenth-century change, since we have evidence of it in preliterary Spanish. Menéndez Pidal believes that the early *f* was a labio-dental, not a bilabial, and that the change of *f* to *h* represents an "equivalencia acústica" and a "substitución repentina." The present reviewer hopes to offer in the near future additional material touching the above question.

A final item of more general interest is the hypothesis that in Léon we find side by side with the scholastic Latin and the colloquial speech,

> Un tercer tipo, un latín vulgar, ese latín popular que no se solía escribir ya en otras partes y que en el reino asturoleones fué mucho más usado, a juzgar por sus frecuentes manifestaciones, entre los notarios del reino durante los siglos X y XI (p. 478).

The convincing evidence of this is seen in the voicing of the mutes in the Latin of León, of which examples are found as early as 870 (*plaguit*, *artígulo*) and are abundant throughout the tenth and eleventh centuries. A great many of these Latin words did not pass into Spanish. This is in contrast to Castilla and Aragón, where the voicing of the mutes is found only in those words that have persisted in Spanish, such as *iglesia*, *agua*, etc. Further-

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more, this Leonese Latin "a pesar de ser vulgar" retained various features of literary Latin morphology, especially the forms of the passive voice and the declension of nouns, which had disappeared from the normal Vulgar Latin.

In the foregoing study I have attempted to give some faint idea of the importance of a monumental work which contributes an entirely new chapter to the history of the Spanish language. Anything approaching an adequate idea of the book cannot be presented within the limits of a review, since each paragraph is worthy of individual treatment.

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Gatien de Courtilz, sieur du Verger, étude sur un précurseur du roman réaliste en France. By B. M. Woodbridge. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press and Paris, Presses universitaires, 1925, in-8°. 214 pp. (The Johns Hopkins Studies in Romance Literatures and Languages, vol. VI.)

Voici, si je ne me trompe, le livre de début de M. Woodbridge dans l'histoire littéraire de la France. C'est un essai fort honorable, que MM. C. H. Grandgent et G. Lanson, à qui l'auteur l'a dédié, et M. Louis André, qui a pris la peine de le réviser, n'ont pas à regretter d'avoir encouragé. Frappé de ce qu'un auteur aussi fécond et par beaucoup de côtés aussi curieux, tant pour la littérature que pour l'histoire, n'avait pas encore sa monographie, M. W. s'est proposé de combler, en partie tout au moins, cette lacune. Il fallait pour cela d'abord composer une biographie aussi complète que possible, tâche difficile, car Courtilz, qui ne fut l'homme ni d'un seul livre ni d'un seul métier, n'écrivit guère qu'en cachette ses productions, qu'il faisait imprimer la plupart du temps à l'étranger, ensuite établir une liste complète de ses ouvrages, entreprise plus malaisée encore, car Courtilz, et pour cause, n'en a signé aucun. Il fallait enfin, non seulement lire ces ouvrages, si nombreux qu'ils forment une véritable bibliothèque, mais étudier avec soin tout au moins les principaux pour montrer les rapports qui les unissent les uns avec les autres, caractériser leur manière et les situer dans la littérature du temps.

De la première partie de sa tâche M. W. s'est acquitté avec succès. Sur la famille de C., sur sa vie, mal connue et pleine encore de mystère, il nous a donné à peu près tout ce qu'il est possible de savoir. Ce n'est pas sa faute si les archives de la guerre gardent le silence sur le côté militaire de la vie de son auteur. Au moins a-t-il fouillé avec soin les données du Cabinet

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des titres de la Bibliothèque Nationale, ceux des Archives Nationales et des Archives de la Bastille.[1] Mais pourquoi n' a-t-il pas conservé à son auteur le nom de Courtilz de Sandras sous lequel il est généralement connu? Sandras était, à vrai dire, le nom de la mère de l'écrivain. Mais il était courant à cette époque d'ajouter le nom de la mère à celui du père. N'est-ce pas ainsi que Charles de Batz-Castelmore a pris le surnom d'Artagnan qui appartenait à sa famille maternelle et sous lequel il est passé à la postérité?

La deuxième partie du travail de M. W. nous paraît moins satisfaisante. Les recherches de l'auteur sur les ouvrages de C. auraient dû logiquement aboutir à l'établissement d'une liste critique à laquelle ou pût désormais se référer en toute confiance. C'était une besogne sinon facile, du moins nécessaire et, dans une certaine mesure, possible. D'une part en effet C. a une manière, un genre d'esprit, un style enfin bien à lui; d'un autre côté il fait souvent des allusions à tel ou tel de ses précédents ouvrages. Il y a enfin les temoignages des contemporains. M. W. a bien donné dans un appendice une liste des œuvres de C., mais il avoue lui-même qu'il a "mieux aimé ne pas trancher la question d'authenticité." C'est dire qu'il a reculé devant la deuxième partie, la plus importante peut-être, de la tâche qui s'offrait à lui et que, cette liste critique qu'on attendait des ouvrages de C., un autre que lui devra s'efforcer de l'établir un jour.

Venons à la troisième partie, qui est l'étude, en quelque sorte par le dedans, des œuvres du fécond publiciste. M. W. ne l'a pas esquivée, mais on pourrait souhaiter qu'il l'eût traitée différemment. Nous ne lui reprocherons pas de n'avoir pas cherché à faire un départ rigoureux entre les parties purement romanesques et les parties vraiment historiques. C'est là, de sa part, une lacune volontaire et nous reconnaissons sans peine que le sujet était particulièrement difficile pour un étranger. Mais pour caractériser le genre de C., pour marquer à la fois ce qu'il doit à ses devanciers et ce qu'il apporte de personnel et de nouveau dans notre littérature, peut-être aurait-il mieux valu employer une méthode un peu moins scolaire que celle qui consiste à donner successivement l'analyse de certains ouvrages jugés les plus importants. Rien de clair ne se dégage de la lecture un peu fastidieuse de ces notes de travail qui eussent gagné à être classées et développées dans une série de chapitres consacrés aux procédés de composition et de style de C. étudiés en eux-mêmes et par comparaison avec ses devanciers et ses successeurs dans le roman historique ou réaliste.

[1] Je ne sais pourtant s'il s'est préoccupé de savoir si des papiers sur C. ou sa famille ne se seraient pas conservés par hasard au château du Verger, qui existe encore non loin de Montargis et qui, par parenthèse, appartint sous l'Empire au peintre Girodet. Peut-être y aurait-il là une petite recherche à faire.

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Quoi qu'il en soit, l'éffort de M. W. est méritoire et fait bien augurer de ses travaux futurs. Voici, pour finir, quelques remarques de détail. A propos des *Mémoires de M. de Bordeaux*, M. W. sait-il qu'un manuscrit en deux volumes, in-4°, des *Mémoires de Pierre de Bordeaux, sieur de Sablonière, sous Louis XIII* se trouvait en 1762 chez un collectionneur connu, Bombarde de Beaulieu?[2] P. 175: "Deux frères, nommés Charles, ce serait étrange," écrit M. W. Il se peut qu'il ait raison dans le cas particulier, mais la présence dans une même famille française de deux et même de trois frères portant le même prénom est un fait bien connu des généalogistes. P. 131, rappelant un passage des *Mémoires de M. d'Artagnan*, où il est dit que M. de Besmaux, le gouverneur de la Bastille, avait épousé "une fille de Plurinel," M. W. note que C. a commis là "une petite erreur." L'écrivain s'est en effet trompé, mais son lapsus montre combien il était au fond bien informé, car Marguerite de Peyrolz, femme de Besmaux, était sinon la fille, du moins la petite-fille d'Antoine de Plurinel de la Baume, l'auteur du *Manège Royal*. P. 194-195, à propos de la *Guerre d'Espagne, de Bavière et de Flandre*, ou *Mémoires du marquis D^xxx*, qu'il classe à l'appendice IX parmi les ouvrages généralement attribués à C., M. W. aurait pu citer l'opinion d'un homme bien informé, M. de Boislisle: "Il ne faut pas connaître les œuvres innombrables de Sandras pour mettre à son compte des volumes qui ne rappellent en rien ni son faire, ni sa connaissance surprenante des faits et des gens de son temps."[3]

CH. SAMARAN.

Paris.

Dramatic Theory in Spain. Extracts from Literature before and during the Golden Age. Edited by H. J. CHAYTOR. Cambridge University Press, 1925. xvi + 63 pp.

"The purpose of this book is to bring within the reach of students of Spanish literature a number of pieces which are, for the most part, to be found only in rare or expensive editions not readily accessible to the average reader." There is every need for such a book. It will acquaint the average reader—and as such we may also consider the often hurried college-student—with something of the critical background of the Spanish *comedia*. Some of the texts provided are not really hard to reach, but even a reprint in the *Bulletin Hispanique* is not always easily accessible

[2] *Catalogue des MSS. de l'Arsenal*, VIII, 286.
[3] "Les aventures du marquis de Langalerie," *Revue historique*, LXVI (1898), 7.

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to a student, or to one of many students, and of some texts a reprint will be welcomed even by the teacher and the professional student of Spanish literature. The latter will find the book convenient for reference; it draws attention to a field of study perhaps unduly neglected and may lead to further investigation. The editor should therefore be congratulated on his initiative and the hope may be expressed that his little volume will be widely used, in America as well as in England.

However, a few remarks, some from the point of view of the 'average reader,' some suggested by the preferences of the 'specialist,' may neither be ungracious nor unwelcome. If the average reader has a fault to find, the most serious one is that the selection is rather one-sided. Disregarding Figueroa, one might ask whether a title similar to Morel-Fatio's *Les défenseurs de la Comedia* would not have been more truly descriptive. None of the standard-bearers of the neo-classical tradition, Alonso López, Cascales, González de Salas (the latter very inaccessible, indeed) are included, and I, for one, cannot feel satisfied with their summary dismissal on the ground that "there is not much to be got from them except Italian criticism more bluntly stated." Were it not for this one-sidedness, some criticism might have been included of earlier date than Torres Naharro, some paragraphs, for instance, from Juan de Mena or the Marquis of Santillana.

The difficulty, in an anthology of this kind, lies more in knowing what to omit in the way of commentary, than what to print. I do not, therefore object to a rather sketchy introduction, or notes that sometimes may appear too scanty to some readers. But a few of the statements made might be expressed somewhat more carefully. Giving a few details about the plays of Torres Naharro, evidently called for, since Torres Naharro used them to illustrate his critical views, the editor states that in the *Tinellaria* "Barrabás rises from the post of scullion to that of chief administrator." This, I venture, is a very minor point, and the rise does not take place, as one might think, in the play. Further, it would probably not be easy for most readers to recognize the *Soldadesca* from this description: "a sketch of the Spanish swashbuckler, the *matamoros* of Italian comedy" (p. 2).[1]

[1] I am inclined to believe that both statements are due to a careless reading of Professor Crawford's chapter on Torres Naharro (*Spanish drama before Lope de Vega*, Philadelphia, 1922). There it is said that "We do not know the prototype of Barrabás, who rose in three years from the post of scullion to that of administrator of an important household." (p. 94) and also that "Many Italian plays contain the figure of the Spanish braggart soldier which, after making due allowance for national prejudice, serve to complement this picture given us by Naharro" (p. 95). But neither Guzmán, nor any other character, may fairly be called a swashbuckler.

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Is it not also somewhat misleading to say that Torres Naharro "abides" by Dante's definition of tragedy and comedy in the letter to Can Grande, when this letter was not published until 1700? Finally it is a mistake to speak of Torres Naharro's "escaping from captivity" in Algiers, when it is definitely known that he was ransomed, "pecuniaria cautione."

The introductory notice to the reprint of Lope's *Arte Nuevo* contains some interesting hints on its influence in France. Morel-Fatio's note indicating that Lope was educated by the Jesuits should be modified since Lope's own statement on his schooling at the *Colegio de los Teatinos* contradicts that of Montalván in the *Fama pósthuma*. As to the text itself, I am inclined to disagree with the complaint repeated by the editor after Morel-Fatio and Caramuel concerning line 137 *ff*. While intricate enough, the passage may be rendered closely as follows:

> You may believe that it has been necessary to recall some of these things to your memory, so that you may see that you are asking me to write an *art* [my italics] of making plays in Spain, where everything that is written defies art, and [so that you may see] that [for me] to say how plays are made nowadays, in defiance of the ancient and logically grounded [art], is to take counsel from my practice, [but is] not the art, because art tells the truth, which the ignorant crowd opposes. If you want art *etc.*

The phrasing of the reference to Boyl's *El marido asegurado* (p. 37) might be confusing. It was not, of course, Mesonero's volume of *Dramáticos contemporáneos a Lope de Vega* which was published in 1616, but the *Norte de la Poesía española*.

So much for the 'average reader.' It may not be inopportune to allow also the 'specialist' to say a few words. These are mainly to express a regret that the texts have not been reproduced with 'philological' accuracy from the most reliable sources available. They are easily available in Europe, and of course, *Noblesse oblige!* This would not have been, I am sure, an undue claim on the editor, nor would it have unfitted the book for the public which is mainly expected to use it.

The extract from Torres Naharro's *Prohemio* is taken from Cañete's reprint (on p. 2, l. 31 read: a lo principal) and Schack provides the passage from Carvallo's *Cisne de Apolo*. The text from Figueroa's *Pasajero* follows the extracts given by Professor Crawford in his study of Figueroa, but a comparison with the text of the full edition by Professor Rose (Madrid, 1914) might have been advisable, and at least this edition might have been mentioned. What is worse, however, is to print extracts from Tirso's *Cigarrales* based on passages quoted in the introduction to Cotarelo's edition of Tirso's plays, when a transcript by a trained philologist, from the earliest available edition (1624), had already been printed by Morel-Fatio. Possibly the editor felt unwilling to

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increase still further his very considerable debt to Morel-Fatio, but I submit that this would nevertheless have been the better course. In the case of Cueva's *Ejemplar poético* the old reprint of Sedano (1774) is used and (this is most regrettable) the excellent critical edition with notes by Walberg (Acta Universitatis Lundensis, XXXIX, 1904) is not mentioned. Here the lack of adequate notes is noticeable. In commenting on the puzzling enumeration of dramatists by Cueva, rather than describe Mal Lara as "a lyric, not a dramatic author" (p. 8), would it not have been more to the point to recall Mal Lara's *lost* plays, his University-play *Locusta* (1548), his play on *Nuestra Señora de Consolación* at Utrera (1561), his tragedy of *Absalón* and probably one on San Hermenegildo (1570? Sánchez Arjona, *El Teatro en Sevilla,* 206 ff.) and perhaps also a comedy, *Los Celosos* (Wolf, *Studien,* 610)? It seems rash, positively to identify the 'Ortiz' mentioned by Cueva as Agustín Ortiz, author of the *Comedia Radiana.* It might be Lope Ortiz de Stúñiga, author of the lost *Farsa en coplas sobre la Comedia de Calixto y Melibea.* Or it might be neither of the two.

A last detail. The unnamed "French diplomatist, who took part in the negociations for the peace of the Pyrenees" and whose description of a visit to Calderón is quoted in the opening paragraph, may be identified as François Bertaut, sieur de Fréauville, who accompanied, at a distance and unofficially, the embassy of the Maréchal de Grammont in quest of the hand of Maria-Teresa for Louis XIV.[2]

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The Defense of the Child by French Novelists. CLIFFORD STETSON PARKER. George Banta Publishing Co., Menasha, Wisconsin. 1925.

When sociologists run foul of literature, the result, for literature, is usually disastrous. Dr. Parker's work is, by style and matter, *hors la littérature.* He states in his preface that he "deals with non-literary influences upon literature," and he hopes to give a fuller understanding of the novelists in this way. He has failed dismally. As he admits in his conclusion: "literature has on the whole disdained to draw material (read *theses*) from the situations which the reformers were advertising." The book is obviously in-

[2] Cf. Foulché-Delbosc, *Bibliographie des voyages en Espagne,* in *Rev. hisp.* III, nrs. 87 *H* and 87 *J.* A reprint was published in the *Rev. hisp.* XLVII (1919). For details on Bertaut and his interest in the drama, see P.-L. Thomas, *François Bertaut et les conceptions dramatiques de Calderón,* in *Rev. de litt. comp.,* IV (1924), 199-222.

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spired by Scheifley's *Brieux and Contemporary French Society* and might profitably be boiled down into an appendix to it. Scheifley's work has its merits, but those who deplore the invasion of literature by sociology may hope that its progeny will not be numerous. Dr. Parker's title is a misnomer. He refers to various laws passed in defense of children, but he is unable to prove any direct influence of the novels upon such laws. Moreover few if any outstanding novelists have written any important work with the purpose of attacking injustice to children. Dr. Parker quotes, usually in English,[1] bits in which cruelty to children is touched upon. The longest chapter in the book, *The Child's Right to Proper Schooling,* shows that many authors have censured the physical and moral conditions in the *lycées* and *collèges,* but, by Dr. Parker's own count, Jean Aicard's *L'Ame d'un Enfant* is the single instance of deliberate propaganda. And those of us who envy the results of the French boy's schooling will note with interest the remark: "Aicard has no fault to find with the instruction from the purely intellectual point of view." The one merit I have discovered in Dr. Parker's work is that, in general, it refrains from exaggerating the thesis element in the French novelists.

BENJ. M. WOODBRIDGE.

Reed College.

Le Repas du Lion. By F. DE CUREL. Edited by Alexander G. Fite. New York, Oxford University Press, 1926. 185 pages. $1.00.

Dr. Fite, because of his intimate knowledge of the author and his environment, is highly qualified to interpret Curel to an American public, and his introduction is a model of its kind, for careful scholarship, picturesque charm of style, and complete understanding of the author's spirit. After treating fully Curel's ancestry, environment, and life, a knowledge of which is essential for an appreciation of this semi-biographical play, Dr. Fite proceeds to show that the dramatist, far from starting with some preconceived moral or thesis in the manner of Shaw, Brieux, Ibsen, or Hervieu, leaves his characters free to develop about a given situation. Possibly it would have been clearer, if he had not used the terms "thesis play" and *pièce à idées* interchangeably, and instead of defending Curel from the charge of too great fondness for the *pièce à idées,* had reserved this term as a glorious tribute for the genre which he represents. Perhaps the most eloquent of the pas-

[1] It is a bit disconcerting to find, in the bibliography of a doctorate dissertation, *Les Misérables* mentioned only in an English translation.

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sages in Dr. Fite's introduction are those in which he praises the lofty poetry of nature in Curel's rendering of the Lorraine forests.

The editor is entirely justified, since the work is obviously designed for fairly advanced students, in restricting the vocabulary to the more difficult words; however, a study of the first three pages reveals several words, *ébrancher, tricotés, office des morts,* and *fourgonnant* (all in the stage directions), which need explanation for the average student. Aside from this reservation, the vocabulary shows evidence of extreme care and familiarity with even the subtler shades of meaning. The note on *C'est-y pas* (p. 18, l. 18) might profitably come earlier (page 5, l. 18). The notes are wholly adequate in explaining the various technical and dialectical difficulties, and furnish much illuminating material concerning the background of the play. The reviewer wishes to congratulate the editor on the small number of errata. A typographical error on p. 157, l. 10, the appearance of *pièce d' idées* for *pièce à idées* (p. xviii) and of Creusot for Le Creusot (p. vi), were the only ones observed.

MAXWELL A. SMITH.

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The Influence of the Arthurian Romances on the Five Books of Rabelais. By NEMOURS H. CLEMENT. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1926. University of California Publications in Modern Philology, Vol. 12, no. 3, pp. 147-257.

This dissertation, presented for the doctorate at the University of Chicago, sets forth an interesting theory regarding the composition of Rabelais's books. The author first discusses the theories advanced by Plattard, Schneegans, Lefranc, and others as to the influence of Folengo, Pulci, the *Grandes Chroniques,* the Romances of Chivalry, and the geographical discoveries of the day and, while finding in them a good deal that is true, concludes that Rabelais's work is

> a burlesque imitation of the French medieval romances, but particularly of the romances of the Round Table: Books I and II are an imitation of the Arthurian Romances in general, of which the *Great Prose Lancelot* is a representative specimen; Books III, IV, and V are an imitation of the Grail-quest romances.

He argues that these works offer, in addition to similarities of detail, a greater number of structural resemblances to *Pantagruel* and *Gargantua* than any others and that the *Quart Livre* is essentially a quest with the *dive bouteille* taking the place of the Holy Grail. Pantagruel and Panurge become crusaders, but the quest

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is that of the truth—*jusqu'au feu exclusivement*—rather than the mystic values sought by their predecessors. The theory is ably stated. Whether it will satisfy the crusaders of scholarship remains to be seen. It is, I think, as good a solution as any other, if we must limit Rabelais to a single predominating group of models, but the absence of love in his books and the importance of giants in the first two makes me wonder whether he hitched his waggon to the Grail-star, whether he did not prefer to drive it now this way and now that, as the many authors he imitates and his many personal contacts might direct.

In other words, however good a case Dr. Clement has made out for Arthurian influence, has he considered sufficiently the claims of other sources? An example, small in itself, but perhaps typical, will suffice to illustrate this point. On p. 244 he makes the following statement:

> In at least two cases Rabelais translates almost word for word Pulci's description of imaginary animals: the animal he calls "cucrocute" he takes from Pulci, xxv, 313, where it is called "leucrocuta," and the serpent he calls "catoblepe" Rabelais takes from xxv, 314, where it is called by the same name.

The resemblance is certainly striking if we look no further than Pulci, but if we compare the Elder Pliny, who must be the latter's source, we see that Rabelais is even nearer to him than he is to Pulci. The catoblepe, for instance, is called a serpent by Pulci only and he does not compare it, as do both Pliny and Rabelais, to the basilisk. I could easily support this contention at greater length, not only from the descriptions of these two beasts, but from those of other animals mentioned by the three authors. It will, however, be sufficient to give the reader the reference indicated long ago in Burgaud des Marets's edition of Rabelais, II, 453, to Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, lib. VIII, cap. XXI, §§ 72-78.

H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER.

Sketches from Eighteenth Century America. More "Letters from an American Farmer" by St. John de Crèvecoeur. Edited by HENRI L. BOURDIN, RALPH H. GABRIEL and STANLEY T. WILLIAMS. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1925. 332 pp. and Index. $4.

This book is a new attempt to introduce to the general public a French traveler and author of some importance. Crèvecoeur came to America first as a traveler (1754 or 1755) and later as French consul to New York (1783-1790, two years of which time he was absent on leave in France). During these visits he distinguished himself in map-making, in improving agricultural methods, and

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in establishing a packet-boat system between the United States and France. His literary work is represented by *Lettres d'un Cultivateur Américain,* one-, two-, and three-volume editions of which appeared successively in English in 1782 and in French in 1785 and 1787 and *Voyage dans la haute Pensylvanie et dans l'état de New-York,* a three-volume edition of which appeared in French in 1801. Translations of these books in other languages were published later.

The editors of *Sketches of Eighteenth Century America* do not propose to present the essays in a scholarly fashion or to trace their origin. They do not reproduce the exact text of Crèvecoeur,[1] nor do they show in detail the relationship which might exist between the five[2] old essays and the seven others which are published wholly or in part for the first time. Their belief that they have made a real discovery and their discrimination between "philology"(?) and "literary work" are shown in the introductory articles. Their contribution consists in the presentation to the public of an underestimated author in an interesting, readable volume, containing a recasting of some old material and an addition of new material found for the first time among the Crèvecoeur manuscripts in France.

The following essays are entirely new: "Ant-Hill Town,"[3] "Liberty of Worship," "The English and the French Before the Revolution,"[4] "The Wyoming Massacre," and "Landscapes."[5] "Thoughts of an American Farmer on Various Rural Subjects"[6]

[1] The editors state this on p. 36.

[2] The statement that these papers "have, with four exceptions, lain unpublished for nearly a century and a half in the cabinets of the family of Crèvecoeur in France" (p. 2) is evidently a typographical error since there are five essays or papers in this book which the editors acknowledge as having been published in French.

[3] Although I find in the description of an orchard—"Did you ever unmoved pass by a large orchard in full bloom without feeling an uncommon ravishment, etc." (pp. 54-55)—a reminiscence of the *Cultivateur Américain,* I, 81: "Avez-vous jamais visité un grand vèrger fleuri sans en être ému? . . . ."

[4] The editors call this in the original a part of "A Snow Storm as It affects the American Farmer," but in the Cuchet edition of 1787 to which they refer there is no reference to a similar subject in the "Description d'une Chute de Neige."

[5] The editors (p. 21) note Robert de Crèvecoeur's indication that the "Landscapes" existed in manuscript form. (*Saint John de Crèvecoeur sa vie et ses ouvrages*).

[6] The extent to which Crèvecoeur introduced old material into the articles in the "Sketches" is here given (as also in note 7). It is to be regretted that it was not noted by the editors. This is divided into four parts. The general tone reminds us of "Pensées d'un Cultivateur Américain sur son sort & les Plaisirs de la Campagne" (*Lettres,* I, 52-88). The part entitled "Farm Life" with its homage to England resembles somewhat a similar tribute in the *Lettres* (I, 52). The preparation of maple trees for bleeding occurs also in the *Voyage.* Part two, "Enemies of the

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and "The American Belisarius" [7] show some resemblance with the *Lettres* and the *Voyage*. The other five essays are acknowledged as having been published before in French: "A Snow Storm as it affects the American Farmer," [8] "Reflections on the Manners of the Americans," [9] "The Man of Sorrows," [10] "History of Mrs. B," [11] and "The Frontier Woman." [12]

Farmer," is reminiscent of passages in the *Voyage* (Vol. II), although not an exact translation of any one part. The kingbird is mentioned in both the *Sketches* (pp. 115-116) and the *Lettres* (I, 66-68); in the former as an enemy of kites, hawks, and crows, and in the latter as an enemy of bees. Part three, "Customs" contains accounts of dyeing garments by natural methods and of setting fire to leaves for the benefit of the undergrowth, traces of which occur in the *Voyage*. The two anecdotes about an Indian dog and a sassafras tree are, as the editors note, translated into French as the longer "Anecdote d'un Chien Sauvage" (*L*, I, 223-236) and "Anecdote du Sassafras et de la Vigne sauvage" (*L*, I, 249-255). Part four, "Implements," reminds us also of parts of the *Voyage* but there are no parallel passages. These four parts are named by the editors.

[7] "The American Belisarius" is for the most part new material but there are striking resemblances with the "Histoire de S. K."—as to the name of the colonist, as to his removal from the sea to the country for the benefit of his children, and as to his generosity and mode of living. In these respects "The American Belisarius" resembles the "Histoire de S. K." more closely than the chapter entitled "Reflections on the Manners of the Americans" which the editors claim to have been the original from which the "Histoire de S. K." was translated. However, the conclusions are different. S. K. in the *Letters* lives at ease as the legislator of his own county, has prepared a picturesque burying ground for his family and allows St. John to write upon a stone wall surrounding the first tree that has been felled an inscription commemorating his bounty. Unlike the S. K. of the *Lettres* the American Belisarius suffers at the hands of his brothers-in-law and joins the Indian forces for protection. His wife is delirious, his son has gone, and his property is destroyed. After trial and release on bail he lives in a small part of his own house which had been allotted to him.

[8] This was translated by "Description d'une Chute de Neige" in the 1787 edition of the *Lettres* (I, 289-314) as the editors state. These two versions are in general the same except that the *Sketches* omit some details and that the *Lettres* lack the concluding sentence of the *Sketches*.

[9] The editors indicate that this essay appeared in the 1787 edition (*Lettres*, I, 120-149) as "Histoire de S. K. Colon Américain." While this is true in the main, the English version is briefer, conversations are omitted, and there are fewer introductory paragraphs. Moreover, the conclusions are different. Without going into greater detail, it may be indicated that 'S. K.' instead of remaining a plain farmer as he does in the *Sketches* becomes the founder and legislator of a county. The possible connection of the "Histoire de S. K. . . ." with "The American Belisarius" is indicated above.

[10] This is the original version of an essay which, as the editors state, Crèvecœur published in French as "Pensées sur la Guerre Civile, Histoire de Joseph Wilson" (*Lettres* I, 315-335). These two versions are practically the same except that in the *Sketches* the name Joseph Wilson is not mentioned and the conclusion is a more elaborate philosophical discourse than that of the *Lettres*.

[11] The editors note that this was the original from which Crèvecœur

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Since the editors of *Sketches of Eighteenth Century America* republish a considerable amount of old material, it might have been well to add certain other interesting essays, such as "L'Homme des Frontières" (*Lettres*, II, 249-276), "Pensées sur l'Esclavage & sur les Nègres" (*Lettres*, II, 372-385), and various anecdotes in the *Voyage* which also give an insight into eighteenth century America.

HELEN R. REESE.

Johns Hopkins University.

Thomas Chaucer. By MARTIN B. RUUD. Research Publications of the University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, 1926. Pp. 131. Price, $1.50.

Professor Ruud has performed a useful service in settling beyond further question a long-disputed detail of Chaucerian biography, a detail the implications of which make clearer the poet's social status, and contribute towards the interpretation of certain of his writings. Barring the discovery of new evidence—and the painstaking thoroughness of Mr. Ruud's researches makes such a discovery improbable—this monograph should be the final word on the subject, establishing beyond reasonable doubt that Thomas Chaucer, Esquire (circa 1370-1434), a prosperous landed proprietor in Oxfordshire, chief butler to Henry IV and Henry V, five times Speaker of the House of Commons, the holder of many important offices under the king, and the father of Alice, Duchess of Suffolk, was own son to the poet.

But the value of Mr. Ruud's study goes beyond the establishment of this fact. He has gathered together, and has printed or summarized, every bit of information which has survived about the career of Thomas Chaucer; and this information, derived in large part from unprinted documents in the Public Record Office, should prove of great interest to students of the social and governmental history of fifteenth-century England. Particularly illuminating is the full account of the duties and methods of a chief butler, given on pages 38-57.

The sonship of Thomas to the poet Geoffrey was asserted by Speght in his 1598 edition of Chaucer, but with the added sentence: "Yet some hold opinion (but I know not upon what

translated into French the "Histoire de Rachel Budd. . ." (*Lettres*, I, 397-418) though slight variations occur.

[18] This corresponds to "La Femme des Frontières" (*Lettres*, I, 335-344) as the editors state. The opening paragraph of the *Lettres* is missing in the *Sketches*.

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grounds) that Thomas Chaucer was not the sonne of Geffrey Chaucer, but rather some kinsman of his, whome hee brought up." Modern scholarship, with its strong tendency to discredit tradition, has magnified the doubt. Furnivall violently rejected the alleged relationship. Professor J. E. Wells in his *Manual of the Writings in Middle English* (1916) sums up the matter with the words: "The argument becomes very attenuated, and the relationship between Thomas and Geoffrey is not established" (p. 617). The relationship is strongly maintained by Professor Aage Brusendorff in his recent book, *The Chaucer Tradition* (1925), pages 31-37. This book had apparently not reached Professor Ruud at the time his monograph went to press. The clear, logical argument of Mr. Rudd stands in sharp contrast with the confused discussion of Dr. Brusendorff.

Mr. Ruud's evidence is only in part new. He has found an account, printed but hitherto neglected, by a sixteenth-century antiquary and herald, of a stained glass window which formerly stood in the parish church of Woodstock (where Thomas Chaucer held estates), in which the arms of Geoffrey Chaucer impale those of Burghersh. "Can there be any doubt about the meaning? The natural interpretation is that Geoffrey Chaucer's son was married to a Burghersh. And Thomas Chaucer we know was the husband of Maude Burghersh, whose arms are blazoned repeatedly on his tomb" [in Ewelme Church]. For the rest, the argument is based mainly on a new examination and appraisal of evidence already familiar—the statement of Gascoigne, the reliability of which Mr. Ruud ably vindicates; the fact that Thomas used the seal of "[G]hofrai Chaucier" to attest an important document in 1409.

I think no one can examine the evidence here arrayed without accepting its validity. The only serious argument on the other side is the fact that Lydgate in his "Balade . . . at the departyng of Thomas Chaucyer on Ambassade in to Fraunce," the text of which Mr. Ruud reprints in an appendix, makes no mention of the relationship. It is indeed a strange omission on the part of a poet so eager as Lydgate to pay tribute to the memory of his great master. But this *argumentum e silentio* can hardly weigh heavily against the positive evidence on the other side. It is a curious fact that none of the many documents which relate to Thomas Chaucer mentions his father's name. Perhaps to his contemporaries his descent was so well-known that any mention of it would have been superfluous.

The establishment of this relationship carries with it several important corollaries. For one thing, it identifies the poet's wife, Philippa. It is clear, beyond dispute that Thomas Chaucer's mother was a member of the family of Roet; and the relations existing between Thomas and Cardinal Beaufort, who addresses

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him as "consanguineus noster," make it reasonably certain that she was a sister of Katherine Swynford, mistress and later wife of John of Gaunt. Geoffrey Chaucer is then a connection by marriage of the great Duke of Lancaster. In the second place, it tends to strengthen the probability that the statements of Lydgate, closely associated with Thomas Chaucer, about Chaucer the poet, rest on a reliable foundation of first-hand knowledge. Thomas, it must be remembered, was a man of thirty at the time of the poet's death. Finally, there is for those of us to whom Geoffrey Chaucer is not only a great poet, but in some sort a personal friend, a satisfaction in knowing that his stock was so honorably continued by a son who attained high distinction in public affairs, and who was, as all the evidence gathered by Mr. Ruud clearly shows, a generous and kindly gentleman.

ROBERT K. ROOT.

Princeton University.

Wolfram von Eschenbach. Sechste Ausgabe von Karl Lachmann, bearbeitet von EDUARD HARTL. Berlin, Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1926. lxxxii, 640 pp.

Almost a century has elapsed since the appearance of Lachmann's edition of Wolfram. Haupt, Müllenhoff, and Weinhold, who saw the later editions through the press, limited themselves to the emendation of palpable errors and misprints, without attempting to incorporate the advances of scholarship made since Lachmann's day. The latter had used, for *Parzival,* 8 complete MSS. and 9 fragments: to-day 17 complete MSS. and 57 more or less extensive fragments are accessible. It was time, therefore, that the evidence of these new witnesses should be taken into account. This task Dr. Eduard Hartl, of Munich, has undertaken, with due consideration for the work of the man whose name the edition bears.

Lachmann, as is well known, came to the conclusion that the St. Gall MS. *D* and those most closely related to it offered the best text, from which he departed only for the most cogent reasons: the group headed by the Munich MS. *G* was stigmatized as of distinctly inferior value. An independent opinion of the worth of the several MSS. was difficult, or even impossible, as only a small selection of their readings was given in the apparatus, where moreover, no individual symbols were used, *g* indicating one MS. and *gg* several MSS. of the "inferior" group. One could not depart from Lachmann's text, therefore, without an independent study of all the MSS. Hartl began his task by collating, copying, or photographing all the known MSS. of *Parzival,* whether complete or fragmentary. A preliminary checking up soon convinced him that

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only two alternatives were possible: either to perpetuate the traditional Lachmann text of 1833 practically intact, or to undertake an entirely new redaction on the basis of all the material now available. The latter is Hartl's ultimate aim, which, however, he cannot attempt to realize until all of his material has been completely digested. In the present edition, therefore, he states the problem, contenting himself for the time being with a reproduction of the received text. Here there were numerous errors and misprints to be detected and removed, particularly in the apparatus.

In general, Hartl comes to the conclusion that *D*, while one of the best MSS., has frequent errors, which may be corrected by a proper evaluation of the relation of all the MSS. to each other. Even in the *G*-group there are MSS. whose textual value is fully equal to that of *D*. In Lachmann's eyes this would of course be rank heresy. It is probable that Hartl's final results will be similar to those of Braune in his incisive study of the MSS. of the *Nibelungenlied:* here also Lachmann, through thick and thin, had adhered to the readings of a single MS. (*A*) which he considered superior to all the others, whereas Braune proved conclusively that the authentic reading is frequently to be found in MSS. of groups *B* and *C*.

We shall look forward with the keenest interest to a detailed account of Hartl's findings, promised in his forthcoming *Textgeschichte des Parzival.*

W. KURRELMEYER.

Hoccleve's Works. II. The Minor Poems in the Ashburnham MS. Addit. 133, edited by Sir ISRAEL GOLLANCZ. Early English Text Society, Extra Series LXXIII. Pp. viii + 40. London, 1924 (for 1897). 5s.

In vol. LXI of this series Furnivall listed the poems of Hoccleve preserved in the Ashburnham MS., and gave some account of their contents (pp. xxvii ff.), but he did not print them. Professor Gollancz now makes them available to us, and for this service we are grateful. Everybody who reads it will particularly enjoy Hoccleve's humorous "Praise of his Lady," from which I extract the following detail (p. 37):

> Hir nose a pentice is, þat it ne shal
> Reyne in hir mowth thogh shee vprightes lay.

Professor Gollancz is to be congratulated, and envied, for the good fortune by which this MS. became his.

KEMP MALONE

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The Threshold of Anglo-Saxon, by A. J. Wyatt. Cambridge. At the University Press. 1926 (New York, The Macmillan Co.). Pp. xiv + 126.

An Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. Edited by E. Classen and F. E. Harmer. Manchester. At the University Press. 1926 (New York, Longmans, Green and Co., $1.75). Pp. xvi + 150.

Mr. Wyatt describes his book as an elementary reader, and adds: "my set purpose in this little book is to avoid dullness and difficulty." He tries to bring his selections "within the range of the beginner, by means of a normalized text, copious notes, and a simple glossary." He culls mainly from *The Chronicle* and *Beowulf*. The reading-matter is preceded by six pages of "Grammar," which, being interpreted, means morphology. Obviously the editor would have the beginner start reading at once, picking up, as he goes along, the minimum of grammar needed for understanding the text. The method has its advantages; it is to be recommended, indeed, for a course in Old English designed for Freshman or Sophomores. Graduate students, needless to say, must have different treatment, even though they come into the Graduate School wholly innocent of Old English. A course in elementary Old English which left out historical grammar could hardly be called a graduate course at all, even by courtesy. Unfortunately there is little demand, in this country, for high school and junior college courses in Old English, and Mr. Wyatt's little book will therefore hardly be much used in America.

The editor's terminology will also interfere with the popularity of the book, I think. The truth is, Mr. Wyatt here falls between two stools. Some philologists (like Professor Legouis) exclude *Beowulf* altogether from English literature, and apply to the writings of pre-Conquest England the term *Anglo-Saxon*. Others (like Professor Cook) hold that *Beowulf* is a part of English literature, and apply the term *English* to the writings of England, whether pre- or post-Conquest. Each of these two positions has the merit of consistency. But Mr. Wyatt's book is neither fish nor flesh. We read *Anglo-Saxon* on one page, *English* on the next. The trimmer is well-known to us in politics, and there, no doubt, serves a useful purpose. But surely in scholarship such compromises are out of place. *Beowulf* either is an English poem, or it is not. Let Mr. Wyatt ponder this fact, and revise his terms to fit. And if he plumps for *Anglo-Saxon,* let him not fail, in his glossary, to gloss *Englisc* with 'Anglo-Saxon' (like Marstrander). For a man ought to have the courage of his convictions, and, if he is a true scholar, ought to take, without flinching, the consequences of his terminology.

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Mr. Classen and Miss Harmer give us an edition of a single text of the *Chronicle,* the so-called text D. This text was chosen (as we learn in a "Prefatory Note" contributed by Mr. T. F. Tout) because, though for various reasons worthy of special treatment, it had never been published by itself. The work of editing the text was undertaken by Mr. Classen at the suggestion of the late W. P. Ker; when the editor found himself unable to complete his task, Miss Harmer agreed to complete it in his stead. The text is published for the use of students rather than of philologists already trained, and of course it is not intended to supersede, even in part, the work of Plummer. The editors have done a good job, and the edition may safely be recommended for use in the classroom or in "outside reading."

KEMP MALONE.

Johns Hopkins University.

Words Ancient and Modern. By ERNEST WEEKLEY. Pp. viii + 163. E. P. Dutton and Co., New York, 1926.

Professor Weekley is a well-known etymologist who has "gone in" for the popularization of knowledge. Such works of his as *The Romance of Words* and *The Romance of Names* have made his name familiar to the lexicographical amateurs. His latest book belongs to the same genre. It consists of 74 little essays, each dealing with the history of a word. The arrangement of the essays is alphabetical. Mr. Weekley writes in a sprightly, informal way that ought to win him many readers, since what he says is interesting for its own sake and is made more so by the author's way of putting it. A certain tendency to cheapness may be noticed now and then (as at the beginning of the essay on *Democracy*), but this tendency belongs to our age, and, I fear, neither the reviewer nor anybody else of the present generation is entitled to throw any stones. Mr. Weekley does not invent his etymologies; he knows the authorities and uses them. But his method makes him a little careless: when you are writing for the general public you don't have to mind your p's and q's as you do when you are aiming at a learned bull's-eye. Hence we find the author telling us (p. 45) that "*fellow* and *companion* formed for many centuries one of those pairs of words, one native the other French, so numerous in our language," although of course he knows perfectly well that *fellow* is not native, but got from the Scandinavian.

KEMP MALONE.

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The Life and Works of Edward Coote Pinckney. Prepared by THOMAS OLLIVE MABBOTT and FRANK LESLIE PLEADWELL. The Macmillan Company, 1926. xvi, 233 pp.

The poetry of the South has been characteristically lyric. Poe, Lanier, and Timrod escaped the heresy of sustained effort prevalent in the first half of the century as well as much of the equally prevalent didacticism. Their best poems are among the most finished and melodious of American lyrics, and their work has long been available in modern editions. The poet of the nineteenth century South whose name should stand next to theirs, a poet whose lyric note was so pure and fine that it was not surpassed in America in his day, has waited a century for an inclusive edition. Although his name and two or three delicate love lyrics were known to every reader of anthologies, the 1825 volume of poems was so small a book and so excessively rare that even special students of American literature did not know it.

The collaboration which has repaired the neglect of so many years was fortunate. Captain Pleadwell's happy discovery in a Baltimore bookshop of Mrs. Pinckney's album enriched the scanty store of material already available and wakened an interest which as an officer of the United States Navy he could particularly well indulge. Dr. Mabbott brought to the undertaking a lifelong devotion to American literature and practised skill in recondite research. The result is a thoroughly adequate book.

Pinckney's brief, eventful life recalls in many respects that of Edgar Allan Poe. Like Poe he spent part of his boyhood in England and attended an English school. At the age of nine he returned to America and had further schooling in Baltimore. At thirteen he was a midshipman, embarked upon such a romantic career as Poe seems to have coveted. And in the end, after doubtful success in other callings and the publication of a volume of poems, he turned to journalism and became editor of *The Marylander.*

Although to us Pinckney seems both as a naval officer and as an editor needlessly concerned about his rights and absurdly eager to vindicate his honor, he doubtless represents his time; and his verse had a cultural background in Maryland that has been strangely neglected by the literary historians. Here, midway between the sections, there flourished a remarkable interest in books and an active creative impulse, spending itself—naturally, in view of the free pirating of British books—in the production of ephemeral periodicals. Pinckney's lyrics are its finest flower. They are narrow in range but mature and finished in workmanship, and notably free from the common faults of youth and provincialism. His "Health," "Serenade," and two or three love songs will continue

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to be all that the general reader will treasure; but the student of American literature will want to know the man and his other verse, including the fragments that his early death left uncompleted; and they will be grateful for a thoroughgoing critical edition of his work.

JOHN C. FRENCH.

Satan et le Satanisme dans l'Oeuvre de Victor Hugo. By MAXIMILIEN RUDWIN. Paris: Les Belles-Lettres, 1926. xiv + 156 pp. Bibliographie de Victor Hugo, by MAXIMILIEN RUDWIN. Paris: Les Belles-Lettres, 1926. viii + 44 pp.

L'auteur a le très grand et très rare mérite d'avoir pendant près de quinze ans consacré ses efforts patients et suivis à l'exploration systématique d'un territoire encore fort mal connu. Il en a été récompensé par plusieurs riches trouvailles; il a appelé l'attention des historiens de la littérature sur un courant négligé, mais non sans importance. Il convient tout d'abord de l'en remercier et de l'en féliciter. L'ouvrage qu'il vient de publier sur Victor Hugo contient la synthèse de ses travaux antérieurs sur le satanisme en France au dix-neuvième siècle. Il est rempli d'aperçus nouveaux et intéressants; l'auteur me permettra cependant d'exprimer le regret qu'il n'ait pas disposé de plus de temps pour clarifier et ordonner le travail qu'il nous donne aujourd'hui.

Dans ce livre écrit un peu "à la diable," l'expression est ici à sa place, M. Rudwin a entassé ses fiches et ses notes de lecture, ses réflexions et ses conclusions souvent fort contradictoires; il a mis côte à côte des notations pénétrantes et de véritables enfantillages et, pour avoir voulu trop prouver, il a, par endroits, commis de véritables contre-sens.

Parmi beaucoup d'autres, voici quelques assertions de M. Rudwin qui me semblent au moins discutables: "Satan est le fil d'Ariane de l'œuvre de Victor Hugo" (p. xi);—"Le roman social des *Misérables* est rempli de la démonologie d'une grande ville" (p. 59), après quoi M. Rudwin consacre en tout onze lignes au roman et reconnaît qu' "il est peu question du diable lui-même dans les *Misérables;*—" "Victor Hugo a toujours considéré la Révolution française comme l'œuvre de Satan" (p. 68);—"Victor Hugo comme tous ses congénères (*sic*) était pessimiste" (p. 76). Le fait que Jehan Frollo est "un vrai diable," que "le petit gamin Gavroche est un satan," qu'un "garçon de Torteval est un petit satan de français" (pp. 124-125), que "Victor Hugo aimait tant les contes diaboliques qu'il les racontait même aux enfants" (p. 34) et bien d'autres encore ne prouvent absolument rien. Enfin, quand M. Rudwin indiquant la vogue actuelle en France de la

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littérature démoniaque, dit que "pour couronner cette phalange infernale, le Théâtre du Petit-Monde prépare une reprise de *Un bon petit diable,*" accusant ainsi la bonne comtesse de Ségur de donner dans le satanisme, il n'arrive pas à me convaincre. La vérité est que le "diable" depuis longtemps ne fait plus trembler même les petits enfants et surtout les petits Parisiens qui peuvent le voir deux fois par semaine au Guignol des Champs Elysées et du Luxembourg et je ne crois pas pour ma part que Victor Hugo ait eu à "s'affranchir des frayeurs et des terreurs d'enfance" (p. 42). Ce qui est également vrai, c'est qu'à l'époque romantique le diable était déjà tellement usé qu'il a fallu le nommer Satan ou Lucifer pour lui rendre quelque dignité. Il est fort regrettable que M. Rudwin n'ait pas plus nettement établi cette distinction entre le "diable" de la conversation courante, le "diable" de Guignol, des contes de fées et des légendes et le Satan romantique.

Ces réserves faites, et il importait de les faire, le livre de M. Rudwin contient des choses excellentes. Le chapitre II, *Satan et l'antithèse,* p. 42, est tout à fait exact, bien que trop court; il en est de même du chapitre VIII, *Le satanisme et le manichéisme,* p. 76 et du chapitre IX, *Le satanisme et le messianisme.* Là M. Rudwin est vraiment dans son sujet et il faut lui savoir gré d'avoir attiré l'attention sur la *Fin de Satan,* ordinairement trop négligée, et qui renferme de grandes beautés. La réhabilitation de Satan a permis aux romantiques de renouveler un thème qu'ils ont trouvé bien usé et d'en faire un symbole. On peut se demander s'ils ont toujours réussi. Dans le détail on se refusera sans doute à suivre toujours M. Rudwin, mais on souscrira à sa conclusion juste et modérée que "le Satan de Victor Hugo est sans relief et sans couleur" (p. 106).

J'aurai peu à dire sur la *Bibliographie de Victor Hugo* que M. Rudwin destine plus à ses élèves qu'au grand public. On y trouvera un supplément fort utile aux articles de la bibliographie de Lanson et de celle de Thieme. On y trouvera peut-être trop même, car il n'était pas nécessaire d'énumérer (p. 2) des manuels élémentaires ou de nombreuses études de deuxième ou troisième ordre.

GILBERT CHINARD.

Über den Einfluss der lateinischen Vagantendichtung auf die Lyrik Walthers von der Vogelweide und die seiner Epigonen im 13. Jahrhundert, von Dr. W. H. MOLL. Amsterdam, 1925.

This work antedates that of Brinkmann, to whom it was however unknown, and anticipates his results, so far as Walther von der Vogelweide is concerned. Its author was on the other hand fami-

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liar with earlier works of Brinkmann, which he cites. He also makes a careful comparison between the poetry of the *Vaganten* and that of the troubadours. His conception of the relation between the two, however, is that of a parallel development out of scholastic poetry, which is perhaps less appealing than that of Brinkmann. The author accepts the conclusion of Frantzen that there is no satisfactory evidence of the existence of popular love-poetry which could have exerted an influence upon the *Vaganten*. The conclusion then drawn is that when the Middle High German *Minnesang* turned from the conventional to the fresh and more natural direction, it is in the Latin poetry of the *Vaganten* that the impulse is to be sought, which agrees with Brinkmann's theory as to Walther. In fact the two works are mutually confirmatory in a high degree. Moll, however, makes a special point of demonstrating that many features of correspondence between Walther and the *Vaganten* are quite lacking in the *Minnesang* before Walther. This is not inconsistent with Brinkmann's conclusions, if it is not intended to deny the influence of the *Vaganten* upon Walther's forerunners, but merely to prove their fresh and greater influence upon him. The cases of striking agreement between poems of Walther and medieval Latin ones are all discussed and attention is especially called to points of similarity between Walther and the Archipoeta, showing presumably direct influence of the latter upon the former.

The influence of the *Vaganten* is further found in various poets of the thirteenth century, successors to Walther, which influence may be either direct or indirect through Walther himself. Finally the rustic poetry represented by Neidhart and Tannhäuser shows clear connection with the verses of the itinerant scholars; the relation is here direct, that is, it cannot have been through Walther. As to Tannhäuser, the author accepts the theory that he was a runaway cleric, not a knight.

Also the didactic poetry of medieval Germany as represented by the *Spruch* of Walther and others is related to the medieval Latin poems in similar vein of the *Vaganten*. Marner was for example at the outset of his poetic activity a wandering scholar, and others of the didactic poets may also have been. Their sources and points of view agree remarkably with those of the *Vaganten*.

Cornell University. A. LeRoy Andrews.

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Entstehungsgeschichte des Minnesangs, von H. BRINKMANN (Kluckhohn & Rothacker, Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte, 8. Bd.). Halle, Niemeyer, 1926.

This follows closely upon the same author's *Geschichte der lateinischen Liebesdichtung im Mittelalter* (1925; a critical edition of medieval Latin love-poetry is also promised) and is itself included in the series initiated by Konrad Burdach's *Vorspiel,* to whom it is also dedicated. These facts will serve to indicate the general direction of the work. It is however noteworthy that upon one fundamental point the author disagrees with Burdach; *viz.,* as to the latter's theory of an influence of the Moors in Spain upon the troubadour-poetry of southern France. In the same way he breaks with the May song theory of Gaston Paris. The contention of Jeanroy that the troubadour love-poetry is a spontaneous production of the French soil without foreign influence is also rejected. A starting-point is found in Angers, where in the tenth and beginning of the eleventh centuries there flourished great literary activity. Latin verse, particularly in epistolary form, was cultivated enthusiastically. This culture rested essentially upon a Christian or Church basis, but was transformed especially through the influence of Ovid and developed something of an erotic tendency. There was direct influence exercised by it upon the troubadours.

But this is the least important phase of the matter and one may readily get the impression of an over-emphasis of the importance of Angers and its literary activities, unless it is to be taken as a single illustration of more generally diffused interest, which is evidently what the author has in mind. More important is the connection already made by Dutch scholars, Salverda de Grave and Frantzen, with the medieval Latin poetry of the itinerant scholars (*Vaganten*). This line of influence is developed by the present author in greater detail, the various types of troubadour poetry being compared with their Latin prototypes.

As to the Middle High German *Minnesang,* the author regards the conjectured Romanic influence upon its earliest representatives as eliminated by the work of Vogt. Influence of the *Volkslied* is also denied. Where Schwietering had suggested Ovid as the important influence the present author prefers the medieval Latin of the *Vaganten, i. e.,* again independently the same influence noted in the case of the troubadours. He believes that this type of love-poetry was cultivated first by the clerics and only later taken over by the knights. Again connection with the epistle is inferred, first with the epistle in Middle High German verse, which itself goes back to the medieval Latin epistle, likewise in verse.

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The medieval Latin influence was not exerted once for all, but worked in one or another of its phases upon various successive *Minnesänger* down to and including Walther von der Vogelweide. Reinmar was an exception, and it was only in the second phase of Walther's poetic activity (from 1198 on), when he liberated himself from the Reinmar tradition, that the Middle Latin influence became directly effective upon him. Burdach had here wrongly assumed an influence of the *Volkslied*. Also Neidhart von Reuenthal was not free from such Middle Latin influence and the author intends in a subsequent work to follow up this influence upon the *Minnesang* of the thirteenth century.

All in all, the argument seems sound and the emphasis laid on the right factors. Among the astonishingly rich and varied literary currents of the Middle Age as elsewhere one may easily be oblivious of everything but his own course, but the present author does not attempt to exclude entirely other factors than the one in which he is primarily interested. One sees through his work as generally that the two great civilizing and cultural forces of the Middle Age were classical Rome and the Christian Church.

A. LeRoy Andrews.

Cornell University.

The Old English Prose Tracts in MS. Cotton Vitellius A xv, edited with an introduction and glossarial index by Stanley Rypins. E. E. T. S., Orig. Ser. 161, London: Oxford University Press, 1924 (for 1921). 25/- and $10.

The appearance of the three prose pieces which precede the *Béowulf* in the second codex of *MS. Cott. Vitel. A xv* and which with the *Judith* (immediately following the *Béowulf*) make up the contents of this codex is noteworthy in the history of OE. scholarship. With Professor A. S. Cook's edition of the *Judith* (Belles-Lettres Ser., 1904) and the *Béowulf* in Zupitza's autotypes we are at last in possession of trustworthy reproductions of that portion of the MS. so important for, let us say, *Béowulf* scholarship. The texts published are: 1. the *Letter of Alexander the Great to Aristotle;* 2. the rather closely related *Wonders of the East;* and 3. the fragmentary and really badly preserved *Life of St. Christopher.* There follow immediately as a sort of appendix three Latin texts which are closely related to the sources of the OE. pieces. Brief Notes and a Glossary end the volume. The whole is prefaced by a substantial and valuable Introduction.

The Introduction is sure to evoke general interest and discussion; here, however, it is only possible to direct attention to the

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main features of this essay. It is divided into two parts, the first devoted to a study of the MS., the second to the substance and the sources of the texts; in both parts the editor makes positive contributions to knowledge. First and foremost, Mr. Rypins has given (pp. ix-xi) an account of the foliation of the codex, which corrects and supersedes all previous descriptions. Secondly, by a careful analysis of the technique of scribes A and B, he has come as near demonstrating as is possible the hitherto questioned accuracy of A and makes out a strong case for his superior accuracy over B. If Mr. Rypins' arguments are accepted, they will deal a mortal blow to the contrary theory developed by ten Brink and accepted to the present day (e. g. by Professor Klaeber, *Beowulf*, pp. xci-ii), and will necessitate a new approach to many of the problems concerning the lost *Bēowulf* MS. from which A and B copied. As the editor intimates, much remains to be worked out; certainly the whole question of the apparent accuracy of B in his transcript of the *Judith* (e. g. consistency in *eo*-spellings) needs new thought and study. The apparent conservatism of B in the *Bēowulf* (cf. lists in Klaeber, pp. xcii-iii) must be reconciled with the *Judith*. One all too rarely considered line of approach may lie in a study of possible methods of copying, namely, from a MS. direct or from dictation, also whether a scribe may not come from a region other than that of the dialect which he is copying or taking from dictation. May not this influence our attitude towards the sometimes postulated poetical koiné? Such, indeed, are the subtle and complicated possibilities.

Incidentally Mr. Rypins (pp. xiii-iv) makes the point—and like many good points, obvious though hitherto overlooked—that, if the MS. is to be dated *ca.* 1000, none of the prose pieces in it can be of later date. Certainly on this basis they can no longer be placed in the eleventh or twelfth centuries.

The second part of the Introduction (pp. xxix ff.) includes *inter alia* a splendid list (pp. xxxiv-v) of MSS. of the Latin *Epistula Alexandri ad Aristotilem* which will be of great value to students of the Alexander Legend; interesting as testifying to the popularity of this piece in pre-Conquest England is *MS. Harl. 2682* of *ca.* 1000. The *Wonders of the East* (*de Rebus in Oriente Mirabilibus*), an interesting teratological tract that might be brought into relation with the *Liber Monstrorum* (famous among Anglists for its account of Hygelác's death) which contains Alexander material. The relation of the *Liber* to England is stressed by Antoine Thomas in a recent article "Un MS. inutilisé du Liber Monstrorum," *Bulletin DuCange: Archiuum Latinitatis Medii Aeui*, I (1924), 232 ff., esp. pp. 244-45. It is regrettable that a place could not be found in an appendix for a transcript of the OE. version of the *Wonders*, preserved in MS. *Cott. Tib. B v*,

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The introduction to the Christopher fragment is marred by an outburst, distressing only in its lack of urbanity, against the distinguished Anglist, Eugen Einenkel.

The text has been carefully prepared; Mr. Rypins seems to have displayed the technique and the infinite patience necessary for extracting the last ounce of information from the MS. (cf. pp. viii-ix) and has presented the text folio for folio and line for line as in the original.

The Notes are brief but include the latest literature on the passages discussed; attention is directed to the Addenda, based on an article by Bradley and Sisam, on a separate slip pasted in to face p. 1 of the text.

The Glossary is full though not quite a concordance to the texts. Why is *-nis* "in every case changed" to *-nes*? The practice of listing compounds with *ge-* and *un-* under the simplexes strikes the reviewer as fundamentally bad; for these compounds (and others) constitute a veritable 'feature' of OE., the importance of which is to be emphasized rather than otherwise. Lexicographically these texts are valuable for certain rare and curious words used therein (see Mr. Rypins' lists on pp. xli-ii and xlvi). A few of these at least merit special notice: *ácǽgled* is certainly correctly glossed and should doubtless be connected with **cǽgel* 'a wooden peg'; to *cailis* noted in Toller's *Supplement* under *ácǽgled* should be added a reference to Germ. *Kegel, Kegelspiel.* After *cannon* is missing the reference to fol. 113b/19; the gloss 'cane' corrects the *Suppl.* The masc. (vs. fem.) gender of *epistol* is marked (p. xlii) as noteworthy; note that OE. aphetic *pistol* is regularly masc. and that the example of *epistol* in Bosworth is ambiguous; Old and Mod. Icel. *pistell* is, for instance, masc.; masc. is probably the regular gender in OE. for this loan from the Lat. fem. *epistula. Feðerfóte* (and *feðerfótnieten*) offers a new spelling of *fiðerfóte* recorded in Bosworth. *Bylifigeað,* cited under *bylifian* (? for *belífian,* normally meaning 'deprive of life'), would be better referred to an inf. *bylibban* (*bilibban* in Bosworth, 'to live by, on'); for the spelling of the 3pl., cf. Sievers-Cook, § 416 and esp. Note 2. *Génra,* adj. would be better referred to *gegn,* adj.; cf. *Suppl. s.v. Hio,* p. xlii, appears to be a misprint for *hiow. Hréadwæter* would be better cited as a cpd. of *hréod* 'reed' (*q. v.* in Glossary); for word-formation, cf. *Rohrau* (Austria), birth-place of the composer Haydn. *Hréogan* 'to get rough (of weather)' is accepted by the *Suppl.;* for the spelling with '*g*' for '*w*' (assuming the verb to be a derivative of *hréow,* adj.), see Sievers-Cook, § 295, Note 1 *ad. fin. Lawernbéam* looks like an obvious miswriting of *lawerbéam. Lauerisc* is an addition to the lexicons as is *onhongian* (vs. *onhón*) and *onlócian* (cf. recorded *onlóciend* 'onlooker'). Can *palther* be anything else than a crude misspelling (miswrit-

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ing) of *panther?* cf. *pandher* in *Suppl.* After *rynig* is missing the reference to fol. 114b/12. *Yb-, ybféran,* and *ybsittan* should be silently(?) corrected to *ymb-;* is there any more need of preserving such obvious and very common omissions of the scribal macron than of preserving an equally obvious misprint in a quotation from a modern book? Numerous other forms and spellings occur which are in their way more noteworthy than those touched upon here, but which require too extended discussion: cf. *ealfara, foeran* sub *féran, glengista, gehliuran,* and *lafor* (= *eafor?,* i. e. *eofor,* see *Suppl.* and Latin text).

The reviewer hopes to see erelong a fuller discussion by Mr. Rypins of the many fascinating problems which his book has broached and partly developed. Others, too, will have their say and express their appreciation of this interesting contribution to OE. studies.

F. P. Magoun, Jr.

Cambridge, Mass.

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Edited by EDWIN GREENLAW

WITH THE COÖPERATION OF

GUSTAV GRUENBAUM W. KURRELMEYER

H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER

CONTENTS

PAGE

LANCASTER, H. C.—Sidney, Galaut, La Calprenède: an Early Instance of the Influence of English Literature upon French, - - 71
LEMMI, C. W.—Italian Borrowings in Sidney, - - - - - 77
CASE, A. E.—Some Stage-Directions in 'All's Well that Ends Well,' - 79
GIFFORD, G. H.—A Note on Rabelais I, 1, - - - - - - - 83
FLETCHER, H.—Milton and Walton's 'Biblia Sacra Polyglotta' (1657), 84
BAKER, H. T.—Shakespeare misquoted, - - - - - - - 87
FENTON, F. L.—The Authorship of Acts III and IV of 'The Queen of Corinth,' - - - - - - - - - - - - - 94
SMITH, H.—The New Sainte-Beuve Material, - - - - - 97
CURTISS, J. T.—The Meaning of the Word "Dade," - - - - 100
ALLISON, T. E.—On the Body and Soul Legend, - - - - - 102
ANIBAL, C. E.—Mira de Amescua and 'La ventura de la fea,' - - 106
WATTS, E. B.—Eustache Le Noble's 'Le Fourbe,' - - - - - 107
NOAD, A. S.—Ugo Foscolo and an English Magazine, - - - - 108
SEHRT, E. H.—German 'Krieg,' - - - - - - - - - 110
HESPELT, E. H.—Irving's Version of Byron's 'The Isles of Greece,' - 111
SCHAFFER, A.—A Note on René Boylesve's 'La Becquée,' - - - 112
IBERSHOFF, C. H.—Nietzsche the Romanticist, - - - - - 113
HART, ELIZABETH.—The Heaven of Virgins, - - - - - - 113

REVIEWS:—

MARY S. GRETTON, Writings and Life of George Meredith. [*J. W. Beach.*] 117
C. H. C. WRIGHT, Background of Modern French Literature. [*G. Chinard.*] 119
A. W. SECORD, Studies in the Narrative Method of Defoe. [*H. Buck.*] 121
D. MORNET, La Pensée française au dix-huitième siècle. [*G. Ch[illegible]*] 124
ANTONÍN FRINTA, A Czech Phonetic Reader. [*J. B. Dudek.*] - 125
WALTER GRAHAM, The Beginnings of English Literary Periodical [*L. P. McCutcheon.*] - - - - - - - - - - 126
LOUIS BRANDIN, Berthe au Grand Pied, d'après deux romans en [illegible]s du XIIIe siècle. [*J. E. Harris.*] - - - - - - 127
Antichrist and *Adam*, two Mediaeval Religious Dramas Translated into English by SARAH F. BARROW and WILLIAM H. HULME. [*G. R. Coffman.*] - - - - - - - - - - - - 129
F. E. SCHELLING, Elizabethan Playwrights: A Short History of the English Drama from the Beginning to the Closing of the Theaters in 1642. [*F. M. Padelford.*] - - - - - 133
CHARLY CLERC, Le Génie du Paganisme. [*H. Peyre.*] - - - - 135
WALTER v. WARTBURG, Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch. [*D. S. Blondheim.*] - - - - - - - - - - - - 137
R. V. MERRILL, The Platonism of Joachim du Bellay. [*Hélène Harvitt.*] 138
OLIVER M. JOHNSTON and JEFFERSON ELMORE, A French Grammar for High Schools and Colleges. [*H. E. Haxo.*] - - - - 139

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Modern Language Notes

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SIDNEY, GALAUT, LA CALPRENÈDE: AN EARLY INSTANCE OF THE INFLUENCE OF ENGLISH LITERATURE UPON FRENCH

In an appendix to his *Théâtre français avant la période classique,*[1] Rigal declares that La Calprenède's tragedy, *Phalante,*[2] is an imitation of a play by the same name written by a certain Jean Galaut, but he neither gives his proof nor attempts to find the source of the latter play. Two years ago I examined Galaut's tragedy [3] and found that Rigal was quite justified in connecting the two French plays, but the source of the earlier one remained to be determined. The other day I ran across the statement in an article by Mr. H. W. Lawton [4] that the love of "Phalante et Philoxène pour Hélène, reine de Corinthe," as described in Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia,* "fournit à La Calprenède le sujet d'une tragédie, *Phalante.*" Mr. Lawton says nothing of Galaut, leaves us under the impression that Sidney's influence was exerted directly upon La Calprenède, and confuses the names of Sidney's characters, for in the *Arcadia* Phalantus is the brother, not the lover of Helen. Nevertheless his statement was essential to the clearing up of the problem.

The story in question does not occur in the so-called *Old Arcadia,* but it is found in the first edition of Sidney's novel, that of 1590, where the eleventh chapter of the first book is concerned with

[1] Paris, Hachette, 1901, p. 322.

[2] Paris, Sommaville, 1642; *privilège,* May 3, 1641.

[3] The only copy known to exist is at the municipal library of Toulouse, where I had previously located it with the help of Mr. C. I. Silin and a librarian at the *Bibliothèque Nationale.*

[4] "Notes sur Jean Baudoin et sur ses traductions de l'Anglais," *R. L. C.,* VI (1926), 677.

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Helen, Queen of Corinth, beloved of the "Lord Philoxenus, sonne and heire to the vertuous noble man Timotheus."[5] This Philoxenus brought to the court his friend Amphialus and asked him to seek for him the queen's hand, but as soon as the stranger began to plead for his friend, Helen fell in love with him and was not long in confessing her state of heart. Shocked at the suggestion that he might be untrue to Philoxenus, Amphialus left the country, but was pursued and attacked by his friend as soon as the latter had learned from the queen how matters stood. In defending himself, Amphialus caused the death of Philoxenus, which was followed by that of Timotheus, who came up to stop the fight and was overcome upon seeing that his son had died by the hand of his friend. Amphialus then departed and Helen set out in search of him. She catches up with him two books later, but the plays under discussion use no further material from this unfinished episode.

Despite Sidney's various contacts with Frenchmen, it is an astonishing fact that this tale became so soon the basis of a French play. English literature was practically unknown in France. Those Scotch or English writers who had a hearing there, Buchanan, More, etc., wrote in Latin. Green's *Pandosto* did not inspire French dramatists till after its translation into French in 1615. The *Arcadia,* on the other hand, though not translated until 1624, became the source of a French play before the end of 1605.

Our information concerning Galaut comes from a volume called *Recueil des diuers poemes et chans Royaux auec le commencement de la traduction de l'Æneid de I. Galaut Aduocat au Parlement de Tolose.*[6] The legend engraved on an accompanying portrait of the author shows that his name was Jean and that he died in Sept., 1605, at the age of thirty. *Phalante* is one of the works contained in the volume. The plot[7] is quite simple. Sidney's episode furnishes

[5] Pp. 66-72 in the edition of M. A. Feuillerat, Cambridge, University Press, 1922.

[6] Toulouse, veuve de Jacques Colomiez, 1611, 12°. The poems include one on the death of his brother, also a lawyer, and one describing an event of 1596, as well as a masquerade for knights dressed in black, covered with mirrors, flames, and stars.

[7] Act I, Philoxène talks of his devotion to Phalante and his unrequited

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its main incidents. The characters and names of the four principal persons are retained except for the fact that the name of the hero is changed from Amphialus to Phalante, who, in the *Arcadia,* is Helen's brother and takes no part in the episode. Subordinate persons are added to help the dialogue or to explain certain points in the action. At times the imitation is close: "I told him that I would heare him more willingly, if he would speake for Amphialus, as well as Amphialus had done for him" becomes

> Parlés-moy pour Phalant [*sic*] comme il a faict pour vous (IV, 2).

In both cases the rejected suitor calls his friend a traitor when he overtakes him in the wood. On the other hand, a statement of fact in Helen's narrative may be turned into a dialogue, as when the sentence, "I discovered my affection unto him," inspires a conversation in which occurs a couplet that might have given food for thought to Longfellow's Priscilla, had she read Galaut before she or her family left France:

> Mais pourquoy cher Phalant' [*sic*], & dictes moy pourquoy
> Vous ne parlés pour vous comme ie fay pour moy? (II, 1.)

Timothée's dream was added to give an impression of impending doom, the rescue of the shepherdess to explain how the hero

love for Hélène, with whom he had played as a child, and is advised to ask Phalante to help him. Hélène tells her attendants that she loves none of her many suitors. Phalante promises aid to his friend. Act II, Phalante urges Hélène to love Philoxenus. She refuses and begs for Phalante's love, even offering him her crown. He assures her that he cannot betray his friend. Act III, Timothée talks of his achievements, of a bad dream he has had, and of his efforts to rid himself of it by the use of magic. A ghost appears calling "Helene, Philoxene." Hélène again pleads for Phalante's love and the latter decides to leave the country. Act IV, Philoxène learns of Phalante's departure, sees Hélène, and discovers her love for Phalante. He vows vengeance. Timothée is informed of his son's resolution and one of the queen's attendants determines to give her the same information. Act V, Philoxène tells of the delay occasioned by his rescue of a shepherdess from three satyrs. Philoxène attacks him and "s'enferre luy mesme." Timothée enters and dies from the shock caused by what he sees. Phalante leaves after consecrating his arms and armor to the shade of Philoxène. The bodies are carried off for burial. Hélène discovers Phalante's blood-stained arms, concludes that he is dead, and kills herself. Phalante returns, finds her body, tears out his eyes, and commits suicide.

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is so easily overtaken. The duel was arranged in such a way as to clear Phalante of all guilt. A *dénouement* had to be added, as the action of the original episode was incomplete. To work out these details Galaut had recourse to the contemporary pastoral drama, in which shepherdesses were constantly rescued from satyrs, and to ancient literature, which must have inspired the putting out of the hero's eyes and the consecration of the arms and armor, probably also the scene of incantation.[8] As the suicide of the heroine, motivated by the erroneous belief that the hero is dead, and his own suicide on finding her corpse constitute a situation that was familiar to readers of Ovid's account of Pyramus and Thisbe, it is unnecessary to suppose that Galaut was acquainted with *Romeo and Juliet*.

In his omission of the chorus, his careful exposition, and his use of preparation Galaut displays the qualities of a practical playwright. He has no hesitation about showing us combat and death on the stage. That he did not attempt a more profound exploration of the souls of his characters or give his play greater unity is not surprising on the part of a writer of his generation.

Although forgotten to-day, the play met with some success. There is no reason to doubt that it was acted, as we have the record of a prologue written for the tragedy of *Phalante* by the farce actor, Des Lauriers, called Bruscambille, and the following reference in that document to the plot fits very will that of Galaut's play:

> Philoxene rompt la chaîne qui l'attachoit à l'amitié de son cher Phalante, mais plûtôt de son fidéle Oreste &c . . . l'on voit un Prince qui met l'affection en arriere, pour rechercher, au péril de sa vie, un contentement particulier.[9]

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[8] The *Œdipus* of Seneca, for instance, contains the first and last of these three motifs.

[9] Cited by the frères Parfait, IV, 136-139. They did not know Galaut's play and declared that the tragedy of *Phalante* was played in 1610, apparently because they used an edition of Bruscambille which they date "vers 1612," for their usual method of determining the date of a play's first performance is to subtract a year or two from that of a publication that concerns it. Paul Lacroix, probably the first person to connect Galaut's play with the tragedy mentioned in the prologue, examined the latter in an edition of Bruscambille of 1615. Cf. the *Bibliothèque dra-*

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It may have had two editions, for mention is made in the *Bibliothèque du théâtre français*[10] of an anonymous octavo of 1610 printed without name of town or publisher, though it is possible that this is the same as the one described above, for, if detached from the other works of Galaut, it would show no name of author, publisher, or city, and it is well known that little distinction was made between octavo and duodecimo editions. The date of 1610 would, in that case, be borrowed from the frères Parfait. That the play was utilized by Mairet has been pointed out in my edition of the latter's *Chryséide et Arimand.*[11] That it became the source of La Calprenède's *Phalante* is still more obvious.[12]

By the time that the latter play was written, however, a good deal of water had passed under the bridge. If the classical system had not been altogether developed, it had already caused drama-

matique de M. de Soleinne, I, No. 948 and second supplement, No. 127. Rigal, *loc. cit.*, asked if the play might not have been written by Hardy, but he had no evidence and his question was obviously inspired by his unwillingness to admit that anyone could have written a play that was acted on a professional stage as early as this except Hardy.

[10] I, 440-441. The detailed analysis there given makes it obvious that the play discussed is the same as Galaut's *Phalante.*

[11] Baltimore, 1925, pp. 161, 162, where a couplet in *Phalante*, I, 3:

Ie te suiuray par tout, le nœud qui nous assemble
Veut que s'il faut mourir nous mourions tous ensemble,

is compared with ll. 1631, 1632 of *Chryséide:*

Console toy mon cœur, le nœud qui nous assemble,
Veut que si nous mourons, nous mourions tous ensemble.

Cf. also *Phalante*, II, 1:

Cil qui ne s'ayme point ne peut aymer personne

with *Chryséide*, v. 906:

Qui n'aime pas soy-mesme il n'aime pas autruy.

[12] The plot also resembles that of Corneille's *Mélite*, for in both the unsuccessful lover brings to his sweetheart the man with whom she falls in love, but the resemblance is not sufficient to prove influence, although as much can be said for it as has been said by Dr. Küchler (*Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift*, V (1913), 679-681), or Dr. Van Roosbroeck (*The Genesis of Corneille's Mélite*, printed without date about 1920) to prove that Corneille derived his play from Hardy's *Gésippe* or *Dorise.* As a matter of fact, we have here an incident treated by a long list of authors including Boccaccio, Lilly, Sidney, Hardy, and Galaut. It remains to be proved whether Corneille followed one of them, or some other author, or whether he was inspired by a situation in real life.

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tists to concentrate their attention on character rather than events and make popular a certain degree of unity in structure. La Calprenède's chief innovation[18] is to make Phalante fall in love with Hélène so that he has a greater struggle than in Galaut and Sidney. Hélène, moreover, has to contend with her pride and her confession of love is spread over three scenes in which she steadily becomes more and more outspoken, whereas Galaut had made her explain herself in no uncertain terms in the first interview and merely repeat herself in the second. In accordance with the rules of propriety, the fight and the death of Philoxène are kept off the stage, but, as suicide could be witnessed by the audience, we are allowed to see both Hélène and Phalante when they kill themselves. Timandre, as the father of Philoxène, is now called, survives the sight of his son's death and even proposes taking vengeance on Phalante. The extraneous material contained in the account of the shepherdess's rescue and of the old man's dream with the vision of the ghost is omitted. The action becomes more rapid and may take place within twenty-four hours, though the unity of place in its stricter sense is not kept, for both the queen's bed-room and a forest some distance away are represented. La Calprenède brings his leading characters together in the last act, as his predecessors had not done, by altering Hélène's mode of death. Instead of following Phalante, she sends for him after quietly taking poison at home. He arrives in time to hear her last confession of love and to make one of his own, after which he kills himself with his sword and she follows him as soon as the poison allows.

It is clear that La Calprenède follows Galaut rather than Sidney, for, to mention only the most important pieces of evidence, in both plays the hero is named Phalante, Philoxène throws himself on his friend's sword, and both Hélène and Phalante commit suicide, none of which things can be said of Sidney's characters. Moreover, there is nothing in the *Arcadia* that is found in La Calprenède and not in Galaut. This fact is somewhat surprising, as La Calprenède based three plays on English history or tradition and could have had easy access to a French translation of the *Arcadia*. But it is less strange than the other fact brought out in

[18] For a brief analysis of the play and a general study of La Calprenède as a dramatist, cf. my article in *M. P.*, XVIII (1920), 121-141, 345-360.

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this article, that Galaut based his play on Sidney's novel. Nevertheless the internal evidence offered by the similarity of names, incidents, and even some of the dialogue obliges us to accept the fact that a lawyer of Toulouse, as early as 1605, was sufficiently acquainted with English to make use of the *Arcadia,* unless a common source for Sidney and Galaut can be found. That such a source may exist is, of course, possible, yet Brie,[14] who discusses at length the influence of pastoral and chivalric novels, late Greek romances, and other material obviously used by Sidney, can do no better than show a parallel between the episode in question and a story in Lilly's *Euphues* and suggest that Sidney derived it either from the latter work or from its source, the story of Titus and Gesippus in the *Decameron.*[15] But neither Lilly nor Boccaccio is so close to Galaut as Sidney is, for they do not have the same proper names as the two latter writers, nor are the situations and characters as near Galaut's as are Sidney's. Since Galaut was only eleven years old when Sidney died and fifteen when the *Arcadia* was published, one cannot suppose the French play to have been written early enough for the Englishman to be acquainted with it. My conclusion is, therefore, that, just as La Calprenède subsequently based his play on Galaut, Galaut derived his from Sidney, and that we have here a very early case, the earliest with which I am acquainted, of the influence of English literature upon French.

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ITALIAN BORROWINGS IN SIDNEY

Two interesting loans from Italian literature occur in the first book of the *Arcadia:* Kalender's lampoon on Mopsa and Dorus's account of the "strange operation of love." To these may per-

[14] *Sidneys Arcadia,* Strassburg, Trübner, 1918, pp. 183, 184. For certain bibliographical suggestions in regard to the *Arcadia* I am indebted to Dr. Edwin Greenlaw.

[15] Cf. S. L. Wolff in *M. P.,* VII (1910), 577-585. Neither in his *Greek Romances in Elizabethan Prose Fiction,* New York, 1912, nor in H. W. Hill's *Sidney's Arcadia and the Elizabethan Drama* (University of Nevada Studies, I (1908), No. 1) is a source for Sidney's episode mentioned.

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haps be added one found in *Astrophel and Stella:* the last line of the sonnet to the moon.

The fame of Francesco Berni rests almost as much on his burlesque verses as on his *Rifacimento dell' Orlando Innamorato,* and perhaps the most celebrated of these is the following sonnet, composed in mockery of the Petrarchists:

> Chiome d'argento fin, irte ed attorte
> Senz'arte intorno a un *bel viso d'oro,*
> Fronte crespa, u'mirando io mi scoloro,
> Dove spunta i suoi strali Amore e Morte;
> *Occhi di perle vaghi,* luci torte
> Da ogni obbietto diseguale a loro,
> Ciglia di neve, e quelle, ond' io m' accoro,
> Dita e man dolcemente grosse e corte;
> Labbra di latte, *bocca ampia celeste,*
> Denti d' ebano rari e pellegrini,
> Inaudita ineffabile armonia;
> Costumi alteri e gravi: a voi, divini,
> Servi d' Amor, palese fo che queste
> Son le bellezze della donna mia.

It can hardly be doubted that Kalender's song is an imitation of this poem. Here we have Mopsa's "skin like burnished gold," her "eyes bedeck'd with Pearl," her "mouth O heav'nly wide"; here, in the "unheard, ineffable harmony" of l. 11, we have Mopsa's beauties, "such as no man them may know"; here we have the whole conceit of painting a caricature by misapplying the colors of a flattering portrait. It was Berni who first transposed the "precious things" of the Petrarchists' Laura and made them "serve to shew her shape."

The source of Dorus's assertion that love, "like a point in midst of a circle, is still of a nearness" must be immediately obvious to any one at all conversant with Dante. In the eleventh chapter of the *Vita Nuova,* the poet relates how, in a vision, Love rebuked him for too heartily diverting gossip from Beatrice to another lady, and said to him: "Ego tamquam centrum circuli, cui simili modo se habent circumferentiæ partes; tu autem non sic." This cryptic utterance is supposed to originate with Dante, and it seems to me next to impossible that it should have occurred independently to Sidney. Its interpretation, which has long puzzled Dantologists,

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cannot, however, be that put upon it by the English poet in the passage I have quoted from.

The last of my loans may not be a loan at all; that bitter question—"Doe they call virtue there ungratefulness?"—might have been provoked by the circumstances. The fact remains, however, that the following parallels occur in works which Sidney very probably read.

Giovanni della Casa, Sonnet XL:

> Donna amar ch' Amor odia e i suoi desiri,
> Che sdegno e feritate onore appella!

Tasso, *Aminta,* IV. 1:

> Della mia crudeltade
> Ch'io chiamava onestade.

Boccaccio, *Decameron,* L. 10:

> . . . e alla loro melansaggine hanno posto nome onestà.

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SOME STAGE-DIRECTIONS IN *ALL'S WELL THAT ENDS WELL*

In the absence of any early separate edition of *All's Well that Ends Well,* the text of the play derives solely from the corrupt version of the Folio. One notable fault of that version is the frequent omission of stage-directions. In at least a dozen instances it is necessary to supply "Exit" or "Exeunt": entrances, on the other hand, are always correctly indicated, unless, indeed, two of the problems discussed below involve exceptions to the rule. One reservation to this general statement should be made,—when a principal character enters, those in attendance are not always enumerated.

There is a good reason for this discrepancy in the accuracy of the stage-directions. *All's Well* belongs to the group of plays whose texts derive, mediately or immediately, from theatrical prompt-copies. Accuracy in the notation of entrances is an absolute necessity in such a script. An actor off-stage, not following

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the course of the play, *must* be notified by the prompter of his approaching entrance. Once on the stage, however, it is not likely that he will forget the moment of his exit: indeed, in most cases he is "cued off" by his own lines or those of a fellow-actor.[1] The indication of exits in the prompt-copy is therefore not a matter of such vital importance. For an analogous reason, it is not absolutely necessary to catalog the names of the attendants of an important character on the occasion of his entrance: notice to the principal actor of the group is generally sufficient.

With these facts in mind let us examine the crux which occurs in Act II, Scene 1. The problem here is the disposition of the King between lines 23 and 62.[2] During this interval Bertram, Parolles and the two Lords conduct a conversation in which the presence of royalty seems to be ignored. Something must be done to avoid the awkward spectacle of a king sitting silent and unattended while his courtiers discuss their private affairs among themselves. The Folios give no stage directions at this point, and the solution of the difficulty must be deduced from the lines of the actors.

Pope solved the problem by making the King leave the stage after line 23, and in this he has been followed by most subsequent editors. The King's last words, "Come hither to me," have been variously interpreted as being addressed to his attendants, who carry him away upon his couch, or to Bertram, who is about to follow him, but is prevented by the First Lord's exclamation, "O my sweet lord, that you will stay behind us!" There is a difference of opinion as to the moment of the King's re-appearance. The majority follow Pope in placing it just before line 50: others make it coincident with Lafeu's entrance at line 62. Capell, unwilling to remove the King from the stage without express warrant from the text, makes him retire to a couch at the back of the stage at line 23 and rise to come forward again at line 50.

There are serious objections to all of these interpretations. If the King's "Come hither to me" is addressed to Bertram, it is scarcely conceivable that he should disobey the command in order to talk with the Lords. If the King re-enters at line 50 the object

[1] Vide R. Crompton Rhodes, *The Stagery of Shakespeare*, 11.

[2] The line numbering is that of the Oxford *Shakespeare*.

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of his removal from the scene has not been attained, since the courtiers carry on the remainder of their private conversation in his presence. Moreover, his unmotivated retirement is patently an artificial device to permit the remaining characters to talk undisturbed. Finally, there is no indication of his re-entrance in the stage-directions.

The following arrangement is suggested as avoiding the difficulties enumerated above without doing violence to the text of the Folio. At the opening of the scene the King enters in a chair or upon a couch, and remains in the center of the stage throughout the scene. At line 23 he dismisses the lords who are departing for the Florentine war, and turning to still another lord, says, "Come hither to me."[8] The two engage in pantomime until Lafeu's entrance. Bertram and Parolles, who were not included in the King's address at the beginning of the scene, have remained in the background near one of the side entrances. The departing courtiers pass them on their way off the stage and linger to make their farewells. This exchange of farewells in a far corner of the chamber is, under the circumstances, not unnatural, nor is the subsequent departure of Bertram and Parolles in the wake of the Lords. The King is engrossed in his talk, and there is nothing to show that he has ever been aware of the presence of the gentlemen from Rousillon. As they leave the stage Lafeu bursts in, drops upon his knee, and *interrupts* the King and his counsellor with "Pardon, my lord, for me and for my tidings."

A second problem is found in Act II, Scene v. Lines 94 and 95 read, in the Folio:

> *Hel.* I shall not breake your bidding, good my Lord:
> Where are my other men? Monsieur, farewell. *Exit.*

Many modern editions give the second line:

> *Ber. To Parolles.* Where are my other men, monsieur? *To Helena.* Farewell. *Exit Helena.*

The editors who retain the reading of the Folio point out that it makes perfect sense as it stands, since Helena may well have an attendant to whom her question is addressed. One argument in

[8] Thus far the solution agrees with that suggested by L. Kellner, *Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*, LIII, 42 (1917).

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favor of this view seems not to have been adduced, however. The scene is closely connected with the preceding one,—in fact, the two take place in neighboring rooms and are so close in time that they may possibly overlap. Parolles goes directly from Scene IV to Scene V, and Helena follows him after a short delay occasioned by the necessity of taking leave of the King. Her last words, as she left the earlier scene, were a command to the Clown to attend her. He would naturally be still in her company when she enters Scene V, and he is probably the person of whom she inquires, "Where are my other men?" although the real purpose of her question is to convey to Bertram her intention to obey his command at once.

The last problem to be considered occurs in the final scene of the play. The stage-direction at line 158 reads, in the Folio, "*Enter Widow, Diana and Parolles.*" Parolles neither speaks nor is spoken to, however, until line 240, and in the interval, at line 232, appears the direction, "*Enter Parolles.*" It has been tacitly agreed by all editors that the earlier direction is an error, and that Parolles does not appear until he is brought on at line 232. This view is founded on the assumption that no purpose is served by his presence during the first part of the scene, and on the fact that there is no direction for his exit between the two entrances. The first argument fails to take account of lines 201-204:

King. Mesthought you said
You saw one here in court could witness it.
Dia. I did, my lord, but loath am to produce
So bad an instrument: his name's Parolles.

It may be urged that the phrase "in court" means the palace as a whole, and not the royal court in session. But Diana, apparently, has just arrived at the palace: if she has seen Parolles at all it must have been either in the audience-chamber or on the way thither. Moreover, it is dramatically desirable that the audience should know that Diana has seen Parolles, in view of her reliance upon his testimony. As for the second argument, it has already been pointed out that exits are frequently omitted from the stage-directions, especially where some speech acts as a cue for the actor's departure.[4] Such a cue, in the writer's opinion, exists in the

[4] Another instance in which two directions for the entrance of the same

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present instance. Parolles has been led to enter the audience-chamber on the heels of Diana, out of curiosity, but in his new-born spirit of humility he remains on the fringe of the crowd near one of the entrances. When he hears Diana name him as a witness he realizes his awkward predicament and slips hastily out of the door, unobserved by the characters on the stage, but not by the audience. The situation affords one of the few opportunities for laughter in the course of the sordid exposure of Bertram's baseness.

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A NOTE ON RABELAIS I, 1

A passage near the end of the first chapter of Rabelais's *Gargantua* tells how the genealogy of the hero was discovered. In a great tomb of bronze, accidentally uncovered by ditch-diggers, was found the said genealogy, "escripte au long de lettres cancelleresques, non en papier, non en parchemin, non en cere, mais en écorce d'ulmeau." The only source for this episode indicated by the notes in the critical edition,[1] are passages from Folengo and Pliny. I suggest as an alternative source the *Prologus* to the *Ephemeris* of Dictys Cretensis, which tells how this work was deciphered from a manuscript accidentally discovered when the author's tomb was rent open by an earthquake.

Dictys was fabled to have written his account of the Trojan War upon *tiliae,* that is upon strips of bast, the inner bark of the lime tree, a substance familiar to the ancients under the names of *tilia* and *philyra;* the word *tilias* occurs three times in the *Prologus,* and affords a parallel to Rabelais's "écorce d'ulmeau" which the passages in Folengo and Pliny[2] do not offer. But

character occur without any intervening direction for his exit will be found in the same scene. Bertram obviously is led from the stage at line 127, although the Folio does not say so, and a direction for his second entrance occurs at line 153. (It is postponed until line 155 in most modern editions.)

[1] *Oeuvres de François Rabelais,* édition critique, T. I. *Gargantua,* Paris, Champion, 1912, pp. 23, 24.

[2] Pliny, *N. H.,* XIII, 21 (69), states that paper was once made from the bark of certain trees, but does not mention any special variety of tree.

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why, if Rabelais had the Dictys episode in mind, did he speak of elm bark rather than linden bark? Here is a possible explanation. In the twenty-fourth book of Pliny's *Natural History*, which deals with the medicinal virtues of plants and trees, occurs a passage in which the word *tilia*, in the generalized sense of "inner bark," is used of the inner bark of the elm.[3] The peculiar sense which the word here bears is borne in upon the reader by the fact that the very next section proceeds to describe the properties of the lime tree, and opens with the words "Arbor tilia."[4] A person who had recently read or carefully studied the twenty-fourth book of Pliny, and only such a person, would not unnaturally interpret the *tiliae* of Dictys as elm bark.

Rabelais, as an enthusiastic student of medicine, is almost certain to have read the passage in Pliny; as a humanist he is extremely likely to have known his Dictys, whom contemporary scholarship regarded as an important historian, "luculentum historiographum," to quote the words of François Faragonius in the preface of his 1499 edition.[5] Accordingly the words "écorce d'ulmeau" furnish a presumption that the prologue to Dictys is a real source of the episode at the beginning of the *Gargantua*.

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MILTON AND WALTON'S *BIBLIA SACRA POLYGLOTTA* (1657)

There have been numerous attempts made in the past to connect Milton with that prodigious Polyglot Bible, edited by Brian Walton, which appeared at London in 1657 after years of labor on the part of its editor. All of these attempts have pointed out that if a connection existed between Milton and this mighty work of English scholarship, it would have important consequences. Saurat especially has made the connection with this Bible of great

[3] Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, XXIV, 8 (33), 48.—Ulmi et folia et cortex et rami vim habent spissandi et volnera contrahendi. *Corticis utique interior tilia* lepras sedat. . . .

[4] *Ibid.*, XXIV, 8 (34), 49.

[5] See N. E. Griffin, *Dares and Dictys* . . . (Baltimore, J. H. Furst Co., 1907), pp. 14-17.

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importance in providing Milton with a text of the Aramaic Targumim and other Oriental Biblical texts.[1] But conclusive proof of the connection has been lacking. It is hoped to provide it here.

I have cited elsewhere some evidences of Milton's actual employment of this Bible,[2] but there remains a most remarkable reference to the Polyglot by Milton, the explanation of which, on the one hand, furnishes direct evidence of his actual usage and citation of Walton, and on the other, explains a century-old perplexity concerning one of his versional citations.

This reference occurs in the chapter *de Filio Dei* of the *de doctrina Christiana,* where Milton commented length upon Acts 20:28. Concerning the generally accepted *ecclesiam Dei* (Church of God) of this verse he wrote:

> Verum Syriac versio non *Dei*, sed *Christi ecclesiam* scribit; ut nostra recens *Domini ecclesiam.*[3]

The reference to *recens nostra* puzzled Sumner greatly, and in his English translation, to which rather than to the Latin text he appended his notes and critical apparatus, he indicated in a footnote that he took this to be a recent English Biblical version.[4] He referred to editions of the sixteenth century, but surely these would not have been mentioned by Milton as *recens.*

[1] Saurat, Denis, *Milton; Man and Thinker*, N. Y., 1925, pp. 252-53. "He had at his disposal the Polyglot Bible published by Walton in 1657." Saurat advances no proof whatsoever for this statement.

[2] Fletcher, H. F., *Milton's Semitic Studies*, Chicago, 1926, p. 84.

[3] *De doctrina Christiana*, ed. Charles Sumner, London, 1825, p. 82.

[4] *Prose Works of John Milton*, Bohn edition, IV, p. 112, note 8. "In the list of various readings given in Bp. Wilson's Bible, it is stated that the reading *of the Lord* exists in one of the English Bibles printed by Whitchurch, which was probably the 'recent translation' alluded to by Milton. This printer published many editions of the Bible, separately or in conjunction with Grafton, about the middle of the sixteenth century. The library of St. Paul's contains ten editions published in different years between 1530 and 1560, but the reading alluded to appears in none of them. The libraries of the British Museum, Lambeth, and Canterbury (which latter collection contains about fifty ancient English Bibles and Testaments presented by the late Dr. Coombe) the Bodleian library at Oxford, the University library, and the libraries of Trinity and St. John's Colleges, Cambridge, have also been searched without success for a copy of the edition in question."

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Sumner's work as editor, translator, and annotator was of such a profound nature, as his note indicates, that one hesitates to charge him with error or misunderstanding, but in this particular instance it seems clear that his fundamental assumption was false. As his note states, he inferred that Milton was referring to a recent English version of the Bible. This, however, is unwarranted on two counts. Milton was referring in the first part of his statement to the standard translation of the Syriac, and the mere fact that he was writing in Latin would lead one to infer that he was referring to a Latin translation and not an English. Moreover, the Syriac Testament is fragmentary and therefore seldom if ever published in English translation. The standard form in which it usually appeared was as a Latin translation of those portions of the New Testament found in the Syriac, supplemented, as in Tremellius' various editions by excerpts from Beza and other Latin translations of those parts missing in the Syriac. Milton was therefore presumably referring to the standard Latin Translation of the Syriac, for him the translation of Tremellius done in 1569 at Paris, in the first part of his statement regarding the Syriac, and to some other recent Latin translation of the Syriac for the second part. This is significant, for while Biblical versions in the Western World have multiplied from Jerome to Goodspeed, translations of the Syriac New Testament have not been numerous, and especially in Milton's day would have been of great interest to a man of sound and wide linguistic training who was penning a system of theology based on Scripture.

Instead, therefore, of having hunted for an English Biblical version in which the reading was *Lord,* Sumner should have hunted for a recent translation of the Syriac, probably done in Latin, in which the word ܡܫܝܚܐ (Meshiha) had been translated *Domini* or *Domino* and not *Christi.* Such a search is much simpler than Sumner's, for at the time Milton was writing[5] there had indeed appeared a very "recent" translation of the Syriac, which was, of course, the Latin translation printed in Walton's *Polyglot* of 1657. In this translation the phrase ܕܡܫܝܚܐ

[5] Hanford, J. H., *Studies in Philology,* XVII, 309 ff., The Date of Milton's *de doctrina Christiana.* Hanford concludes that the work was written between 1655 and 1660.

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ܥܕܬܐ (Church of the Meshiha) is rendered *ecclesiam illam Domino,* which Milton has changed by the simple expedient of changing the dative of reference or possession, *Domino,* to the genitive *Domini.* So nearly does the date of Walton's work agree with the most carefully considered dating, between 1655 and 1660, of the final composition of the *de doctrina,* that Milton's pointing out the use of the word *Dominus* in place of *Christus* is very striking indication of what he meant by *recens.*

The "recent translation," therefore, would appear, on the dual basis of proximity in time and agreement of citation, to have been the translation of the Syriac in Walton's *Polyglot* of 1657, which quite clearly demonstrates that Milton employed this Bible.

University of Illinois. HARRIS FLETCHER.

SHAKESPEARE MISQUOTED

When Polonius says of Hamlet,

> I am sorry that with better heed and judgment
> I had not quoted him,

he prophesies concerning the critics to come. Shakespearean style may profitably be studied through misquotations. One of the chief modern sinners is Hazlitt, in spite of the fact that he is one of the best of Shakespearean critics. Whenever he quotes a brief passage, he apparently relies on his memory and does not verify. Hence, although he himself is an admirable stylist in prose, he frequently substitutes a poorer word or phrase for Shakespeare's. He has naively confessed his own faults in a passage from his essay *On Application to Study,* in his volume *The Plain Speaker:*

> If any person is trying to recollect a favorite line, and cannot hit upon some particular expression, it is in vain to think of substituting any other so good. . . . I was at a loss the other day for the line in *Henry V,*
>
> *Nice* customs curtesy to great kings.
>
> I could not recollect the word *nice:* I tried a number of others, such as *old, grave,* etc.—they would none of them do, but seemed all heavy, lumbering, or from the purpose. . . . Again—
>
> A jest's *prosperity* lies in the ear
> Of him that hears it.

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I thought of quoting from memory, of "A jest's *success*," "A jest's *renown*," etc. I then turned to the volume, and there found the very word that of all others expressed the idea.

He then proceeds, in the essay *On the Difference Between Writing and Speaking,* in the same volume, to misquote *Henry V* most vilely:

> Hear him but reason in divinity,
> And, all-admiring, with an inward wish
> You would desire that he were made a prelate.
> Let him but talk of any state-affair,
> You'd say it had been all in all his study.
> Turn him to any cause of policy,
> The Gordian knot of it he will unloose,
> Familiar as his garter. When he speaks,
> The air, a charter'd libertine, stands still. (I, 1, 38)

Here is the correct quotation, with the variants italicised:

> Hear him but reason in divinity,
> And all-admiring with an inward wish
> You would desire *the king* were made a prelate:
> Hear him *debate* of *commonwealth* affairs,
> You *would* say it *hath* been all in all his study:
> . . . . . .
> Turn him to any cause of policy,
> The Gordian knot of it he will unloose,
> Familiar as his garter: *that,* when he speaks,
> The air, a charter'd libertine, *is* still.

Of some of Hazlitt's mistakes one may say, with Master Page of the *Merry Wives,* "This passes!" Or, as Sir Hugh Evans adds, "Indeed, Master Ford, this is not well, indeed." The phrase "talk of any state-affair" is weak when compared with the right Shakespeare of "debate of commonwealth affairs."

Perhaps in the following line Hazlitt was deliberately altering:

> This, this is the unkindest cut of all.
> (*On the Jealousy and the Spleen of Party: The Plain Speaker*)

The repetition of the word *this* is not un-Shakespearean; and to the modern reader Hazlitt's line may be preferable to the old grammar of

> This was the most unkindest cut of all.
> (*Julius Caesar,* III, 2, 187)

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But in this passage from *Antony and Cleopatra* (IV, 14, 9) he jumbles the blank verse lines and imports into one of them two words, "a bear, a cloud," which occur separately seven and eight lines above, respectively. Here is his version:

> That which was now a horse, a bear, a cloud,
> Even with a thought the rack dislimns,
> And makes it indistinct as water is in water.
>
> (*On Dreams: The Plain Speaker*)

Shakespeare says:

> Sometime we see a cloud that's dragoniah,
> A vapour sometime like a bear or lion.
> . . . . . .
> That which is now a horse, even with a thought
> The rack dislimns and makes it indistinct
> As water is in water.

Hazlitt, like Antigonus, fled from the bear for seven pentameter measures and then admitted him without disturbing the meter. But what a blank verse line is

> And makes it indistinct as water is in water!

Where was Hazlitt's ear? We shall have to admit that this is a comedy of metrical errors.

In his volume, *Characters of Shakespeare's Plays,* he quotes accurately almost always, doubtless because he had the text before him. Yet even here he slips occasionally, as when, in the essay on *Othello,* he writes

> I *felt* not Cassio's kisses on her lips,

where Shakespeare wrote *found,* a much finer word, indeed an almost inspired one. Equally bad is Hazlitt's rendering, in a footnote of his essay on *Hamlet,* of the famous

> There is a willow grows aslant a brook,
> That shows his hoar leaves in the glassy stream.
>
> (IV, 7, 167)

He turns it into

> There is a willow growing o'er a brook
> That shows its hoary leaves i' th' glassy stream.

How could he miss the picturesque and unusual word *aslant?*

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And why did he ruin Shakespeare's concord of sweet sounds by making a hash of the second line? Reverence, "that angel of the world," should have prevented him. His third offence, in this volume, this time in an essay on *The Merchant of Venice,* is a mangling of the great passage from *Hamlet:*

> 'Tis an unweeded garden
> That grows to seed; things rank and gross in nature
> Possess it merely. (I, 2, 135)

The Hazlittian hash for this is: "'Tis an unweeded garden; things rank and gross do merely gender in it!" Shakespeare does not use the word *gender* in the whole of this long soliloquy. I fear that Hazlitt's love for the great poet is here merely such as "the general gender bear him."

In *Table-Talk,* one of his most delightful volumes, Hazlitt misquotes in the third essay, *On Genius and Common Sense,* another *Hamlet* passage. He makes it: "There's the rub that makes absurdity of so long life." Admitting that he may have intended the variant *absurdity,* for *calamity,* he certainly did not intend *rub,* for *respect.* And he alters the meter:

> There's the respect
> That makes calamity of so long life. (III, 1, 68)

In *The Ignorance of the Learned,* a devastating attack on pedants, he fails to show some of the "exact scholarship" which is the redeeming feature of pedants. He writes: "I would rather be a wood cutter, or the meanest hind, that all day 'sweats in the eye of Phoebus, and at night sleeps in Elysium,' than wear out my life so, 'twixt dreaming and awake." Shakespeare wrote:

> From the rise to set
> Sweats in the eye of Phoebus, and all night
> Sleeps in Elysium. (*Henry V,* IV, 1, 257)

The superiority of "all night" over "at night" needs no comment. Hazlitt's feeble substitute arose from his having missed "from rise to set," for which he tried to make his "all day" do service. But such a substitute is like Falstaff's soldiers, "exceeding poor and bare, too beggarly." And if Hazlitt should answer, "Tut, tut; mortal phrases, mortal phrases," we should be tempted

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to counter with "Immortal phrases in Shakespeare, mortal in Hazlitt."

The admirable speech in *All's Well That Ends Well* (IV, 3, 83), "The web of our life is of a mingled yarn, good and ill together; our virtues would be proud, if our faults whipped them not; and our crimes would despair if they were not cherished by our virtues," is turned by our critic into this:

> The web of our *lives* is of mingled yarn, good and ill together; our virtues would be proud, if our faults whipt them not; and our *vices* would despair, if they were not *encouraged* by our virtues.
>
> (Quoted in *Why Distant Objects Please: Table-Talk*)

Here Hazlitt misses the alliteration of *crimes* and *cherished.* Moreover, Shakespeare's word *cherished* is much more expressive than *encouraged.* Whether our critic's next blunder, in the essay *Whether Actors Ought To Sit in the Boxes,* is a vice or a crime and whether it should be cherished or whipped, I shall leave to the reader to determine:

> No; let him pass. Vex not his parting spirit,
> Nor on the rack of this rough world
> Stretch him out farther!

This is the correct text:

> O, let him pass! Vex not his ghost: he hates him
> That would upon the rack of this tough world
> Stretch him out longer. (*King Lear*, V, 3, 313)

"Parting spirit" is not bad; it shows a pretty vein of invention in Hazlitt. And his use of *rough* for *tough* would be understandable if he lived in the present age and wished to avoid the reminiscence of Vachel Lindsay's lines, from his poem *How Samson Bore Away the Gates of Gaza,*

> But he wept—"I must not love tough queens,
> Nor spend on them my hard earned means."

When we pass to Hazlitt's *Sketches and Essays,* we reach one of his most poetic and memorable efforts, *On a Sun-Dial.* There is little better writing in English prose. Take a passage almost at random:

> Surely nothing is more simple than time. His march is straightforward;

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but we should have leisure allowed us to look back upon the distance we have come, and not be counting his steps every moment. Time in Holland is a foolish old fellow with all the antics of a youth, who "goes to church in a coranto, and lights his pipe in a cinque-pace."

I scratch my head and wonder, "Did Shakespeare refer to pipes or to tobacco elsewhere in his works—or even here, in *Twelfth Night?*" And then I look up the passage and find Sir Toby, that sad rascal, saying in his vulgar fashion:

> Why dost thou not go to church in a galliard and come home in a coranto? . . . I would not so much as make water but in a cinque-pace.
>
> (I, 3, 135)

No, Sir Toby was not lighting his pipe; he was but "looking upon the hedge," like Autolycus.

In the same volume, *Sketches and Essays,* Hazlitt writes of *Disagreeable People*—with whom he evidently contrasts good old Izaak Walton in the following passage: "I am not sure that Walton's *Angler* is not a book of this last description—

> That dallies with the innocence of thought,
> Like the old time."

It is an admirable comment. But Shakespeare, in *Twelfth Night* (II, 4, 49) wrote:

> It is silly sooth,
> And dallies with the innocence of *love*
> Like the old *age.*

In the essay *On Taste,* Hazlitt says: "In Shakespeare's description of flowers, primroses are mentioned—

> That come before the swallow dares, and take
> The winds of March with beauty."

And he adds: "I will be bold to say that there will be no scruple entertained whether this single metaphor does not contain more poetry of the kind than is to be found in all Racine." Hazlitt's praise is probably not excessive. But Shakespeare wrote of daffodils, not of primroses. It is a little below, in the same passage, that he speaks of

> Pale primroses,
> That die unmarried, ere they can behold
> Bright Phoebus in his strength.
>
> (*The Winter's Tale,* IV, 4, 122)

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In *The Spirit of the Age* we find in the essay *Rev. Mr. Irving* this misquotation from *The Tempest:* "He could bedim the noon-day sun, betwixt the green sea and the azure vault set roaring war." Compare the true version:

> I have bedimm'd
> The *noontide* sun, call'd forth the mutinous winds,
> And 'twixt the green sea and the *azur'd* vault
> Set roaring war. (v, 1, 41)

Hazlitt's *azure* is commonplace beside Shakespeare's *azur'd.*

It is in his masterpiece of satire, *A Letter to William Gifford, Esq.,* printed in *The Spirit of the Age,* that Hazlitt telescopes two lines of a famous sonnet (No. 116) thus:

> Love is not love that alteration finds.

Shakespeare's version is:

> Love is not love
> Which alters when it alteration finds.

Here the sense is considerably different. It is a kind of mistake that Hazlitt seldom makes. In the essay *On Poetry in General,* published in *The English Poets,* he returns to his trick of distorting meter:

> The mortal instruments are then in council;
> And the state of man like to a little kingdom,
> Suffers then the nature of an insurrection.

Compare the original:

> *The genius and* the mortal instruments
> Are then in council; and the state of man,
> Like to a little kingdom, suffers then
> The nature of an insurrection. (*Julius Caesar,* II, 1, 63)

Hazlitt's omission of three words in the first line forced him to reconstruct the entire metrical scheme of the passage. And he failed to note that *insurrection* has here five syllables. Indeed, his last line is lame, however we try to scan it.

One of his most perverse changes occurs in the discussion of *Posthumous Fame,* in his early book, *The Round Table.* In quoting Sonnet No. 111, he inserts the exact opposite of Shakespeare's word:

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> **Oh! for my sake do you with Fortune chide,**
> **The guilty goddess of my *harmless* deeds.**

The correct reading is *harmful*. And this is the only mistake Hazlitt makes in quoting a passage of seven lines. It is almost inexplicable.

I fear this list of misquotations will cloud the fame of a great critic. Let me say, therefore, that Hazlitt is so felicitous in his use of Shakespearean quotations that, even when he misquotes, he is never "less than archangel ruined." As compared with most other critics, he is "in shape and gesture proudly eminent." His faults are slight, his virtues many and great. And at his worst as at his best, to vary Shakespeare's characterization of Brutus, "he will be found like Hazlitt, like himself." Phrases he may quote, but ideas he does not borrow. The justice and eloquence of his paragraph, "It is we who are Hamlet," has never been surpassed. He is one of the most penetrating, as he is one of the most fascinating, of Shakespearean critics.

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THE AUTHORSHIP OF ACTS III AND IV OF *THE QUEEN OF CORINTH*

Some time ago I had occasion to investigate carefully both the known work of Nathaniel Field and the work in the disputed plays of the Beaumont and Fletcher canon. At that time I came to the conclusion that Field had written not only the Induction to the *Four Plays in One* but also the whole of the *Triumph of Honour* and the *Triumph of Love*. I have been much interested to find that Mr. H. Dugdale Sykes in his article, "Nathaniel Field's Work in the Beaumont and Fletcher' Plays" in *Sidelights on Elizabethan Drama* confirms my opinion, but I must take exception to the proof of authorship used by Mr. Sykes. Mr. Sykes asserts that Field wrote the two Triumphs and Acts III and IV of *The Queen of Corinth*. He feels that Field was the author of the Triumphs because of their similarity to the two acts in *The Queen of Corinth*. His proof of authorship consists of what seem to me some very unconvincing parallels between passages in *The Queen of Corinth* and

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passages in the two Triumphs, and one passage in *Amends for Ladies*. A careful examination shows that the salient characteristics of Field, the characteristics which are so marked in *A Woman is a Weathercock* and *Amends for Ladies* and which are present in the Induction, and the two Triumphs, are absent in Acts III and IV of *The Queen of Corinth*.

Field's chief characteristics are more numerous than Mr. Sykes has suspected. There are other things than Field's free use of rimed couplets to indicate his work. His dramatic method is one clue. He uses few scenes, one or more sub-plots, plunges immediately into the action of the play, and maintains a rapidity of movement throughout; these are all traits one might expect from an experienced actor. In diction he uses large, mouthfilling words, always preferring the long word of Latin origin to its simpler Anglo-Saxon equivalent. There is the frequent use of alliteration in his verse. His blank verse is labored, but regular. He sometimes had to force his lines to do it, but he generally comes out with five regular feet, and pauses at the end of the line. As a result he has a low percentage of double-endings and of run-on lines. His average is about 14% double-endings and 20% run-on lines. His use of rimes is frequent. He uses them in the conventional manner before exits and at the end of scenes, but he has one other use which is distinctly his own. He sometimes uses a couplet as the cue for the entrance of an important character, an effective device which he no doubt learned from his own experience on the stage. Again Field will use rime when he is in a facetious mood. His work is also characteried by the use of satire. He satirizes the lightness of women in a bitter, vindictive fashion, and frequently turns his invective against current social abuses. These, then, are the characteristics of Field's own work, the work in *A Woman is a Weathercock* and *Amends for Ladies*. What happens if we apply these tests to Acts III and IV of *The Queen of Corinth*?

In the first place, the diction is not that of Field. In all the third act there are only four words which suggest Field: *disproportion, ignominious, excruciate,* and *antipathous;* in the fourth act there are none. There is little of Field's tendency to alliteration (Sykes gives one example) or to play on words in these acts. There is none of his roistering comedy, or his satire, and the Field

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attitude toward women is lacking. More than this, the verse is not that of Field. With the exception of one scene (IV, III) the percentage of double-endings is too high; in this scene it is as low as 12%, which is within his range.[1] The verse has none of the regularity of Field's. There are many parts of lines thrown in, and there are still other lines which have far too many syllables. In fact, there are in these two acts lines with triple and quadruple endings, lines unlike any in Field's accredited work. Much of the verse in Acts III and IV cannot be distinguished from prose. Field's verse always keeps the steady, regular beat of blank verse.

The very traits by which Field may be recognized, and the traits which are conclusively present in the Induction and the two Triumphs, are not to be found at all in Acts III and IV of *The Queen of Corinth*. So lacking in Field characteristics are these parts that a first reading of the disputed acts gave me the impression that Field did not write them, and each reading since has increased that impression until I am convinced that whoever may have written the third and fourth acts of *The Queen of Corinth*, Field did not.

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[1] Technical Table of Acts III and IV of *The Queen of Corinth:*

III, I: 249 lines of verse
61 double-endings, 20%
65 run-on lines, 26%

III, II: 130 lines of verse
21 double-endings, 16%
34 run-on lines, 26%

IV, I: 170 lines of verse
68 double-endings, 40%
40 run-on lines, 23%

IV, II: 32 lines of verse
8 double-endings, 25%
14 run-on lines, 43%

IV, III: 150 lines of verse
18 double-endings, 12%
42 run-on lines, 28%

IV, IV: 131 lines of verse
35 double-endings, 26%
28 run-on lines, 21%

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THE NEW SAINTE-BEUVE MATERIAL

Sainte-Beuve continues to receive the respectful attention of scholars, as numerous special articles, and various new editions of his works, show,[1] yet in the case of the fresh material, now published by M. Giraud [2] in a book which is provoking wide discussion, the judgment of the critic is sharply questioned. Very interrogative is M. Giraud himself, whose choice of title (*Mes Poisons*) indicates that he regards these intimate notes as essentially venomous (*i. e. not* judicious). Sainte-Beuve, we are told, was nervous, irascible, suspicious, spiteful, jealous, and full of bile. Now is there any evidence that even when dealing with his contemporaries, he retains a modicum of wisdom? What beside venom?

S.-B. is impersonal, for he himself remarks in this book (p. 128) that the critic's gift amounts to genius when, in the midst of revolutions in taste, he discerns clearly, *sans aucune mollesse,* what is good. It might have been added that a man determined to judge his fellows without softness easily grows dour, the neighbors contributing. S.-B. in fact becomes an artist in acerbity, yet one cannot fail to observe that the malice is wholesale. It comes, I think, of a philosophy which is finding in the nineteenth century an alien quality that provokes constant expostulation.

There is a clue to this philosophy in a stricture about Dumas to the effect that his imagination represents merely "une prodigieuse dépense *d'esprits animaux*" (p. 29). S.-B. italicizes an objection to the merely physical in literature to which he often returns. There is a further reference to Dumas, and to Balzac, as judged by Hugo, where the critic suggests that their power is chiefly "une je ne sais quelle force purement robuste de santé et de tempérament" (p. 50). Likewise, tempering his praise of

[1] Cf. Brémond, "U. Guttinguer et le Roman de S.-B.," *Rddm*, Nov. 1, 1925; Gazier, "Les 'Sources' de S.-B.," *RB*, 1926, no. 14; MacClintock, "S.-B. and Pope," *PMLA*, June, 1926; Henriot, "Un peu de lumière sur 'Volupté,'" *Temps*, Oct. 19, 1926; the new ed. of *Port-Royal*, Paris, A la Connaissance, 1926; a new collection of the essays, Paris, La Ren. du Livre, 1926; *Quelques figures de l'histoire*, Paris, Tallandier, 1926.

[2] *Mes Poisons*, Cahiers intimes inédits, Paris, 1926. First published in *Rddm*, Dec. 15, 1925, Jan. 15, Feb. 1, 1926. Cf. Thibaudet, "Amis et Ennemis de S.-B.," *NRF*, Aug. 1, 1926.

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Musset, he protests that "en fait de passion, on ne discerne en ce temps-ci que les gens qui crient à se tordre les entrailles" (p. 105); and he points out in another connection that there are innumerable degrees of craft more compatible with human nature than grossness. "Ulysse, quoiqu'il fasse, est un homme; Polyphème est un animal" (p. 38). For him the gusto of the vigorous must have *direction*. In the passage where he objects, apropos of Dumas, Balzac, and Hugo, to the merely robust he praises *la véritable puissance de l'esprit*, and asks: "Lequel a plus de valeur, Gengiskan traînant à sa suite toutes les hordes d'Asie, ou M. de Turenne à la tête de trente mille hommes?"[3] He deplores the lack of proportion (absence of control) shown by Hugo before the academy; the speaker had not the measure of the place, his speech was Cyclopean (compare "Polyphemus is an animal"). Immense unconnected fragments. Only those who have more imagination than good sense and intellect admire. S.-B. is using the word imagination as Pascal did when the latter wrote of "cette partie décevante de l'homme . . . ennemie de la raison,"[4] and similarly prefers a quality of mind.[5] He objects likewise to the lack of intellectual direction of Lamartine as a historian,[6] and one finds further implication in favor of control in the remark, apropos of the violence of Musset, that there may be more anguish in a sigh than in a shriek.[7] This principle of control and proportion, the critic had previously made clear,[8] should help a man keep his place in the cosmos.[9] He now objects in the same spirit to *plénitude de soi-même*,[10] and says it is of his essence to be the one *qui voit en petit* and not to esteem *celui qui voit gros*. He actively hates the poseur who calculates even his *bonjour* (p. 49). He flays Hugo on this score (p. 48) and indulges in sharp criticism, as

[3] P. 50. Cf. *Portraits Littéraires*, III, 547.

[4] *Œuvres*, ed. Grands Écrivains, XIII, 1-2.

[5] Cf. p. 88: "l'abus de la phrase . . . le strict nécessaire de la pensée."

[6] P. 83. Cf. p. 81, of *les Girondins:* "Je ne dirai pas que ce livre émeut, mais il émotionne. Mauvais mot, mauvaise chose."

[7] P. 103. S.-B. quotes Dollfus.

[8] In *Chateaubriand et son Groupe*. Cf. H. E. Smith, "S.-B.'s Chateaubriand," *FQ*, June, 1926.

[9] Gide, *Incidences*, Paris, Nouvelle Revue Française, 1924, Appendice, argues that the true classicist is modest.

[10] P. 66. of Guizot. Cf. p. 39.

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indeed Guizot and Royer-Collard do, of the arrogance of Lamartine (p. 86).

The "naïvely self-important" Lamartine (p. 79), it is furthermore stated, descends to mere rhetoric (p. 88), and this attaches the problem of pose to the problem of integrity, as S.-B. had combined these when he deprecated the gulf between what the author of the *Itinéraire* did and what in beautiful words he said. Now he regrets that George Sand should write on the same day the most admirable pages since Rousseau and an ignoble letter. What is a talent that may be so corrupted? (p. 108). Now this cannot be on the part of S.-B. mere Puritanism. In the pulpit, as he is well aware, he would be a sorry figure, but he does worship taste as the equivalent in literature of a true sense of the Christian in religion;[11] he now quotes Vauvenargues to the effect that to have *taste* one must have a *soul* (p. 53); and then we find this quotation: "Le vers se sent toujours des bassesses du cœur" (p. 51). Once more he looks at Hugo. But he is completely impersonal when, in another part of the book, referring to *ces derniers temps,* he protests vigorously against the subordination of truth to declamation (pp. 23-24). He has turned to a line from Boileau for support as to that sense of proportion which produces integrity. The same predilection for the earlier period underlies a remark, not in the least querulous, that one of the terms particularly applicable to the talents of his contemporaries is *prodigious;* he points out how impossible it would be to say this of Corneille, Pascal, and Racine (p. 28).

In the notes of self-appraisal in *Mes Poisons* S.-B. writes that he is *classique* in the sense that a certain degree of unreason and bad taste forever spoils a book for him (p. 11). He has plead previously for a "liberal classicism."[12] No doubt all -isms are hateful. Yet a scholar so gifted in nuances as M. Cazamian has proposed[13] to look at the history of literature in France and elsewhere as the history of two tendencies, one somehow allied to classicism, the other to romanticism; he feels he is in the presence of phenomena complicated yet reducible in essence to two terms.

[11] *Port-Royal*, 3e éd., I, 417.

[12] *Causeries du Lundi*, III, 38-55.

[13] Louis Cazamian, *La Notion de Retours Périodiques dans l'Histoire Littéraire*, Annales de l'Université de Paris, Mars, 1926.

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The present *cahiers* of S.-B. suggest a characteristic rhythm in his thinking, which would place him as an observer of the revolution in taste of his own time who is judging that revolution in terms of its opposite and "without softness."[14] He is elusive; one may question the widespread view that he is "the wandering Jew of the intellectual world" and yet not deny that he is errant and crotchety. But it has been recently pointed out[15] that the seventeenth century itself was far from living up to its own standard. S.-B. himself was, I think, guilty of unreason and, in the acerbity of some of the present notes, without taste. Yet, after examination of the evidence, I cannot believe that he is exclusively or primarily what the title suggests, poisonous. If he attacks, it is in the name of the truth as he sees it. *In veneno veritas.*

Brown University. HORATIO SMITH.

THE MEANING OF THE WORD "DADE."

No group of authors have ever received less attention in proportion to the volume of their printed work than have the almanack-makers of the seventeenth century. Our ignorance of these men has led to a curious mistake, which was, I believe, first made in Halliwell and Wright's edition of Nare's *Glossary,* and has since been repeated in the *New English Dictionary.* In these works the word "dade" is defined as a kind of "wading bird." This curious word occurs only in Song XX of a seventeenth century volume of verse, known as *The Loyal Garland,* of which the fifth and only extant edition appeared in 1686. The first two stanzas of this song are as follows:

> What *Booker* doth prognosticate
> Concerning kings or kingdoms state,
> I think myself to be as wise

---

[14] Cf. Seillière's *Sainte-Beuve, Agent, Juge, et Complice de l'Évolution Romantique,* Paris, 1921. Had he been able to examine the present material, he might have given more emphasis to S.-B. as a *judge* of romanticism.

[15] Cf. *RHL,* XXXIII, 116, a review by M. Mornet of Gaiffe, *L'Envers du Grand Siècle.*

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As some that gazeth on the skyes:
My skill goes beyond the depth of a *pond*,
Or *rivers* in the greatest rain,
Whereby I can tell, all things will be well,
When the king enjoys his own again.

There's neither *swallow*, *dove*, nor *dade*,
Can soar more high, or deeper wade;
Nor shew a reason from the stars,
What causeth peace or civil wars:
The man in the moon may wear out his shoo'n
By running after Charles his wain,
But all's to no end, for the times will not mend
Till the king &c.,

I have reproduced these stanzas exactly as they appear in the reprint made by the Percy Society,[1] except that I have taken the liberty of italicizing certain words. Unfortunately I have not seen a copy of the original volume, which is very scarce, but it seems highly probable that in the original edition these words were both italized and capitalized, as was customary in the printing of the day. The Percy Society has obviously not reproduced the text, but has on the contrary modernized the spelling and the printing.

To a seventeenth century reader the meaning of this poem was obvious. The author was not talking of birds; he was referring to well-known almanack-makers of the day. Of those mentioned probably John Booker was the most famous,[2] but not the least among their brethren were the Dades, John and William. The first extant almanack bearing the name of John Dade was published in 1589 and the last in 1616. He probably published annually, although no almanacks are extant for several of the intervening years. In 1619 we find that William Dade, who for lack of better information, may be called John's son, was publishing an almanack under his own name. The last almanack extant under his name was published in 1694. Hence Dade's Almanack was a well-known institution for over a century. The other men mentioned in this poem were equally famous. Pond's almanack was published annually from 1604 to 1709, River's from

[1] Vol. xxix.

[2] See the *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* for an account of Booker.

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1626 to 1640, Swallow's from 1634 to 1742, and Dove's from 1627 to 1709.

Consequently one is forced to assume that it is very unlikely that there was ever a word "dade" meaning a wading bird, especially as this word occurs only in a place where the reference is obviously to well-known astrologers.

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ON THE BODY AND SOUL LEGEND

In the well-known moral play, *The Castell of Perseverance,* there occurs a version of the so-called *Debate between Body and Soul,* which, I believe, has not been noted by students of the legend. Ramsay in the introduction to his edition of Skelton's *Magnyfycence* (E. E. T. S. Extra Series No. XCVIII, p. cxlviii) points out that it has been commonly supposed that the prologue to the *Pride of Life* indicates that the motif of the *Debate of Body and Soul* was employed in the second part of that morality. He further writes, "If the old soul and body motif, as Brandl surmises (*Q. and F.* 2, LXXX, p. xviii), did appear in the closing part, we have lost the only known example of its dramatic use." (P. clxiv.)

Notwithstanding Ramsay's assertion, the speeches of Anima, at least, in *The Castell of Perseverance* seem clearly a survival of the old body and soul motif. To be sure the upbraiding of the body by the soul is more curtailed than are the upbraidings in the well-known poetic versions such as those in the Vercelli Book and Wright's collection.[1] However, the speeches in the morality preserve much of the spirit of those in the poetic versions.

According to stage directions (Macro Plays: E. E. T. S. Extra Series, p. 168, l. 3008) *Anima* enters from beneath the bed under the castle immediately after *Humanum Genus* dies. Presumably the corpse is lying upon the bed, since the death occurs upon the stage and there is no direction for an exit. *Anima* speaks as follows:

> Mercy, þis was my last tale
> þat euere my body was abowth.

---

[1] Grein Bibl., *A. S. Poesie,* I, p. 198 ff., and Wright, *Latin Poems of W. Mapes,* p. 179 ff., p. 321 ff.

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but Mercy helpe me in þis vale,
of dampnynge drynke, sore I me doute.
body! þou dedyst brew a byttyr bale,
to þi lustys whanne gannyst loute,
þi sely sowle schal ben a-kale;
I beye þi dedys with rewly route;
& al it is for gyle.
euere þou hast be coveytows
falsly to getyn londe & hows;
to me þou hast brokyn a byttyr jows.
so welaway þe whyle! (Ll. 3009-3021).

Anima then turns to *Bonus Angelus* and asks how the soul may be saved. He feels that there may be some hope since, in the last hour, *Humanum Genus* called upon God's mercy. (Ll. 3021-3030.) After this stanza a break occurs. The editor in a footnote says, "A leaf must be left out here corresponding to the gap after lf. 170."

The text resumes in the midst of a speech by the *Malus Angelus* who maintains that the soul "withoutyn dowte with me to hellë pytt" must go. The *Bonus Angelus* acknowledges his inability to save the soul, "Aȝeyns Coveytyse can I not telle," and departs to seek aid elsewhere. *Anima* laments anew his fate:

Alas, mercy! þou art to longe!
of sadde sorwe now may I synge;
holy wryt, it is ful wronge,
but mercy pasë allë þynge.
I am ordeyned to peynys stronge;
In wo is dressyd myn wonnynge;
In helle, on hokys I schal honge
but mercy fro a wellë sprynge,
þis deuyl wyl have me a-way.
Weleaway! I was ful wod
þat I forsoke myn Aungyl good,
& with Coveytysë stod
tyl þat day þat I schuld dey.
(*Macro Plays*, p. 168, ll. 3061-3073.)

The remainder of the scene, some fifty-six lines, is taken up by the *Malus Angelus* as he describes the pains which *Anima* must endure in hell. The scene closes as the *Malus Angelus* hastens to hell with *Anima* on his back.

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I schol þee bere to helle
I wyl not dwelle:
have good day! I goo to helle. (Ll. 3066-3069).

Undoubtedly this portion of the text which follows the missing leaf is a part of the scene between *Malus Angelus, Bonus Angelus,* and *Anima* which began with *Anima's* first appearance. Whether the lost portion contained the Body's reply to the Soul's accusation or not, we cannot tell. It is possible that the portion which we have represents the only use made of the motif in this play. If so we have here a type of the legend which Bruce (*MLN,* v, 385 ff.) calls the *Address of the Damned Soul to its Body.* Versions of this type are frequent in Old and Middle English literature. Among poems of this type are the Old English version in the Vercelli Book (Grein, I, 198 ff.) and the two published by Wright and Morris respectively in their collections of poetry.[2] On the other hand the missing portion may well have contained the altercation between the body and soul as to the responsibility for the soul's state. If this be true, then *The Castell of Perseverance* furnishes a dramatic treatment of the dialogue form. The closing portion, that which follows the missing page, can easily correspond to the coming of the fiends after the soul in the poetic versions.

Because of certain resemblances between the extant portions of the play version and the dialogue form of the *Debate Between Body and Soul,* I am inclined to believe that the scene in *The Castell of Perseverance* is closer to the dialogue type than to the address form. In the address form represented by the Old English poems of the Vercelli and Exeter Books, the soul is portrayed as returning periodically to upbraid the body. In the dialogue version and in those versions which in Bruce's opinion approach the dialogue form (*MLN,* v, 385 ff.) the soul delivers its accusation of the body immediately upon leaving the body.[3] As has been noted above, in the play version, the speech of *Anima* follows directly the death of *Humanum Genus.* The dialogue version

[2] Thos. Wright, *Religious Songs,* Percy Soc., XI, 70 ff.; Richard Morris, *O. E. Miscellany,* 168 ff.

[3] *Erlanger Beiträge,* I, 1-325; *Worcester Fragment,* Haufe; Halle, 1880; R. Morris, *Old English Homilies,* II, 183. *De Sancte Andrea.*

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places the emphasis upon the Soul's tortures in hell, while the address poems are much more vivid in their descriptions of the disintegration of the body. In this respect, this dramatic version is nearer to the dialogue than to the address. The Body's sins are specifically mentioned in both; hell's torments are concretely described in both. In the poetic version these details are in the form of a description which constitutes the latter part of the vision; in the play the description is made a part of the dialogue of *Malus Angelus* and constitutes the closing portion of the scene. Through this means the emotions of fear and terror of the audience are raised to the highest pitch in preparation for the climax, the dragging of terrified *Anima* off to hell. Bruce has indicated that great concreteness of detail is a characteristic of the dialogue type.[4]

As yet I am unable to point out a version in which there are sufficient parallels to indicate that the playwright had the copy in mind when he wrote his scene. There are, however, certain details in the dramatic version which are distinctive. From these I am inclined to surmise that the playwright either knew another version or wrote what is substantially another version. Specifically the sins for which condemnation comes are different in the poetic and dramatic versions. In the poetic versions pride and gluttony are chiefly emphasized. The body's propensity for riding and hunting, for fine clothes and rich food is called to mind. Even the Anglo-Norman version and Wright's No. 4 (*Latin Poems of Walter Mapes,* p. 321 ff.; p. 346 ff.) agree with the commoner versions in these details. (*Erlanger Beiträge,* I, 1-325.) In the play, in contrast, almost the whole emphasis is upon covetousness.

Furthermore the two versions, the poetic and dramatic, differ substantially in their descriptions of hell's torments. In the poems the "Thousand develene" which come to carry off the soul are described as terrible creatures with "brode bulches on here bac" and "ragged and roue and tayled." The torture of the soul with burning coals and "hote haspes" is delineated and finally it is carried off upon a saddle set with "scharpe pikes."

In the play version, on the other hand, no mention is made of the terrible devils, but the soul is to hang "on hokys in helle" and

[4] *MLN.*, v, 385 ff.

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"in bolnynage bondys brenne," "in pycke Ster, to grone and grenne," and "lye drenkelyd as a mous." (Ll. 3077-3080.) Because *Man* would not leave Coueytyse which slew his soul, *Anima* shall "be fonde to greve" and "putte in peynys plow" (ll. 3112-3113). There is no mention of the saddle and hot spurs, or the legion of grisly devils. Consequently since all the poetic versions agree very largely in these two points in regard to details and since the *Castell of Perseverance* differs so substantially, I believe the play presents a paraphrase of an unknown poetic version or that the dramatist made a version of his own.

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MIRA DE AMESCUA AND *LA VENTURA DE LA FEA*

In considering the paternity of *La ventura de la fea,* previously attributed to Lope, Mira de Amescua's case, in addition to arguments already advanced (*Mira de Amescua—El Arpa de Dabid—Lisardo, His Pseudonym,* Ohio State University Studies), is further supported by the very patent relationship between a passage in this play and an almost identical passage in Mira's *El esclavo del demonio.* In an editorial lapse (*op. cit.,* p. 185), this valuable point of contact has been passed over without mention. It should be noted that these two plays are of much the same period, and that, in exactly this way, Mira frequently (*op. cit.,* pp. 167, 181-2, etc.) displays his tendency to repeat an idea that has so impressed him as to persist in his artistic consciousness.

El esclavo del demonio (before 1612)	*La ventura de la fea* (1610-1616)
¡Qué bien un sabio ha llamado	Y un cierto sabio ha llamado
la hermosura cosa incierta,	la belleza sombra incierta,
flor del campo, bien prestado,	tumba de huesos cubierta
tumba de huessos cubierta	con un paño de brocado.
con un paño de brocado!	(fol. 12v)
(Ed. *Cl. Cast.,* vv. 2725-29)	

C. E. ANIBAL.

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EUSTACHE LE NOBLE'S *LE FOURBE*

Eustache Le Noble (1643-1711), whose malversations while in public office and whose spectacular exploits while a prisoner at the Conciergerie won for him in his day an unsavory reputation, was the author of a considerable number of works, which, although now quite neglected, have no little merit and interest. His satirical dialogues and legal speeches have not been entirely unknown, but his several plays are seldom mentioned.[1]

On Feb. 14, 1693, there was represented at the Théâtre français a comedy in three acts, entitled *Le Fourbe.* The Frères Parfaict report the performance laconically: "*Le Fourbe Parachevé,* comédie en trois actes, en prose d'un auteur anonyme, non imprimée, représentée une seule fois."[2] Notwithstanding the lack of information and the carelessness of the Frères Parfaict, who mistook the words of the secretary of the Théâtre français, who had written in his Register "*Le Fourbe,* pas achevé," for "*Le Fourbe Parachevé,*" the true name of the play and its author were well known in Paris at the time, as is shown by the following lines from the pen of Gacon. On many previous occasions Gacon had exchanged incivilities with Le Noble, and he now railed at his unsuccessful comedy, giving an instructive account of the initial and only performance of *Le Fourbe:*

> Ce mercenaire auteur chaussa le brodequin,
> Et copiant sur soi le héros de la pièce,
> Il peignit un fripon de la plus noire espèce:
> Un rôle hideux irrita l'auditeur,
> Au milieu du spectacle on fit taire l'auteur.[3]

The play seems never to have been printed and is not included in the *Oeuvres Complètes* of Le Noble.[4] There is, however, in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, a manuscript which preserves

[1] Cf. Clément, J. M. B., *Anecdotes dramatiques,* Paris, 1775, III, 299 and the *Bibliothèque dramatique de M. de Soleinne,* nos. 1634, 1675, 3156, 3351, 3752.

[2] *Histoire du Théâtre français,* Paris, 1734-1749, XIII, 283.

[3] *Le Poète sans Fard,* Rouen, 1698, p. 74 ff. Gacon's statement is much earlier than that of other writers.

[4] Paris, 1718, 20 vol. in-12.

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several excerpts from the comedy.[5] These fragments give a clear idea of the nature of *Le Fourbe,* showing it to be, as Gacon says, the story of "un fripon de la plus noire espèce," and its author a most unskillful manipulator of theatrical lines and an individual well acquainted with knavery. It is to be noted that the play is in verse, and not in prose, as stated by the Frères Parfaict and Clément.[6] The fragments do not deserve printing in toto, but the following extract from the first scene of Act I will serve as a sufficient and typical example of Le Noble's dramatic writing:

Des Guerets, procureur, parle.
Oui, dès l'âge le plus tendre,
Et vous n'étiez qu'enfant quand le bon maître Eloi,
Votre oncle Sernivier, et dont j'étais le gendre,
Vous mit pour petit clerc chez moi.

Prudotin, fourbe, solliciteur de procès.
Fi! N'allez point fouiller des ordures si basses.

Des Guerets.
Cela n'empêche pas qu'un carosse à six glaces,
Tiré par deux chevaux bien étoupés, bien nourris,
Tous les jours ne vous traine aux yeux de tout Paris,
Et qu'un bien apparent grossi par vos adresses
Ne vous fasse morguer mille gueuses noblesses.

Davidson College. GEO. B. WATTS.

UGO FOSCOLO AND AN ENGLISH MAGAZINE

In an article which appeared in the *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana,* Vol. XXXIII, 1924, p. 96 et seq., Signor A. Boselli dealt with a supposedly unpublished work of Ugo Foscolo, the illustrious Italian exile-poet. Signor Boselli, who entitled his discussion "Uno scritto ignorato di Ugo Foscolo," published, with comments, a printed essay found among the Foscolo autographs in the Tommasini papers of the Biblioteca Palatina, Parma, adding that it seemed impossible to discover whether or not the work was ever published by its author, although it bore every mark of having been intended for some English periodical.

As a matter of fact, this essay, "An Account of the Revolution of

[5] Ms. 6541, fol. 251 ff. [6] *Op. cit.,* I, 392.

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Naples during the years 1798, 1799," was published in Colburn's *New Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal* for January, 1821, and formed one of the chief attractions of the very first number to appear under the joint editorship of Thomas Campbell and Cyrus Redding. It has been overlooked by the numerous students of Foscolo's English period, probably because Foscolo did not contribute anything further to this magazine until the following year. None the less, in at least two well-known biographical works mention is made of the Italian's early collaboration with Campbell and Redding.

Cyrus Redding, in his *Fifty Years' Recollections,* Vol. II, pp. 168-171,[1] gives an account of the genesis of the *New Monthly* in the winter of 1820-21, and remarks, "I had received an introduction to Ugo Foscolo, when I came from Paris two years before. I now urged him to contribute. He sent an article on Neapolitan affairs."

In his *Literary Reminiscences and Memoirs of Thomas Campbell,* Vol. I, p. 168,[2] Redding is more explicit, and makes it plain that both the editors had a hand in procuring the coöperation of the gifted exile. "Campbell," he says, "had met Ugo Foscolo a day or two before, at Lord Holland's, when the magazine was spoken of as forthcoming, and Foscolo asked Campbell for a subject, but the poet could not tell of what he stood in need. Foscolo then went to work upon 'An Account of the Revolution in Naples'; he also proposed some memoirs of the less-known Italian poets, which he afterwards executed."

Foscolo's article even crossed the Atlantic within the year. I have found it reprinted, with flattering comments, in the *New York Literary Journal and Belles-Lettres Repository,* Vol. IV.[3] Far from having passed unnoticed, therefore, it may be said to have attracted a good deal of attention in the English-speaking world.

ALGY S. NOAD.

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[1] London, 1858, 3 vols.
[2] London, 1860, 2 vols.
[3] New York, C. S. Van Winkle, 1821.

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GERMAN *KRIEG*

Where the application of the laws of sound change[1] does not lead to the discovery of the etymology of a word, the finding of such an etymology then becomes in most cases a matter of chance.

Loan-words, if not too violently altered, are usually readily discovered as such; but often changes in these loan-words, especially when taken up into the language before or during the operation of a specific sound shift, cause them to take on the appearance of original words. And when we add to this a change, sometimes slight, in meaning and function, it is not at all strange that the word-sleuths should have ofttimes lost the scent. It was while looking up a word in Diefenbach's *Glossarium Latino-Germanicum* that I stumbled upon the etymology of *Krieg*.

In Latin the expression for a private soldier is *mīles gregārius*. Later *gregārius* was used alone in the same sense (Cf. Diefenbach, p. 269). This word is derived from Latin *grex*, 'herd, troop.' *Mīles* itself probably had this meaning originally (Cf. Greek ὅ-μιλος 'throng, mob, multitude'; Walde, *Wörterbuch*, p. 484). The initial sonant *g* in *gregārius* was changed to the surd *k*, as for instance Latin *Graecos* became Gothic *Krēkōs*, Old High German *Kriahha*. The original *g* between vowels remained. The short *ĕ*[2] was lengthened as in the loan-word *Brief* > Lat. *brĕvis*, or Old Saxon *prēstar*, OHG. *priestar* > *presbyter*. So in a perfectly regular way we get *Krieger*. This form is found in MHG. In the Middle German dialects the *ie* became *î* and we have the form *Krîger*, which was borrowed by the Middle Low German.

Just as from Latin *mīles*, *mīlitem* the verb *mīlitāre* and the noun *mīlitia* were formed, so from *Krieger* were made *kriegen* and *Krieg*.

Kluge (*Wörterbuch*, s. v. *Krieg*) and Hildebrand (*Grimms Wörterb.* Vol. v, 2212) believe that 'effort, exertion, struggle' were the original signification, but all of these meanings are easily derived from that of 'war, fight' (Cf. English *strive*).

George Washington University. EDWARD H. SEHRT.

[1] Cf. what Jespersen, *Language*, p. 307 has to say about this word.

[2] Cf. the late *OHG. chrêg*, *widarkrêgi* with the lengthened but unbroken vowel; Kluge, s. v. *Krieg*.

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IRVING'S VERSION OF BYRON'S *THE ISLES OF GREECE*

In an unpublished notebook[1] of Washington Irving's, now in the Seligman collection of the New York Public Library, there is to be found in Irving's handwriting a version of Lord Byron's *The Isles of Greece* which contains some curious variations from the text of the Coleridge edition. The notebook is undated, but there is evidence to show that some of the entries were made during Irving's stay in Paris in 1825. Irving's interest in Byron dates, of course, from a much earlier period, but it was accentuated at this time by his friendly intercourse with Medwin.

It is not clear from what source Irving derived his version. In every case the variants are much inferior to the readings of the accepted text. The first stanza reads:[2]

> The Isles of Greece! the Isles of Greece
> Where *lovely* Sappho *lived* & sung
> Where grew the arts of war & peace
> Where Delos rose & Phoebus sprung.
> Eternal *sunshine* gilds them yet,
> But all, except their Sun, is set.

In the final couplet of the seventh stanza there is this extraordinary infelicity:

> And must thy *voice* so long divine
> Degenerate into hands like mine?

The third and fourth lines of the ninth stanza sacrifice the very obvious rhyme:

> Leave battle *by* the Turkish hordes
> And shed the blood of Scio's *wine!*

There are also many divergencies of spelling and punctuation.

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E. HERMAN HESPELT.

[1] This is listed in the February (1926) number of the *Bulletin of the N. Y. Public Library*, p. 100, as: *Notebook containing extracts of poetry and prose; hint for a tale or farce; and miscellany.* 77 l. 16° Calf. In pencil and ink.

[2] All italics are mine.

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A NOTE ON RENE BOYLESVE'S *LA BECQUÉE.*

A rather striking parallel in the delineation of two of the secondary characters in René Boylesve's *la Becquée* (1901) and Daudet's *Sapho* (1884) would seem to suggest the thought that the creator of Tartarin may have played some part in the development of Boylesve. The parallel occurs in the characters of Césaire Gaussin d'Armandy, called le Fénat, the uncle of the hero of *Sapho,* and of Casimir Fantin, grandfather of the Riquet of *la Becquée.* Both men typify the irresponsible, irrepressible *vieux beau,* still proud of their careers as *viveurs.* Césaire had been a "libertin, coureur de tripots et de guilledoux villageois," a "vaurien," a "mauvais drôle."[1] When the younger Gaussin was attempting to break off with Sapho, the uncle as an experienced hand at such manoeuvres, lent his assistance. He finally settles down, however, becomes "Président des submersionnistes du Rhône, membre du Comité central d'étude et de vigilance, délégué départemental,"[2] and pays off all old scores by hitting upon the scheme that was to rescue the vineyards of the Provence from the ravages of the *phylloxéra.* The career of grand-père Fantin is very similar to that of the Fénat, except that he remains incorrigible to the end. In addition to his weakness for professional ladies, Casimir was filled with the delusion that he was a shrewd schemer, and embarked upon several disastrous ventures. The crowning assininity in his career of failures was the purchase, on notes, of a piece of land adjoining the estate of his sister-in-law, and the plan to irrigate its hitherto unproductive soil. Especially at this point is the rôle he plays reminiscent of le Fénat. In order to achieve the submersion of the tainted vines, the latter purchases a "machine élévatoire" which is shipped from Paris to the Provence; likewise, for the development of his "moulin de Gruteau," Casimir buys a "machine élévatoire" which immediately becomes the principal topic of gossip in the countryside. The use of this detail in both novels may, of course, be a mere coincidence; but when it is coupled with the general similarity

[1] Vide *Sapho* (Paris, Flammarion, n. d., p. 107).
[2] Ibid., p. 280.

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of the characters of Casimir and le Fénat, the conclusion would seem almost inescapable that Boylesve, in his depiction of the old rake, had, at least unconsciously, been influenced by his recollections of Daudet's *Sapho*.

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NIETZSCHE THE ROMANTICIST

In Ludwig Stein's *Evolution and Optimism* (1926) I came, on page 144, upon the following astonishing statement: "Nietzsche, as Tieck jeeringly said, was a romanticist." Of Nietzsche it has indeed been remarked that he was a romanticist without being aware of it, but most assuredly the well-known dictum was not jeeringly made by the romanticist Ludwig Tieck. Although Nietzsche was admittedly precocious, his mental development was not quite so amazing as Stein's statement would imply, for when Tieck died, in 1853, the future glorifier of the superman was but a boy of nine. That the famous German philosopher should be credited with such unprecedented precocity by one who is avowedly his "pronounced opponent" is not without its touch of unintended humor.

I might add here that I am acquainted with Karl Joël's volume *Nietzsche und die Romantik* in which he traces the romantic elements in Nietzsche's works.

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THE HEAVEN OF VIRGINS

Sister Madeleva, in her recent book on *The Pearl*,[1] attempts to show that any elegiac interpretation of that much discussed poem is unsound. To this end she argues that no child of two years could be, as the Maiden of the poet's vision declares herself, one of the hundred and forty-four thousand virgins following the Lamb in Paradise, in the procession borrowed from St. John's

[1] *Pearl: A Study in Spiritual Dryness*, D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1925.

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Apocalypse (14. 1-5). Sister Madeleva very properly notes Professor Schofield's ambiguous use of the term "virgin" in this connection;[2] she says, "A virgin, always in Catholic theology and certainly at the time that *Pearl* was written, meant a person bound by the vow of chastity or living in that state, without reference to sex."[3] This is a point well emphasized. Indeed, the Apostle John's hundred and forty-four thousand virgins are men. Professor Osgood notes, "The 144,000 are thus described in Rev. 14. 4: *Hi sunt, qui cum mulieribus non sunt coinquinati, virgines enim sunt.* But it is more in harmony with the poet's artistic purpose to represent them as maidens."[4] Wherein Professor Osgood seems also to believe that all the "virgins" in *The Pearl* are women.[5] In any case, he might have added that our poet was not the first to admit women to the procession; significant for comparison are passages in the alliterative homily *Hali Meidenhad,*[6] which, by the way, Sister Madeleva probably did not intend to identify with the poem "Of Clene Meidenhad."[7]

[2] W. H. Schofield, "Symbolism, Allegory, and Autobiography in *The Pearl*," *PMLA*, XXIV (1909), 627.

[3] *Pearl: A Study*, p. 12.

[4] C. G. Osgood (ed.), *The Pearl* (Boston, 1906), p. 85, note to line 785.

[5] Professor J. B. Fletcher expresses a similar opinion. He writes in "The Allegory of *The Pearl*," *JEGP*, XX (1921), 20, note 107; "That the babe was a girl might be argued from ll. 447-448:

'Alle þat may þerinne aryve
Of alle þe reme is quen oþer kyng.'

The procession later described (sts. xcii-xciii) is altogether of *maidens* exactly like the heroine, 'þe Lambes vyuez.' (l. 785.) This discrepancy is not explained." Just why Professor Fletcher concludes, from the lines he quotes, "that the babe was a girl," I am unable to guess; but the "discrepancy" is easily disposed of by Sister Madeleva's explanation of the term "virgin," and of the regular conception of Christ the Lamb as bridegroom of the pure soul (v. *Pearl: A Study*, pp. 152-154).

[6] F. J. Furnivall (ed.), *EETS*, XVIII (1922), 31 (Titus MS. ll. 311 ff.): "ne moten nane bute heo hoppen ne singen, for þat is ai hare song, þonken godd, ȝ herien, þat he on ham se muche grace ȝef of him seluen, þat ha forsoken for him euch eorðlich mon . . . .; ȝ i stude of mon of lam, token lives lauerd, þe king of þe hehe blisse." V. also p. 25 (ll. 255-263), and p. 31 (ll. 319-330); cf. "Sawles Warde," in *Old English Homilies, EETS*, XXXIV (1868), 261; etc.

[7] There seems to be some confusion of the two works in connection with

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But to return to the assertion that children have no place in the band of virgins: I think the matter will bear consideration. Sister Madeleva writes:

> The Vision describes the heaven of virgins . . . . The most conveniently adjustable interpretation will not claim for a two-year-old child, no matter in what maturity of glorified beatitude, a state of happiness dependent on deliberate choice, postulating deliberate renunciation. No heaven, even of research, could be more ironical. . , . [Boccaccio's] Olympia . . . . recognizes and mentions the distinction between the virgin souls and those of children in heaven. The Maiden does not mention children in her heaven at all, but devotes all her details of description to the company of virgins. If she had been a child she could not have done this consistently.[8]

But is there not evidence that, at the time when *The Pearl* was written, virginity might be upheld as a virtue even in a child? We recall the beloved story related by Chaucer's Prioresse. There the seven-year-old clergeon is praised as "gemme of chastity," and apostrophized in no uncertain terms:

> "O martir, souded to virginitee,
> Now maystou singen, folwing ever in oon
> The whyte lamb celestial," quod she,
> "Of which the grete evangelist, seint Iohn,
> In Pathmos wroot, which seith that they that goon
> Biforn this lamb, and singe a song al newe,
> That never, fleshly, wommen they ne knewe." [9]

Here, then, we have a small child definitely associated with the hundred and forty-four thousand. Chaucer calls the little boy's mother "this newe Rachel," [10] alluding of course to *Matthew* 2. 18: *Vox in Rama audita est ploratus, et ululatus multus: Rachel plorans filios suos, et noluit consolari, quia non sunt.* This verse is the conclusion of the Gospel read in the Mass on the Feast of the Holy Innocents (December 28); and the Epistle of that Feast is the very passage in which John describes the procession of the virgins. This is the only liturgical use of that particular passage

Sister Madeleva's quotation from Professor Gollancz's 1921 edition of *The Pearl*, in *Pearl: A Study*, p. 86.

[8] *Pearl: A Study*, pp. 178-179; cf. pp. 152-153.

[9] *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer* (ed. Skeat), IV (1894), 185, B. 1769-1775.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 186, B. 1817.

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from the *Apocalypse* (as far as I am aware), and the association of the Holy Innocents with the procession must have been familiar enough in the Middle Ages, being brought home to the laity by the medium of homilies and sermons.[11] Chaucer naturally finds a place in the procession appropriate to his little hero, who, like the Holy Innocents, was martyred at a tender age.[12]

It seems impossible, then, that the *Pearl*-poet should not have had in mind this association of the procession and the Holy Innocents, especially if, as Sister Madeleva believes, he were a religious. Of course there is no question of martyrdom for the *Pearl*-child (granting a child for the sake of argument); neither need there be, I think, any discussion of doctrines of virginity. The fact that the liturgy describes such small children, *a bimatu et infra* (*Matthew* 2. 16), as forming part of the procession, the *centum quadraginta quatuor millia*,—this fact would seem amply to explain the poet's assigning a place therein to a little girl who "lyfed not two ȝer in oure þede."[13] Hence, though I have no quarrel with Sister Madeleva's main thesis, I think it cannot be supported by this particular argument.

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[11] The association appears, for example, in Ælfric's sermon *in die Natale Innocentium Infantium*, which is found in *The Homilies of Ælfric*, I (ed. B. Thorpe, London, 1843), 88-90; and in Orm's lines on the same season, *Ormulum*, I (ed. R. M. White, R. Holt, Oxford, 1878), 285, ll. 8213 ff.); cf. also *Cursor Mundi* (ed. R. Morris), *EETS*, LIX (1875), 664, Cott. MS., ll. 11579-80. Of course the possibility is not precluded that Chaucer drew his idea direct, and that we have here, in Professor Young's phrase, "an additional indication of Chaucer's accurate acquaintance with the liturgiology of the Church of Rome" ("Chaucer and the Liturgy," *Mod. Lang Notes*, XXX [1915], 99).

[12] Thomas of Monmouth, in his twelfth-century life of St. William of Norwich, Lib. II, cap. II (*The Life and Miracles of St. William of Norwich*, ed. A. Jessopp and M. James, Cambridge, 1896, p. 64), would place the twelve-year-old martyr among those who follow the Lamb, *Quibus solis ea priuilegii concessa est prerogatiua, quod soli illius excellentissime nouitatis concinunt canticum, quoniam puram et illibatam uirginitatis sue conseruantes stolam domino purum munditie sue optulerunt celibatum. Quorum sacris gloriosum martyrem Willelmum reuera non diffidimus interesse collegiis*, etc.

[13] *The Pearl*, l. 483.

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REVIEWS.

The Writings and Life of George Meredith. A Centenary Study. By MARY STURGE GRETTON. Harvard University Press (Oxford University Press), 1926.

It is unfortunate for Mrs. Gretton that J. B. Priestley's *George Meredith* should have appeared simultaneously with her study or a little earlier in the same year, and should be such a vivid reminder that there is no particular occasion for such a book as hers. There is plenty of occasion for studies of George Meredith, who is the most questionable shape among all the major figures of the later nineteenth century in England. He is certainly a forceful and impressive literary phenomenon, a thinker and a phrase-maker, and an inventor of imaginary human beings, high above the common run for verve and originality. In thought and undertaking he was ahead of his time; his native endowments were so great that one is inclined to call him a genius. But as to the degree of his success in turning his talents to account in the specific arts of poet and novelist, there has never been a time when the critical mind was so much in doubt, when there has been so great a call for a truly critical mind for making judicious appraisal. The critic of Meredith must be capable of detachment; he must be acquainted with the poetic art and particularly with the art of the novel as practised in other times and lands; he must have some notion of the course of novelistic development since Meredith; he must be possessed of perspective. In other words the critic must not be a mere devotee of the Meredith cult, nor immersed over head and ears in the thought and sentiment of this particular specimen of late-Victorian humanity. Such a critic Mr. Priestley may, with slight reservations, be pronounced to be. The most that can be said of Mrs. Gretton is that she brings together again, as it has been done more than once, with good taste and discretion of the negative sort, a few facts about Meredith's life, some comment on some of the poems, a detailed account of the plots of the novels and of *Modern Love,* an acknowledgment, here and there, that there are faults in his style or in the conception of a novel, and here and there a good deal of enthusiastic comment on this and that character or this and that situation in one of the stories.

Now the facts of Meredith's life have been set forth in sufficient detail, in *George Meredith: his Life and Friends in Relation to his Work* (1920), by Meredith's second cousin, Mr. S. M. Ellis. What one would wish for in such a centenary volume as Mrs.

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Gretton's is an interpretation of the character of George Meredith, or such a presentation of the facts as would bring out in vivid relief the striking colors of his personality,—including the self-consciousness, the intellectual and social pride, the morbid sensitiveness, and even in one domestic instance the cruelty, as well as the generosity of spirit, the tenderness, the conscientiousness, the courage, and the intellectual honesty of the man. All this is done by Mr. Priestley; whereas Mrs. Gretton goes on speaking of Meredith in the awed voice of one of his cult, as if he were still there in his wheel-chair, in his honored and pathetic old age, to overhear what was being said of him.

One thing which should be included in any general book on Meredith is an account of his philosophy of nature and man. This, which has perhaps attracted more readers to Meredith than anything else in him, and may turn out to be his chief claim to distinction has been fully and intelligently set forth by G. M. Trevelyan in his *Poetry and Philosophy of George Meredith* (1906). But Meredith's philosophy is capable of briefer statement, and it certainly needs to be considered critically in reference to the thought of his time and of our time. Mr. Priestley has made the briefer statement and has in considerable measure given the critical consideration. Mrs. Gretton has done neither. In this, as in all other matters of critical importance, she seems not to have advanced beyond the position from which she wrote her earlier volume, *George Meredith: Novelist, Poet, Reformer* (1906). Her criticism of Meredith's poetry is largely devoted to an illustration of his unusual fidelity to nature or his power in the use of metaphor, and it is only in the middle of a paragraph that she makes a passing reference to what, if it is true, is the most important of all considerations in judging the poetry of Meredith. "Always, when faced with a choice," she says, Meredith "has let go the emotional unity rather than sacrifice the fidelity of his observation. That, of course, is the reason why, though he is always highly poetic, he only sometimes in his verse-writing achieves poetry."

It is in a view of the novels that Mrs. Gretton's method of peddling detail is most disappointing of all. And here again the contrast with Mr. Priestley forces itself on our attention. Mrs. Gretton faithfully mulls over each work of fiction in the order of its appearance and finds something to say of it individually as if it existed alone in the world; as if novels had never been written by Trollope and Flaubert, by Tolstoi and Jane Austen; as if there were no such problem as that of a better or a worse in the method of telling a story, of presenting lifelike human beings in an action that may give an aspect of life. She seems unaware that she is dealing with that English novelist who, considering his power and richness, is the most irritating of all novelists by virtue of his

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obstinate turning of his back on all the approved means of arousing our interest in his characters or even our faith in their existence. She brings no such generalizing critical energy as Mr. Priestley to the definition of Meredith's comic method and to the description of that strange blend and conflict in him of comedy with lyrical-fantastic romance. Neither of these critics seems to me to make sufficiently emphatic the damage that is done to Meredith's work by his obstinate insistence on being the moralistic showman, his want of that modest patience in the presence of facts and of faith in the power of facts to speak for themselves, which we find in the followers of the school of objective realism. But Mr. Priestley has come nearer than any other critic to realizing this tragic fault in Meredith. And so he is in a position to do, what Mrs. Gretton cannot do, inquire into those innovations in psychological method which, in spite of all his faults, give Meredith that startling air of modernity and make him a figure in the development of the novel of an importance infinitely greater than would be indicated by his actual success in any of his fictions unless it be *The Egoist*. Mrs. Gretton has a great deal of fault to find with Meredith's failure to convince in the critical scenes in *Diana* (having to do with her sale of the state secret confided to her by her lover). What she does not see is that this is the most interesting thing undertaken by Meredith in the whole book—one of the most interesting psychological situations ever undertaken by a novelist—and that it is undertakings like this, even when he makes a failure of them, that give Meredith his claim to high distinction as a novelist.

It is clear that criticism is only just beginning to grapple in any serious way with the problems presented by Meredith's art. The real beginning is to be found in Mr. Priestley's book. Mrs. Gretton's is a perfectly respectable review of the conception of Meredith held by his special devotees in the nineteenth century.

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The Background of Modern French Literature. By C. H. C. WRIGHT. Boston: Ginn and Company, 1926. Pp. xiv + 329.

L'auteur de ce livre s'est proposé avant tout de fournir aux étudiants américains des renseignements suffisants sur les "political, religious, and social conditions" pour leur permettre de mieux comprendre la littérature du dix-neuvième siècle. Son ouvrage est donc destiné à apporter un supplément d'information aux histoires

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de la littérature qui négligent forcément l'étude de la société pour étudier les hommes et les œuvres. Il suffit de l'ouvrir pour se rendre compte que, sous un volume restreint, il représente une somme considérable de travail, de longues recherches et une documentation patiente et minutieuse. Des illustrations nombreuses, bien présentées et en général bien choisies ajoutent à la valeur de ce travail qui est appelé à rendre des services évidents aux élèves et aux maîtres. Ceci dit, il me sera permis de présenter quelques réserves. La première porte sur le titre même du volume. Le mot "background" est si compréhensif et si général que l'on est tout d'abord tenté de chercher dans le livre de M. Wright bien des choses que, volontairement sans doute, il a cru devoir omettre. C'est ainsi que l'on n'y trouvera aucune indication sur le mouvement scientifique. Il n'est cependant pas inutile de savoir quelque chose de Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire pour lire la préface de la *Comédie humaine* ou quelque chose de *l'Introduction à la médicine expérimentale* pour comprendre et juger les étranges prétentions de Zola à la science. Les travaux de M. Citoleux sur *La poésie philosophique en France* et de M. Fusil sur *La poésie scientifique* auraient fourni sur ce point et sur quelques autres bien des indications dont l'auteur aurait pu faire son profit. Après un chapitre excellent dans lequel les régions françaises sont étudiées et définies avec justesse (*The land of France*) vient un chapitre beaucoup moins satisfaisant: *Thought and policy under the Revolution and Empire.* M. Wright y mentionne le Concordat en passant, mais n'indique même pas qu'il y eut en France à ce moment un renouveau de religion ou de religiosité; il ne nomme les Idéologues que pour dire que Napoléon les détestait et passe complètement sous silence Madame de Staël, Chateaubriand, Bonald et Joseph de Maistre. Il est regrettable que l'auteur qui cite à plusieurs reprises le livre assez médiocre de Charles Adam, *La philosophie en France (première moitié du dix-neuvième siècle)*, n'ait probablement pas pu consulter à temps le livre plus récent et mieux informé de George Boas, *French philosophers of the Romantic period.* Pour s'en tenir à des ouvrages publiés en France, il aurait été utile de se reporter au moins aux *Politiques et moralistes* de Faguet qui ne sont même pas indiqués dans la bibliographie.

Les parties de chapitre ou les paragraphes consacrés aux arts paraîtront à quelques-uns bien incomplets. Je crois que tout le monde ne suivra pas M. Wright quand il affirme que "the attempts of Rude to represent motion in stone are sometimes more grotesque than inspiring as in his famous figures on the Arc de Triomphe. The sculptor David d'Angers was more restrained" (p. 172). Pour ma part, c'est plutôt à certaines statues de David d'Angers que j'oserais appliquer le qualificatif de "grotesque"; mais c'est une affaire de goût. On regrettera que, parmi les mo-

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dernes, M. Wright ne cite ni Rodin, ni Bourdelle ni Bartholomée, pour ne parler que des plus grands. Le seul peintre récent à qui l'auteur accorde une mention de quelque longueur est le douanier Rousseau dont la gloire éphémère est due à une farce de rapins. Manet et Monet sont cités mais non caractérisés; Carrière et Gustave Moreau qui pourtant touchent de près à la littérature sont passés sous silence. Ils méritent en tout cas plus que Puvis de Chavanne l'épithète de "symbolistes" qui est appliquée à ce dernier. Je renverrai le lecteur curieux de plus de détails aux pages que M. Wright consacre au nu dans les arts (p. 298). Ce sujet est probablement trop scabreux pour être discuté ici. Pour la musique les omissions me paraissent également sérieuses. On trouvera un traitement assez détaillé de l'opérette, de l'opéra bouffe, des cafés chantants (pp. 210-211) et même des cabarets (p. 303); mais M. Wright ne cite ni les Concerts Colonne, ni les Concerts Lamoureux; il mentionne Offenbach mais non Bizet, non plus que Debussy. Il cite André Messager mais ne parle pas des opéras de Saint Saens et, en tout cas, il aurait valu la peine d'indiquer les controverses soulevées par la production des opéras de Wagner. Ces réserves faites et elles ne sont pas sans importance, on trouvera d'excellents chapitres sur *la littérature et les mœurs* au dix-neuvième siècle et c'est bien là le titre qu'à mon avis le livre tout entier devrait porter. L'auteur a réussi à démêler les différents courants politiques du dix-neuvième siècle et il en a présenté un tableau sommaire et intelligible sinon complet, ce n'est pas là un mince mérite. Il a indiqué les transformations qui se sont opérées au cours du siècle dans la société française. En attirant l'attention sur les excentricités et les perversions du goût il a peut-être en quelques endroits déformé la réalité et trop insisté sur l'aspect caricatural des choses. Mais, au total, il s'est efforcé de rapprocher la littérature de la vie et, par là même, son livre fournira une documentation utile à ceux de nos étudiants qui lisent les auteurs français du dix-neuvième siècle, sans avoir toujours le temps ou les indications nécessaires pour aller chercher dans de nombreux volumes les renseignements que M. Wright a réunis ici sous une forme compacte et commode.

GILBERT CHINARD.

Studies in the Narrative Method of Defoe. By ARTHUR WELLESLEY SECORD. The University of Illinois Press, 1924. 248 pp.

The study of Defoe's works is a veritable wandering wood of error. Such elementary biographical facts as the year of his birth and the number of times he was married have been established

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only in relatively recent years. We are by no means certain of what he really wrote. This doubt as to authorship does not concern merely miscellaneous and controversial papers but extends even to considerable and important works, such as the *Memoirs of a Cavalier*. It is reasonable to think that an intensive study of disputed pieces would, in most cases, settle the question; and such an extended study is indeed needed. Mr. Secord in the present volume effectually lays at least one such ghost—at last bringing the much-disputed *Memoirs of Captain Carleton* safely into the fold. The long antecedent controversy, however, remains of more than curious interest, for it affords another striking illustration of Defoe's genius for deception. Not only were the memoirs taken by Dr. Johnson, Scott and other literary folk to be genuine memoirs of Captain George Carleton; historians and military gentlemen have drawn upon them as one of the "documents" of the period! And when Mr. Secord demonstrates how airily, not to say jauntily, they are based upon the real career of George Carleton, as it has been painstakingly recovered, our admiration for Defoe glows afresh.

In the course of Mr. Secord's demonstration, his most original contribution is the discovery of printed sources for much that is authentic enough but purely fictitious as applied to Captain Carleton. In fact, throughout the volume, Mr. Secord's unflagging concern is with Defoe's sources. And it may be said that in his careful investigation of little known material, including maps, he has gone beyond any of his predecessors; and to good purpose.

Nearly half the volume is judiciously devoted to *Robinson Crusoe*. It must be confessed that here many of his tentative results are less than acceptable. A good case is made out for Defoe's use of Robert Knox's printed account of his life as a castaway for nineteen years on Ceylon; but the idea that Defoe might have met Knox personally and so have gathered additional details either orally or from a glance at certain manuscript notes—a suggestion given currency by Mr. Masefield following Mr. James Ryan—remains, after all that Mr. Secord can do for it, scarcely more than an assumption. One of Mr. Secord's arguments for this position is that Knox's manuscript notes trail off into moralizings upon his experiences, just as Crusoe's narrative dwindles to the "Serious Reflections" of Part III. Surely such an argument is more controversial than critical, in view of Defoe's obvious independent interest in just this strain of writing. Mr. Secord also works hard with the footprints, but comes off badly. Yet in the main his tracing of sources is undoubtedly an extensive and solid contribution to our knowledge of Defoe. The clear-cut examples of Defoe's dependence on Dampier's *Voyages* for the sail from Bengal to Tonquil Bay and the incident of the careened ship attacked by

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savages in the *Farther Adventures,* are worth much; and we readily accept the innumerable other indebtednesses pointed out. Similarly, the demonstration that Defoe lifted virtually the whole outline of Crusoe's journey from Peking to Archangel from Ides's *Three Years Travel from Moscow overland to China,* merely reversing the direction, must remain a permanently salient fact which no future writer on Defoe is likely to neglect.

One of the author's happiest conclusions (pp. 162, 233) from his investigations is that in starting *Robinson Crusoe* Defoe did not foresee the possibilities of the island story, but that on reaching the incident it grew upon his hands into the great thing it is. Implicit in this reflection is a tribute to its essential originality. And here it is interesting to note (what the author does not sufficiently bring out) that, despite the tracing of individual details in the island story to this or that suggestion in Dampier, Selkirk, Knox and others, no single, satisfying model for this, the most famous thing in Defoe, is forthcoming. The island story, for all the fine scrutiny it has earned, retains a degree of independence and originality not shared by the *Farther Adventures* and many of the other narratives, where Defoe may be seen leaning heavily on this or that single work. The same is true of the best thing in *Singleton,* the journey across Africa—again, thinks Mr. Secord, an exploitation not originally included in Defoe's scheme. These are indeed suggestive reflections.

In general, however, Mr. Secord's conclusions are less satisfying than the preliminary investigations. The short final chapter on Defoe's methods is hardly more than a summarized statement of the facts previously presented, with little real analysis. Some of the conclusions offered are highly questionable. In a paragraph of just two sentences on Defoe's characterization (p. 238), we read of his skill in this respect that "in addition to a group of lesser men (and women), it produced, in Robinson Crusoe, one of the great personages of fiction." To ascribe the greatness of the book to the characterization of the hero, in any appreciable degree, as Mr. Secord seems to do here, and plainly does elsewhere, is surely ill-judged; while to place Crusoe above Colonel Jaque or Moll Flanders in point of characterization is too serenely unorthodox to pass unnoticed. Mr. Secord's apparent failure to relish the telling yet subtle character of "St. Mary of Flanders" perhaps accounts for his too easy dismissal of the picaresque influence on Defoe. That the historian of Moll Flanders, with her helter-skelter adventures, Colonel Jaque, Captain Singleton, Jonathan Wild, *et al.,* is virtually uninfected by the rogue virus, as Mr. Secord and others believe, is not yet obvious.

Appreciation of the essential colorfulness of the materials offered in this volume is hampered by the presentation. Mr.

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Secord seldom writes with precision and never with distinction. Moreover, the orthography and proofreading are exceptionally bad. The author does not adhere consistently to the use of quotation marks to distinguish titles. The complete eschewment of square brackets for enclosing explanatory remarks of his own in the midst of quotations is not only a violation of good usage but sometimes confusing. Misprints are altogether too frequent—as "port" for part (p. 27), "partisans" for partisan (p. 31), "unware" for unaware (p. 88), "more" for mere (p. 168), "Swife" for Swift (p. 207), etc. It would be ungracious to dwell further upon trifles which cannot in the least detract from the permanent usefulness of his work; but such matters are nevertheless no credit either to Mr. Secord or to the school under whose auspices the volume was issued.

HOWARD BUCK.

Yale University.

La Pensée française au dix-huitième siècle. Par DANIEL MORNET. Paris: Armand Colin, 1926. Pp. 220.

La série de petits volumes sur l'histoire littéraire déjà publiés dans la "*Collection Armand Colin,*" bien qu'écrits pour le grand public, méritent de retenir l'attention des spécialistes. Ils ont été confiés à des chercheurs qui ont été forcés de condenser dans un cadre limité le résultat de longs travaux, les conclusions générales qu'ils avaient atteintes après des enquêtes détaillées conduites avec patience et diligence. Tel est le cas du *Naturalisme français* et de *Parnasse et symbolisme* de Pierre Martino, de *L'Ecole classique française* (*1660-1715*) de A. Bailly, du *Félibrige* d'Emile Ripert et de *La Renaissance des lettres en France, de Louis XII à Henri IV* de Jean Plattard. Tel est enfin le cas de l'étude que M. Mornet vient de faire paraître dans la même collection. On y trouvera tout autre chose qu'un tableau sommaire des lettres françaises au dix-huitième siècle et des chapitres plus ou moins détaillés sur les chefs de file. M. Mornet s'est appliqué, au contraire, à reconstituer dans toute leur complexité et leur enchevêtrement les principaux courants de pensée qui traversent tout le siècle. Il a été ainsi amené à faire et à présenter la synthèse des nombreux travaux sur le dix-huitième qu'il a publiés depuis plus de vingt ans. Il a donc apporté un correctif indispensable à l'excès de simplification des histoires littéraires qui pourrait faire croire aux débutants qu'ils connaissent le siècle pour avoir étudié quelques écrivains isolés. Je ne vois guère dans l'ensemble qu'une correction ou plutôt une addition à apporter à la synthèse de M. Mornet. Il m'apparaît de plus en plus probable que les origines

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de l'esprit du dix-huitième siècle doivent être recherchées non pas seulement chez certains écrivains dont les œuvres paraissent dans le dernier quart du dix-septième siècle, mais peut-être au moins autant chez les politiques et les moralistes de la fin du seizième. On doit d'ailleurs reconnaître que ces courants restent souterrains pendant la plus grande partie du dix-septième siècle et n'affleurent à la surface qu'aux environs de 1680. Il n'en reste pas moins que pour trouver leur "source" originelle il faut remonter bien plus haut et que leur continuité n'a pas été interrompue.

GILBERT CHINARD.

A Czech Phonetic Reader. By ANTONÍN FRINTA, Ph. D., Lecturer in the University of Prague. (*The London Phonetic Readers* series.) London: The University of London Press, 17 Warwick Square, E. C. 4, 1925. Price, 5 shillings net.

Doctor Frinta succeeds admirably in accomplishing one object of his little book, which is, as the introduction says, "to record, as accurately as possible, one form of Czech pronunciation," by employing symbols of the International Phonetic Alphabet to represent the thirty essential phonemes peculiar to spoken Czech and, in addition, five separate symbols for subsidiaries of certain principal phonemes. A brief, but clear and accurate, discussion of Czech sounds covers intelligently several details that ordinarily escape the notice of writers at greater length on the subject of the Bohemian language.

The author expresses the hope that the book "will prove helpful to English readers who would like to acquaint themselves with the Czech language, literature, culture and spirit." To this end, the selections forming the body of the Reader include conversational matter, popular proverbs, the Protestant version of the Lord's Prayer, and excerpts from the writings of Jan Hus and Komenský, as well as celebrated modern authors like Božena Němcová, Karolina Světlá and Alois Jirásek. The poets are represented by quotations from Svatopluk Cech, Jaroslav Vrchlický, Antonín Sova and others equally famous.

Inasmuch as most English speaking people do not understand Czech and are unfamiliar with it as it appears in print, it might have added to the helpfulness, as well as to the convenience, of the present work to have given interlinearily a version of each selection in Czech characters and also an English translation along with the phonetic text and thus dispensed with the vocabulary which occupies more than half the book. As it is, the reader must be con-

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stantly referring to a list of words, printed in the phonetic symbols, followed by the Czech transliteration and the English meaning. In many instances only that case of a noun or adjective or the particular inflection of a verb as it is to be found in the text is listed, rather than the nominative case or the infinitive usually given in the dictionaries. A few slight inaccuracies occur: *e. g.*, an imperfective *blížiti se* is translated "to approach," whereas the exact meaning is "to be approaching"; but both text and vocabulary are singularly free from the misprints that generally abound in the productions of printers having occasion to use a strange alphabet.

J. B. DUDEK.

Yukon, Oklahoma.

The Beginnings of English Literary Periodicals. By WALTER GRAHAM, Ph. D. New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch, 1926. iv, 92 pp.

Professor Graham presents here a descriptive rather than an historical study of English periodical literature from 1665 to 1715. His four chapters deal successively with the learned periodical, the periodical of amusement, some critics and reformers, and the Tatler, Spectator, and Guardian. The book, though by no means final, is a valuable and compact account, naturally more illuminating for the less known journals than for the Tatler group. The five illustrations, reproductions of title pages of rare periodicals, form a grateful addition.

In so summary a treatment, much has had to be omitted. Among titles which could show an equal claim with some admitted are the Occasional Paper, the Rehearsal, the Memoirs of Literature, the *Mercurius Reformatus,* and John Houghton's Letters. Nor does Mr. Graham say anything about the influence of the booksellers on the editors of the literary journals, the use of these journals as advertising organs for certain publishers and authors, and the growth of a style suitable for this new form of literature. The economy in footnotes has not always permitted the author to give full references, or to acknowledge indebtedness to other investigators.

ROGER P. MCCUTCHEON.

Tulane University.

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Berthe au Grand Pied, d'après deux romans en vers du XIIIe siècle. By LOUIS BRANDIN. Illustrations by A. SERVANT. Paris: Boivin, 1924. xi + 150 pp.

M. Brandin's purpose seems to be merely to give the story to the public in a comprehensible and instructive form, to popularize it rather than to restore it. The preface tells us that this version, which is in modern French prose, was based upon the *Berthe au grand pied* of Adenet le Roi and a Franco-Italian *Berta de li gran pie.* Adenet's version, written about 1275, is the work of a conscious and adequate artist. M. B. does not follow his sources slavishly; he handles his plot far better than either of them. He has selected interesting episodes from each, and, with his vast knowledge and not inconsiderable artistry, has constructed a coherent story. If he does not find enough setting and motivation in the sources, he supplies it. He even goes so far as to attribute psycho-analyzable dreams to the king! Thus the book is hardly a translation.

There are striking contrasts between the sources and the modernization. Adenet begins his prolog by saying that he was in Paris on a Friday in April, and, because it was Friday, he decided to go to St. Denis to pray. While there he became acquainted with an agreeable monk who showed him a book of history in which he read the story of Pépin, etc. "Poetasters," he said, "have falsified the history; never have I seen the like!" So he stayed on until Tuesday and carried off the real story. Then he guarantees that the stupid people will be bored and that the intelligent will be delighted with the way he has retold it. On the other hand, M. B. writes the prolog in a neo-archaic style, omitting his reason for going to St. Denis, calling the *moine courtois* a *saint homme,* the *livre as estoires* some *vieux parchemins,* having the monk *l'octroyer de le copier* instead of simply *monstrer,* and omitting the delightful "blurb" at the end. Words such as *relatant, relating,* a word which is now archaic but which is relatively new and learned, and *dolentes aventures* are, I think, inartistic. When a word like *dolente,* which Adenet uses on nearly every page with verbal force, is used as a weak, preceding adjective, it excites a feeling of pity similar to that which one feels on seeing a lion forced to jump through a hoop.

M. B.'s version of the story is introduced by a famous minstrel who sings seven quatrains in regard to Berthe, replete with lines such as "Il n'est cour que la cour de Pépin," or "Loin n'en faut-il rechercher la raison," which evoque the XVth century rather than the XIIIth. After an obvious list of gifts to the minstrel, we read that Pépin sends twelve noble vassals with customary impedimenta to the king of Hongrie to ask for his daughter. Then,

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regretting that she has not feet of the same size, Pépin falls asleep and dreams that he sees many beauties, some with small feet, some with middle sized feet, some with large feet and some with feet fantastically unequal! Now Adenet covers that ground in fourteen lines. He has already used a hundred lines leading up to the events of the story by telling of Pépin's earlier life, his slaying of the lion single handed, his childless first marriage, etc. Thus, in the Adenet version, when Engerrans de Montcler says simply, in four lines, that he has heard Berthe well spoken of, Pépin sends without further discussion to ask her hand in marriage. These illustrations will suffice to point out some obvious differences between a Mediaeval work, which is inclined to take on the shape of a chronicle, and the modern version, which is presumably more conscious, studied story telling.

And yet the story, as told by M. B., is not an example of impeccable narrative art. It seems to me that it would be better without the incident of the ambassadors introducing tables at the court of Floire and Blanchefleur, the irritating and obvious mention that as Berthe sat spinning she had just finished singing a *chanson de toile,* or the epilog which M. B. affixes to the story. In the scene where Blanchefleur arrives in Paris, M. B. describes her as looking down upon the city and neighboring sites under the guidance of Pépin, who has all the air of a business man on the way out to the country club; but Adenet, Laisse LXXXI, does not mention the king and makes a grand scene of the musings of the magnificent queen before whose eyes every man trembled. Again, M. B. suppresses the premonition of Blanchefleur that Aliste is not her daughter; he actually has her feel of Aliste's foot before she finds it out. There are additional cases in which M. B. eliminates the typical, superstitious attitude of the people. Of course a modern version must be made to cohere, but it loses some of the *élan* when such elemental details are omitted.

Two passages (pp. 105 and 149), which the author takes from *Berta de li gran pie,* were obviously in the source merely to motivate something which was to happen in another epic and really have no very cogent *raison d'être* in this version. Although it would have been interesting to include the animated conversations (from *Berta de li gran pie*) between Floire and Blanchefleur before and after her trip to Paris, M. B. is wise in not using them; it is evident that the author of the *Berta* invented this and other comedy bits to amuse the pit, for Blanchefleur is much too dignified to say anything of the kind. It was unwise, I think, to change the final meeting of mother and daughter after the various vicissitudes of their separation; the stage is set (p. 137), and Berthe has just finished a piece of embroidery when the royal

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pair arrive. According to M. B. Berthe faints, not her mother, as in Adenet. The effect is far greater when the superb Blanchefleur sinks to the floor than when the dazed, colorless Berthe, who has acted like an automaton or a saint in a trance throughout the story, faints away.

In general the version of M. B. is highly acceptable. Its principal fault, as I see it, is that it is too instructive, too full of allusions to Mediaeval customs, geography, and literature. At times it gives the impression that a perfectly restored building of the Middle Ages gives: it leaves too little to be desired. It causes no longing. It gives you the expected at every turn. However, there should be a copy of it in every library, for the romance is one of the very most interesting. Moreover, none of the old versions is easy for the modern reader to understand. M. B. has done a fine thing in making this beautiful poem available to the general reader.

JULIAN EARLE HARRIS.

University of Wisconsin.

Antichrist and Adam, two Mediaeval Religious Dramas Translated into English by SARAH F. BARROW, Ph. D., and WILLIAM H. HULME, Ph. D. The Western Reserve University Bulletin, August, 1925. 68 pp.

According to the prefatory statement, Professors Hulme and Barrow have published these translations to supplement Professor Adams' *Chief Pre-Shakespearean Dramas,* for teachers of undergraduate courses in the history of the drama. Professor Hulme's part of this joint task includes the Prefatory Introduction and the translation of *Antichrist;* Dr. Barrow's, the translation of *Adam.* His approach to these plays in this Introduction necessitates a disproportionate discussion of matters having nothing to do with the translations.

In the beginning he states very pertinently that these plays are of great importance for any study of mediaeval drama. Since the introduction and the translations are primarily for the general rather than the special student of early drama, it might be helpful to suggest something of their importance in relation to the mediaeval drama as a whole: e. g., *Antichrist* is the earliest example of a drama with an apparently propagandistic purpose, with a national or party bias, and of a play which includes allegorical figures; along with the *Daniel of Beauvais* and the *Daniel* of *Hilarius,* the Benedictbeuern Christmas and Passion plays, *Antichrist* illustrates the high development reached by authors of operatic dramas

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of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; and the *Adam* play is the earliest extant mediaeval religious drama written in vernacular and intended to be recited instead of sung. In calling attention to certain dramatic qualities of permanent worth in these plays, Professor Hulme emphasizes the "individualized character portrayal" in them. This is a pleasing and distinctive feature of the *Adam*, but the elements combined in *Antichrist* practically preclude individualized characterization. The actors, with notable exceptions, are personifications—e. g., Synogogue, Justice, Mercy, Hypocrisy, Ecclesia—or pretty generalized figures—King of Teutons, King of Franks, Emperor of Rome, King of Babylon, etc. And the operatic pattern employed serves primarily to accentuate typical rather than individualized character and action. The fact that *Adam* has the freedom of spoken drama explains the author's "greater skill in character-portrayal and in management of crisp, racy dialogue."

Again, the reviewer wonders just what Professor Hulme means by the statement: "It hardly seems possible that the unknown authors of these two dramas were not familiar with Terentian comedy or with some other form of the ancient classical drama." In the first place, there is no reason to doubt that the authors may have been familiar with the comedies of Terence. Numerous manuscripts of his plays were preserved in monasteries. Hrotswitha's use of them about two centuries earlier in a monastery closely connected with Tegernsee, home of *Antichrist*, is a case in point. But, more to the point, just what elements in these plays indicate essentially the influence of Terence or 'some other form of the ancient classical drama'? In further comment he compares them with the "best cyclical Miracle Plays" and the "genuine cyclical Miracle Plays" of England. Now to the casual reader, terminology may appear a mere detail. But surely we shall continue to darken counsel in the whole field of mediaeval drama as long as we persist in applying the term Miracle Plays indiscriminately to English craft cycles of the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries. As the reviewer pointed out some years ago, (1) even contemporary records of popular usage do not justify the sweeping statements of historians of the drama in including all religious plays in this term; and (2) contemporary official records never employ the term miracle play in their references to cyclic plays or to independent religious plays of any kind. ("The Miracle Play in England—Nomenclature," *PMLA.*, XXXI, pp. 448-456.) Furthermore, the Miracle Play in its origin is a distinct type.

Professor Hulme states concisely the facts concerning the remote and immediate source of the *Antichrist* material. The results of a more careful study than has been made of the relation of this

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play to contemporary plays and other contemporary literature, of its political, religious, and social background, of the interrelations of cultural centers in eleventh and twelfth century Germany, and of the verse of the play in various relations (see Wilh. Meyer, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Mittellateinischen Rythmik* (1905), "Ludus de Antichristo u. d. Lateinischen Rythmen," pp. 170 ff.) should assist distinctly in an interpretation of the significance and value of the play for the student of mediaeval drama. Such a contribution I hope to make reasonably soon. The fact that this play is connected with the Christmas play of *Carmina Burana* and that its humanistic qualities aroused the ire of Gerhoh von Reichersberg, the zealous monastic reformer of the twelfth century, suggests features of interest and significance not mentioned by Professor Hulme in his introduction.

He summarizes clearly and adequately the material from Studer's introduction to his edition of *Le Mystère d'Adam,* but for the benefit of the reader who desires a comprehensive approach to the problem of the play, he should at least have referred to Professor Craig's and Miss Jenney's articles on the "Origin of the Old Testament Plays" (*Mod. Phil.*, x, pp. 473 ff.; xiii, pp. 59 ff.), and to Professor Young's "Ordo Prophetarum" (*Trans., Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters,* xx (1922), pp. 1-82.) Studer apparently knew nothing of Craig's and Jenney's studies; and Young's study appeared after Studer's edition of *Adam.* In Professor Hulme's statement that *Adam* belongs to the transitional period "during which liturgical plays gradually changed from their earlier, purely religious form, place in the church liturgy, and purpose to partially or wholly secularized representation of incidents from biblical history, or from the lives of the saints," there persists the misleading analogy of the origin and development of mediaeval drama as a continuous, undifferentiated 'evolutionary' process. The exposition of this fallacy was the basis of an important article which Professor Manly published about twenty years ago ("Literary Forms and the New Theory of the Origin of Species," *Mod. Phil.*, iv, pp. 577 ff.)

In connection with the translation of *Antichrist,* it seems to the reviewer unfortunate that Professor Hulme did not follow the example of Professor Adams, who prints a standard, original text of the liturgical plays parallel with the translation. The text of this play is practically inaccessible to all except a few students of mediaeval drama. He explains that he himself did not have access to the best text (Wilh. Meyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 150-70) but employed Froning's edition (*Das Drama des Mittelalters* (1892), Erster Teil, S. 206-224.) In form, the translation is a prose rendering, line for line, as is the case with *Adam.* In most respects this translation is clear, adequate, and acceptable. But there is one

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grave error. The stage directions to the actors are regularly some form of *Cantare*. These he translates as speak, converse, say, reply, report, address, etc. This causes the reader of the translation to miss entirely the distinctive quality of the play, which is operatic. Its effects result from solo and choral parts, as do those of the remarkable *Daniel of Beauvais*, with which Creizenach compares it. Passages in his translation to be questioned are the italicized lines following (ll. 21-28):

Qui igitur tam multifariis
unum dicunt preesse
illorum contrariis
est affici necesse.

Ne ergo unum subici
contrariis dicamus
et his divinam affici
naturam concedamus.

* * *

Whoever says therefore that one god
Rules over such manifold interests,
Must needs believe that he
Shows his favors to hostile peoples.

Let us not therefore assert that
Unlike people are subject to one god
Whose duties, we observe,
Also differ in their turn.

And "Bring Synogoga and the old chaps to me" seems out of harmony with the general tone of the drama as a translation of the line

Synogogam et senes mihi representate

when Antichrist sends for the prophets.

Professor Barrow's task of translating line for line the eight and ten syllable verse of *Adam* into prose "as literal as (is) consistent with rendition into clear, simple English" was easier than Professor Hulme's for *Antichrist* and gave her greater opportunity. This is the case because, with the exception of the speeches of God and the Prophets, the general pitch is conversational rather than oratorical, and this responds favorably to the rhythm of English prose. A good illustration of this fact is to be found in her translation of the often quoted speech of Diabolus to Eve (ll. 227-234):

Tu es fieblette e tendre chose,
E es plus fresche que n'est rose;
Tu es plus blanche que cristal,
Que neif que chiet sor glace en val;
Mal cuple em fist li criator:
Tu es trop tendre e il trop dur;

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Mais neporquant tu es plus sage,
En grant sens as mis tun corrage.

* * *

Thou art a delicate and tender thing,
And thou art fresher than the rose;
Thou art whiter than crystal
Than snow which falls on ice in the valley;
The creator has made a bad match,
Thou art too tender and he too hard
And yet thou are wiser,
Thou hast set thy heart on wisdom.

GEORGE R. COFFMAN.

Boston University.

Elizabethan Playwrights: A Short History of the English Drama from the Beginning to the Closing of the Theaters in 1642, by FELIX E. SCHELLING. xiv + 335 pp. Harper and Brothers. New York and London, 1925.

This volume initiates the *Plays and Playwrights Series,* under the general editorship of Professor Arthur Hobson Quinn, which aims to present in companion volumes the history of the modern drama in its various periods, and typical plays of the periods. It is eminently fitting that the history of the English drama from the beginnings to the closing of the theaters in 1642 should be treated by Professor Schelling who has devoted a rich lifetime to the study of Elizabethan drama in its genius, high development and decline, and who for two decades has stood foremost among the American historians of this drama considered in its entirety. It is a matter for congratulation, indeed, that in the Indian summer of his career this clear-visioned and scrupulous scholar has been given the opportunity to write a concise history of the earlier drama. It brings up to date the earlier work published in 1908 under the title of the *Elizabethan Drama,* and has the added advantage of brevity. Here is a judicial, catholic and conservative history which will meet the needs of scholars and of cultivated readers for many years to come.

"In any work of scholarly cast," says the author in his Preface, "we may decide, as some have decided, to accept nothing whatever that other scholars have done, but to go down to the bedrock of original material and demonstrate once more the justice of the acceptance of the multiplication table. The other extreme gives us a history of former critical opinion expressed with that evasive particularity which leaves things exactly where they were. There is perhaps a third course which, on the basis of a first-hand knowledge of the materials in question and with a diligent endeavor to become acquainted with other superstructures that scholarship has

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reared upon them, makes a selective rather than an exhaustive use of these materials, and is less emulous of singularity than of a modest effort to get at and present, as nearly as possible, the truth. This last has been the ideal in this case. It is too much to hope that any ideal can reach more than a qualified fulfillment." This paragraph correctly expresses the course which Professor Schelling has sought to follow, and in the opinion of the reviewer he has so well fulfilled his intention that little qualification is necessary, despite the modest disclaimer in the closing sentence.

The contributions of the church, of humanism and of the court to the drama in its earlier stages, the new drama of passion inaugurated by Marlowe, the vogue of history plays, of comedy, domestic and romantic, and of high tragedy, primarily under the inspiration of Shakespeare, the bias of satire under Jonson, the flourishing of tragicomedy at the hands of Beáumont and Fletcher and their followers, the development of the masque for the diversion of the court, and the decline of the drama through "subtilized sentiment and strained situation" to "amateurish rococo romance and unabashed vulgarity" under the Cavalier dramatists, —such in brief is the history of the Elizabethan drama as Professor Schelling traces it in some eleven chapters. These are supplemented by chapters on "The Playhouse and the Companies," and "The Stage and its Craft," which take advantage of the researches of such scholars as Graves, Adams, Thorndike and Chambers, and a summary chapter of admirable succinctness. Following the text is a selected bibliography, a list of principal dates, and a full index.

A work of this character has no place for controversial material, but the reviewer could wish that, without entering into the realm of disputation, Professor Schelling had added a chapter or two on the government regulations of the theatre, with the inevitable strictures of these regulations upon subject matter, and the extent to which the plays reveal, and the extent to which they conceal, social life and currents. Had he dared to do so, what dramas of the unfortunate, of political and social oppression, of suffering and tragedy could not Dekker have written! It is true, as stated in the concluding paragraph of the book, that "there is no body of writing so uniformly successful in its picture of the doings, the passions, and the ambitions of men," but there were doings in Elizabethan society and teeming passions, of the very essence of the dramatic, that found no voice or reflection on the stage. The Elizabethan drama is a picture, brilliant and many-sided, but it is not a wholly complete picture.

FREDERICK MORGAN PADELFORD.

University of Washington.

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Le Génie du Paganisme. Essais sur l'inspiration antique dans la littérature française contemporaine. Par CHARLY CLERC. Paris, Payot, 1926. 30 francs.

Dès les premières pages de son livre, M. Ch. Clerc s'excuse de son titre ambitieux et nous indique qu'il n'a pas voulu refaire la réfutation—bien facile d'ailleurs et devenue un lieu commun des manuels d'histoire littéraire—du célèbre ouvrage de Chateaubriand. Il nous a seulement donné une série d'études sur la vision et l'interprétation de l'antiquité par quelques-uns des auteurs les plus considérables de la littérature française depuis 1850. L'idée etait intéressante: car, depuis Homère jusqu'à l'Alexandrie de *Thaïs* ou d'*Aphrodite,* l'antiquité grecque est assez vaste et assez riche pour que chacun de ceux qui s'en inspirent ne s'attache qu'à quelque fragment. Les uns gravissent l'Acropole avec une piété que provoque surtout en eux le dédain du christianisme; les autres, pour rêver d'une vie sensuelle et plus libre; d'autres encore se refont une âme païenne par dilettantisme de pensée, par haine du présent, ou simplement pour célébrer la puissance de la mort et le néant de toutes les religions. Mais " presque tous, depuis le Parnasse, s'efforcent de mettre au point les réalités dont ils parlent, de dégager cette âme antique, ce paganisme, des couleurs dont on les revêtit au cours des siècles précédents." (P. 28).

Après un chapitre général, M. Clerc entreprend donc l'étude de ces diverses visions de la Grèce. Renan et Taine, chefs d'une brillante génération littéraire, sont à l'entrée de cette longue galerie; la *Prière sur l'Acropole* du premier, les pages enthousiastes du second dans sa *Philosophie de l'art,* méritaient en effet une place d'honneur; chez tous deux, cependant, l'admiration n'est pas sans réserve; le culte de la Grèce s'accompagne d'un certain trouble qui est parfois bien près d'une palinodie. C'est bien un vrai païen au contraire que Louis Ménard à qui est consacré le chapitre suivant, mais un " païen mystique " dont M. Clerc résume les idées originales et étranges. Quelques bonnes pages sur Leconte de Lisle évoquent la vision de la Grèce que nous offrent les " Poèmes Antiques "; et si l'auteur ne lui épargne point le reproche d'avoir représenté une Grèce-musée et un hellénisme immobilisé en bas-reliefs de marbre, il traite du moins Leconte de Lisle avec plus d'indulgence qu'il n'est de mode parmi nos contemporains, auprès de qui le Parnasse ne semble pas être momentanément en faveur. Hérédia, Anatole France (dont la Grèce sensuelle et sceptique est étudiée dans un judicieux chapitre), Juliette Adam, Pierre Louys défilent ensuite; le Barrès du *Voyage de Sparte* et le Ch. Maurras *d'Anthinéa.* A. Samain et Henri de Régnier, Verhaeren, J. Moréas, Madame de Noailles, à qui est dédié tout l'ouvrage, enfin

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les romanciers contemporains avec M. Magre, H. de Montherlant et E. Bourges. Un dernier chapitre résume bien les deux tendances dominantes auxquelles reviennent toujours ces évocateurs de la Grèce: Athénes ou Alexandrie, l'idéal attique de mesure et de beauté, ou l'attrait d'une civilisation cosmopolite et décadente.

M. Clerc avait à traiter un grand sujet dont les noms mêmes cités plus haut indiquent l'importance. Il est regrettable qu'il ait cru devoir le faire dans une série de chapitres détachés et non dans une étude d'ensemble plus solidement construite. Son livre ressemble trop souvent à une énumération de noms, dont quelques-uns étaient vraiment secondaires ici; et s'il cite Marcelle Tinayre et Aug. Angellier, pourquoi négliger Claudel, traducteur de *l'Agamemnon* d'Eschyle et n'accorder au Valéry des dialogues socratiques que quelques lignes hâtives? La lecture de son livre laisse une impression d'éparpillement qui déçoit un peu après ce beau titre. En plus d'un endroit aussi, M. Clerc s'est contenté de jugements un peu sommaires et de résumés rapides. Les pages consacrées par exemple à L. Ménard, à Hérédia, et à Moréas ne sont guère qu'une analyse, d'ailleurs fidèle et entrecoupée de citations, des poèmes que leur a inspirés la Grèce. Ça et là aussi, l'histoiren de la littérature serait en droit de demander compte à M. Clerc de quelques affirmations fort contestables. Dire, par exemple, à propos du Parthénon, que "Lamartine en avait perçu l'exiguïté, Renan en célèbre l'esprit aimable et fin" (p. 18) n'est donner qu'un aspect, très partiel, de la vérité, comme le verra facilement le lecteur en se reportant au contexte du *Voyage en Orient* et des *Souvenirs d'Enfance*. Est-il juste, de même, de parler d'une "renaissance de l'inspiration gréco-romaine au moment où s'éteint le romantisme" (p. 23)? N'est-ce pas en grande partie au relativisme romantique qu'est due une plus juste interprétation de l'antiquité, et cette renaissance n'est-elle déjà pas sensible, après Chénier, chez Chateaubriand, Vigny, Musset, et bien d'autres moins glorieux représentants du romantisme?

Le *Génie du Paganisme* contient donc le germe et l'indication d'une étude qui n'avait pas encore été faite et traite, avec plus ou moins de bonheur selon les chapitres, un sujet de toute première importance dans l'histoire littéraire du XIX^e^ et du XX^e^ siècles. C'est un livre qu'il sera désormais indispensable de consulter souvent; quelques indications bibliographiques et un index rendent d'ailleurs facile l'utilisation de l'ouvrage. Il serait encore à souhaiter que les références comportent toujours non seulement le titre, mais aussi la page, du volume, et que les emprunts littéraux faits à d'autres critiques, par exemple aux *Sources de Leconte de Lisle* de M. Vianey, soient toujours indiqués par des guillemets (p. 63, 65, 66). Enfin, si M. Clerc donne quelque jour une seconde édition de son livre, qu'il fasse corriger avec soin les

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coquilles et fautes d'impression assez nombreuses et particulièrement désagréables lorsqu' en citant les vers de ce poète si scrupuleux qu' était Leconte de Lisle, il appelle le Moyen Age "hideux siècles de *fer*" au lieu de "hideux siècles de *foi*" et qu'il nous parle du "chemin *du Peros*" au lieu du "chemin *de Paros*" (p. 57 et 58).

Bryn Mawr College. HENRI PEYRE.

Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch (*bob–braca,* pp. 417-480), von Professor WALTHER VON WARTBURG. Im *Selbstverlag—Kommissionsverlag* H. R. Sauerländer & Cie., Aarau.

The publication of the 7th fascicule of this work calls for remark from more than one point of view. In the first place, the fact that the book is being continued despite the business difficulties of the former publisher (Kurt Schroeder, Bonn-Leipzig) is a matter of moment for all those who are interested in etymology, German and English as well as French and Provençal. Professor von Wartburg's book unites the merits of the newer school of linguistic geographers with those of the older students of mediaeval philology. Only one who uses the book extensively can appreciate with what exemplary thoroughness and completeness it records not only the myriad forms of the numberless modern dialects of France, but also a large amount of material, much of it new, drawn from the attentive study of French and Provençal texts of the middle ages. In consequence, the history of many French words is revealed to us with a clearness and accuracy not hitherto attained. It is hoped that a detailed review of the work will be ready for publication in this journal at an early date.

The second aspect of interest is of a practical nature. It is the reason for the immediate publication of the present notice. Professor von Wartburg is not only carrying on the work of the dictionary under conditions as to time which most men would find impossible, but he has also undertaken the entire financial responsibility for the further publication of the dictionary. It will be possible for it to continue to appear only in case the number of its subscribers is materially increased. As the work, despite its extraordinary merits, is as yet relatively little known in our country, the attention of American scholars and libraries is requested to the importance of supporting it. The price of each of the seven fascicules is now six Swiss francs. It would be of advantage to the publisher if orders were sent directly to him. The eighth fascicule is expected to appear in the month of February, and from that time on one fascicule will be published every four months.

D. S. BLONDHEIM.

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The Platonism of Joachim du Bellay. By ROBERT VALENTINE MERRILL. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1925.

The sixteenth century in French Literature has been attracting an ever increasing number of American scholars. Mr. Merrill's contribution throws a great deal of new light on that period. We have here not only a minute study of how Platonism influenced Joachim du Bellay but we also have a clear analysis of Platonism as understood by the poets of that time. This book should interest students of the history of philosophy as well as specialists in literature.

In the first chapter, entitled "Literary and Social Platonism in the Renaissance," the author draws the distinction between Neo-Platonism and true Platonism, a distinction which has not always been observed by students of the period. Another differentiation made at the start is that between Petrarchism and Platonism. A confusion has long existed between these two terms and Mr. Merrill renders a true service in carefully explaining in which way the two movements differed. The bibliography given in this chapter of Greek editions of the Dialogues of Plato which appeared in France, of Latin translations of the Dialogues, and of translations of important Platonistic works as well as French Platonistic works, is valuable to the student, for it gives information which hitherto has been scattered in various books.

The chapter "Platonistic Concepts in the Works of Du Bellay" gives an account of the poet's conception of the universe. He was interested in such ideas as the World-Soul and the Whole. The subject of Beauty and Virtue is one which found a great place in the writings of the philosophers and poets. Here Du Bellay follows more closely Platonic doctrine rather than, as in the case of his conception of the universe, pre-Platonic, Platonic, and post-Platonic theories and conceptions. It is when he becomes less interested in cosmology and metaphysics and more concerned with love between man and woman, Mr. Merrill points out, that he follows more closely Platonistic theories.

Two tendencies are to be found in the poet, one, to prefer psychology to philosophy in his Platonism, the other to interpret passages in his own way. He is not so much interested in the abstract notion as in the emotion of love. Du Bellay is most inspired when he gets the furthest away from the models of his predecessors. He borrows here and there some of the Platonistic ideas, such as for instance the myth of the Androgyne, but he goes no further than to use a word or phrase which might remind the reader of the source. He also uses the figure of the ladder which "has passed down through antiquity and the Middle Ages, carrying a significant portion of Platonistic doctrine."

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After discussing the difficulty which the investigator encountered in determining to what extent a writer's work derives from another's and after giving four chief criteria by which this derivation may be tested, Mr. Merrill shows us that the influence of Plato on Du Ballay was rather through intermediate texts than directly through the philosopher. Ficino, Pontus, Castiglione, Bembo and even Héroët are among his models.

In the fourth chapter, which is devoted to the Development of Platonism in Du Bellay, and which is perhaps the most significant of the book, we have a detailed and keen analysis of what constituted "beauty" both at the time of Plato and in the Renaissance. We see how the *XIII Sonnets* are full of Platonistic terminology and thought, while later the poet drifted away from both Platonism and Petrarchism and gave the *Regrets,* which are full of beauty and the human touch. On the whole "his Platonism is of the spirit rather than of the word; and if there is in the French Renaissance a lyric poet who carries on the humanism of Bembo with the enthusiasm of the Gaul, that man is Joachim Du Bellay."

Mr. Merrill's study is a most helpful guide to investigators in the French Renaissance. And since it will undoubtedly be consulted by students of the period an index of proper names would be a valuable addition together with a bibliography of modern works on Platonism in the Renaissance.

HÉLÈNE HARVITT.

Hunter College Evening Session.

A French Grammar for High Schools and Colleges. By OLIVER M. JOHNSTON and JEFFERSON ELMORE. New York. Alfred A. Knopf, 1926. xi + 289 pp.

This text book which is the result of the collaboration of two scholars of kindred linguistic interests, one in Romance and the other in Latin, bears evidence of the rich pedagogical experience and conscientious industry of its authors. It markedly departs from other grammars for beginners in that verbal forms are dealt with at the outset, and special efforts is made to give systematic practice in learning them by the use of a drill exercise which is intended by the authors "to familiarize the learner with the mechanism of the verb forms from direct observation of the paradigms." This excellent feature is bound to facilitate a prompt acquisition of French verbs. Otherwise, in the presentation and treatment of the subject matter, as a whole, the authors appear to be methodically eclectic and to have favored no particular method; in fact, they have purposely avoided in their preface promises that cannot

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consistently be fulfilled. The general impression one gathers from this grammar is that of practicability, adequacy, and sanity. It is a valuable addition to modern language texts.

The section on pronunciation discards cumbersome technicalities and consists only of information helpful to a beginner. The sounds are given in the ordinary spelling before the phonetic symbols are introduced. Consonants, syllabic division, liaison, word and group stress receive brief but sufficient attention. Phonetic transcriptions accompany every new word in each lesson throughout the book, but questions on phonetics proper are omitted. Each lesson is ingeniously devised. It includes the grammatical material which is explained in simple and clear language; a thorough-going drill exercise based upon it; a vocabulary made up of words and idioms used in daily life; reading selections of connected material which are varied, practical, and interesting and afford plentiful opportunities for oral work and topics for original composition; copious English-French exercises; questions in French, etc. The names of terms recommended by the Committee on Grammatical Nomenclature are used. Other features are noteworthy. The past absolute often relinquished among the last lessons in a beginner's text has a place in the fifteenth lesson; this is the proper attitude to assume as long as the chief object of the teaching of French in this country is the acquisition of a reading knowledge and most of our elementary readers contain ample subject matter told in this tense. The subjunctive is given considerable space, an impressive departure from certain elementary text books which neglect it as if this mood occupied only a minor part in a beginner's acquisition of French. Undoubtedly, a collaboration from the Latin and French points of view affords strong inducements to dwell, if only intermittently, on the field of philology, but the authors, remembering the character of their book, have indicated valuable historical connections but sparingly. At the end are found a good appendix for verb review and reference, a French-English vocabulary with phonetic transcriptions, an English-French vocabulary, and an index.

The proofreading has been excellently done; only a few misprints have been noticed: Page 37: *étes-vous* for *êtes-vous;* p. 56: *paye* = *pɛ* for *pɛ*: *j*; p. 65: *vielle* for *vieille*; p. 68: *je n'y ai consenti pas* for *je n'y ai pas consenti;* p. 125: *epoque* for *époque;* p. 133: *plaisi* for *plaisir;* p. 177: *.e* 14 *juillet* for *le* 14 *juillet;* p. 195: *parlerion* for *parlerions;* p. 212: *d rment* for *dorment;* p. 234: *eprendre* for *éprendre; equivaloir* for *équivaloir;* p. 272: *irregulière* for *irrégulière;* p. 273: *s'ègarer* for *s'égarer.*

HENRY E. HAXO.

University of North Dakota.

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Volume XLII MARCH, 1927 Number 3

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

Edited by EDWIN GREENLAW

WITH THE COÖPERATION OF

GUSTAV GRUENBAUM W. KURRELMEYER

H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER

CONTENTS

PAGE

SCUDDER, H. E.—A Queen at Chesse, - - - - - - - - 141

NOCK, S. A.—Denis Saurat on Milton's Color Vision, - - - - 146

TILLEY, M. P.—The Comedy 'Lingua' and the 'Faerie Queene,' - - 150

RICHARDS, I. T.—A New Poe Poem, - - - - - - - - 158

GILMAN, MARGARET.—'Le Dissipateur' and 'Timon of Athens,' - 162

BALDERSTON, KATHARINE C.—Goldsmith's Supposed Attack on Fielding, - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 165

BROWN, J. E.—Goldsmith and Johnson on Biography, - - - - - 168

SCHWARTZ, W. L.—The Influence of E. A. Poe on Judith Gautier, - 171

MAGOUN, F. P., JR.—The Burning of Heorot: an Illustrative Note, - 173

WATTS. G. B.—An Unpublished Letter by Louis Racine, - - - 174

CASE, A. E.—Aaron Hill and Thomson's 'Sophonisba,' - - - - 175

KURRELMEYER, W.—The Term 'Sturm und Drang,' - - - - - 176

REVIEWS:—

Materials for the Study of the English Renaissance. [*E. Greenlaw.*] - 178

LOUIS REYNAUD, Le Romantisme. [*G. Chinard.*] - - - - - 188

BARRY CERF, Anatole France. [*H. Smith.*] - - - - - - 194

ELISABETH WESTERGAARD, Studies in Prefixes and Suffixes in Middle Scotch. [*F. P. Magoun, Jr.*] - - - - - - - - - 196

HEINRICH GELZER, Guy de Maupassant. [*Eunice R. Goddard.*] - - 198

ADOLPHE J. DICKMAN, Le Rôle du surnaturel dans les chansons de geste; CONSTANTIN BILA, La Croyance à la magie au XVIIIe siècle en France. [*M. Rudwin.*] - - - - - - - - 199

H. W. FOWLER, A Dictionary of Modern English Usage. [*K. Malone.*] 201

D. H. CRAWFORD, *Beowulf*, translated into English Verse. [*K. Malone.*] 202

CONRAD BORCHLING, Das Landrecht des *Sachsenspiegels*; AGATHE LASCH, Aus alten niederdeutschen Stadtbüchern. [*E. H. Schrt.*] - 203

PAUL C. WEBER, America in Imaginative German Literature in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century. [*E. H. Zeydel.*] - - 204

JULIUS PETERSEN, Die Wesensbestimmung der deutschen Romantik. [*W. Silz.*] - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 207

A. W. MOORE, SOPHIA MORRISON, and EDMUND GOODWIN, A Vocabulary of the Anglo-Manx Dialect. [*George T. Flom.*] - - - 208

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A QUEEN AT CHESSE

Although in general Scott in *Kenilworth,* chapter 15, follows the story of Walter Raleigh's throwing his cloak upon the ground for Queen Elizabeth to walk on, as told by Fuller in his *Worthies of England,*[1] he makes to the tale as told there one notable addition. According to Scott, in a subsequent interview between Raleigh and the Queen, the latter rewards the young courtier as follows:

> "And here," she added, giving him a jewel of gold, in the form of a chess-man, "I give thee this to wear at the collar."

What was Scott's source for this addition? A little investigation reveals the fact that the chess-man reward was in history made by the Queen to Sir Charles Blount. Scott has merely taken Blount's chess-man and awarded it to Raleigh, but there are two versions of the story extant, both written by contemporaries of Blount and Raleigh, both of which, there is evidence to indicate, Scott had read just before or during the composition of *Kenilworth.* The two versions are, moreover, so similar as to suggest some common origin, at present unknown.

The first version was written by Anthony Bacon, elder brother of Francis Bacon. Bacon was employed by Robert Devereux, second Earl of Essex, as his foreign correspondent, or as Bacon put it, "under secretary of state for foreign affairs." Essex sneered at Blount for wearing the chess-man and Blount challenged, fought, wounded and disarmed him. Curiously, Francis Bacon, brother of the writer of this anecdote, lived to prosecute Essex, and Blount was one of the judges who condemned Sir

[1] *The History of the Worthies of England,* by Thomas Fuller, London, 1811, vol. II, p. 287.

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Walter Raleigh in 1603. The date of the writing of the Bacon version is unknown except that it antedated Bacon's death in 1601, and it remained in manuscript until published in 1754. Its belated appearance then came in a work entitled:

Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, from the year 1581 until her death. In which the Secret Intrigues of her Court, and the conduct of her favourite, Robert Earl of Essex, both at Home and Abroad, are particularly illustrated. Fom the original papers of his intimate friend, Anthony Bacon, Esquire, and other manuscripts never before published. By Thomas Birch D. D., rector of the United Parishes of St. Margaret Pattens and St. Gabriel Fenchurch, and Secretary of the Royal Society.

Here it was printed in volume II, page 191, as follows:

His first appearance gave jealousy to the earl of Essex. For Sir Charles Blount, as he then was, having run one day very well at tilt, the queen was so highly pleased with him, that she sent him in token of her favour a queen at chess in gold, richly enameled, which his servants the next day fastened to his arm with a crimson ribband. The earl, as he passed through the privy chamber, espying this, and Sir Charles's cloak under his arm, the better to display it, inquired what it was, and for what cause there fixed? Mr. Fulk Greville answering, that it was the queen's favour, which the day before, after the tilting she had sent to Sir Charles Blount; the earl in a kind of emulation, and as though he would have limited her majesty's grace, said, "Now I perceive every fool must have a favour." This bitter and public affront coming to Sir Charles's ear, he sent his lordship a challenge, and they met near Marybone park, where the earl was wounded in the thigh, and disarm'd. The queen missing them was very curious to know the truth, which being at last told her, she swore by God's death that it was fit, that some one or other should take the earl down, and teach him better manners; otherwise there would be no rule with him. But this incident was the beginning of the friendship between the earl and Sir Charles, which the queen herself then established.

Four years later, in 1758, the story was republished, this time as a footnote, in Horace Walpole's *Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors,* to the account of Robert Devereux in that work. The paragraph to which the chess story was appended, follows:

His early marriage with the widow of Sir Philip Sidney, did not look as if he himself had any idea of her Majesty's inclination for him: perhaps he had learned from the example of his father-in-law, that her Majesty's passions never extended to matrimony. Yet before this he had insulted Sir Charles Blount, on a jealousy of the Queen's partiality. Instead of sentimental softness, the spirit of her father broke out on that occasion; she swore a round oath, "That unless someone or other took him down, there would be no ruling him."

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Walpole acknowledged his source to be *Bacon Papers,* Vol. II, p. 191.

In 1787 Richard Twiss published anonymously his *Chess,* a volume described in its opening paragraph as a "Trifle offered to Chess-players, as a compilation of all the Anecdotes and Quotations that could be found relative to the Game of Chess." In this volume, page 25, the Bacon story once again appeared, and is this time credited to "Bacon's papers, as quoted by Mr. Walpole, in his Royal and Noble Authors of England."

In both Walpole and Twiss the story is much condensed and might as easily derive from the Naunton version (see below) as from the Bacon, but is in each case definitely credited to the Bacon Papers. Twiss varies from Walpole only in the addition of the name of the queen. As printed by Twiss the story is as follows:

Sir Charles Blount, afterwards Earl of Devonshire, a very comely young man, having distinguished himself at a tilt, her Majesty, Queen Elizabeth, sent him a Chess-queen of gold enameled, which he tied upon his arm with a crimson ribband. Essex perceiving it, said with affected scorn, "Now I perceive every fool must have a favour!" On this, Sir Charles challenged, fought him in Marybone-park, disarmed, and wounded him in the thigh.

The other version of this story appeared first in Sir Robert Naunton's *Fragmenta Regalia.* Naunton had in Elizabeth's reign been a dependent of Walter Devereux, the first Earl of Essex. His death occurred in 1635 and his book was published posthumously in 1641. It was written, according to Prof. Edward Arber, in or about 1630. In this event the Naunton version of the chess story was the first into print, antedating the Bacon version in this respect by 113 years, but the Naunton version was not written until at least 29 years after the composition of the Bacon story.

The Naunton account, taken from the Arber reprint of the third edition (1653), of *Fragmenta Regalia,* is as follows:

My Lord Mountjoy (who was another child of her favour) being newly come to Court, and then but Sir Charles Blount (for my Lord William his elder brother was then living), had the good fortune one day to run very well a Tilt; and the Queen therewith was so well pleased, that she sent him in token of her favour, a Queen at Chesse of gold richly enameled, which his servants had the next day fastened on his Arme with a Crymson ribband; which my Lord of Essex, as he passed through the Privy Cham-

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ber espying, with his cloak cast under his Arme, the better to commend it to the view, enquired what it was, and for what cause there fixed? Sir Foulk Grevil told him, that it was the Queens favour, which the day before, and after the Tilting she had sent him; whereat my Lord of Essex, in a kind of emulation, and as though he would have limited her favour, said, Now I perceive every fool must have a favour.

This bitter and publike affront came to Sir Charles Blunts eare, who sent him a challenge, which was accepted by my Lord, and they met near Mary-bone-park, where my Lord was hurt in the thigh and disarmed: the Queen missing the men, was very curious to learn the truth; and when at last it was whispered out she swore by Gods death, it was fit that some one or other should take him down, and teach him better manners, otherwise there would be no rule with him. And here I note the inition of my Lords friendship with Mountjoy, which the Queen her self did then conjure.

Scott had without much doubt read the Walpole condensation of the Bacon story, and the Naunton version just before he wrote *Kenilworth* or during its composition. In note C to *Kenilworth* he acknowledges his indebtedness to Naunton for information upon Sussex and Leicester. Indeed his description of Sussex in chapter 14 suggests that *Fragmenta Regalia* must have been open on the desk before him as he wrote. The second sentence of the third paragraph of this chapter begins:

Sussex was, according to the phrase of the times, a martialist; had done good service in Ireland. . . .

Naunton, in his description of Sussex says:

. . . he was indeed one of the Queens Martialists, and did very good service in Ireland. . . .

This was not Scott's first acquaintance with Naunton. In 1808 there had been published at Edinburgh a volume entitled:

Memoirs of Robert Cary; Earl of Monmouth. Written by himself. And *Fragmenta Regalia*, by Sir Robert Naunton. With explanatory annotations.

These annotations had been supplied by Scott.

On the other hand Scott had at just about this time been going over the work of Horace Walpole, as he included a life of Walpole to the *Novelist's Library* series. Scott began his work on this series of lives with that of Fielding, which, according to Lockhart he handed to Ballantyne in the autumn of 1820. Publication did not begin until February 1821. Lockhart is not clear as to

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whether composition of these lives was completed before the first volume was published, or not, and publication continued into the summer of 1821, but in the list of published works printed in the appendix,[2] the *Lives of the Novelists* is made to precede *Kenilworth*. *Kenilworth* according to the same authority appeared in the week of Jan. 17, 1821.

Scott's reference to Walpole's *Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors* in his life of Walpole would suggest that he had at least glanced through its pages before pronouncing upon it. Had he done so at a time when *Kenilworth* was in mind it is hardly conceivable that he could have overlooked the Devereux-Blount story, emphasized by the footnote. Scott's criticism follows:

> The . . . . work evinces, in a particular degree, Mr. Walpole's respect for birth and rank; yet is, perhaps, ill calculated to gain much sympathy for either. It would be difficult, by any process or principle of subdivision, to select a list of as many plebian authors, containing so very few whose genius was worthy of commemoration.

That Scott had ever read the *Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, by Birch, there seems to be no evidence, nor is there any of an acquaintance with the fascinating volume by Twiss. Scott had been a chess enthusiast in his invalid boyhood but abandoned the game later. "He used to say that it was a scheme to throw away upon mastering a mere game, however ingenious, the time which would suffice for the acquisition of a new language. 'Surely,' he said, 'chess-playing is a sad waste of brains.'"

The Naunton story and the original Bacon story are so nearly alike as to suggest a common origin, and are yet enough unlike to make it improbable that either is a mere copy of the other. Bacon's version seems certainly to have been written at least 29 years before the Naunton, yet Naunton may well have had access to the Bacon manuscript either before or after Bacon's death. Either might well have known of the incident, yet had each later written the story independently, there would have been no such similarity of phrasing.

HAROLD H. SCUDDER.

University of New Hampshire.

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[2] *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart*, by John Gibson Lockhart. Boston, 1870.

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DENIS SAURAT ON MILTON'S COLOR VISION

Appendix A of M. Denis Saurat's *Milton, Man and Thinker* (New York, The Dial Press, 1925) arguing "that Milton's blindness was due to retinitis, complicated perhaps by glaucomatous troubles developed from eyestrain as a result of a generally bad state of health, probably attributable to hereditary syphilis" (p. 338), contains a brief passage to the effect that Milton's "ability to see colors both precisely and at a distance tells strongly against the hypothesis of myopia, at least of a pernicious myopia sufficiently accentuated to lead ultimately to a detachment of the retina" (pp. 334-5).

It is not my wish to deal with the doubtful medical argument presented by M. Saurat, but only with the material and the method employed in support of his contention that Milton "saw the colors about him in a normal manner" (p. 334), and that he had the "ability to see colors both precisely and at a distance" (p. 334).

M. Saurat gives the matter scant attention. "Let us now attempt," he writes (pp. 333-4),

> to arrive at plausible conclusions on the subject of the disease which brought about [Milton's] loss of sight. The important fact to start with, in our opinion, is Milton's perception of colors. In a useful article published in *Modern Language Notes* for December, 1894, Mr. V. P. Squires presents statistics which seem to us decisive on this point. Milton mentions in his works 29 different shades [*sic*] of color; he could, therefore, distinguish them. Of these 29 colors, those named most frequently are: gold, 47 times; green, 43 times; red and its varieties, 19 times; violet, 13 times; gray, 12 times; blue, 13 times; the other shades [*sic*] recur much less often. Now, these are the normal colors of nature: the gold of the sun, the red, gold, and violet of sunrise and sunset, the green of vegetation, the blue of the sky, the gray of somber days, of the earth, and of cities. Milton, therefore, saw the colors about him in a normal manner. He also saw colors at a distance; we need cite only a description of a sunset and moonrise, which, written at a time when literature made little of "picturesque" effects, is a sufficient proof:
>
> . . . the sun now fall'n
> Beneath the Azores; whether the prime orb
> Incredible how swift, had thither roll'd
> Diurnal, or this less voluble earth

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By shorter flight to the east, had left him there
Arraying with reflected purple and gold
The clouds that on his western throne attend:
Now came still evening on, and twilight gray
Had in her sober livery all things clad;
Silence accompanied, for beast and bird,
They to their grassy couch, these to their nests
Were slunk, all but the wakeful nightingale;
She all night long her amorous descant sung;
Silence was pleas'd: now glow'd the firmament
With living sapphires; Hesperus, that led
The starry host, rode brightest, till the moon,
Rising in clouded majesty, at length
Apparent queen, unveiled her peerless light,
And o'er the dark her silver mantle threw.

(*P. L.* IV, 591-609.)

In the account of Mr. Squires are a few statistical errors which M. Saurat does not rectify. For example, *golden* (not *gold*) appears 49, not 47, times in the poetry of Milton (Bradshaw). In how many cases it is used as a color name, it is hard to determine, as Mr. Squires pointed out; M. Saurat makes no attempt to give an accurate count. Mr. Squires failed to observe the inconsistency of using *gray* as a color name, but not *black* and *white.* None of the three words refers to a color of the spectrum, although all are used popularly as referring to colors. Again, Mr. Squires did not consider the possibility that *purple* referred not to the color *violet* or (modern) *purple,* but to *crimson* (as in *P. L.* III, 364: "the bright Pavement . . . *Impurpl'd* with celestial roses"), or to mere *brilliance* (as in *Lycidas* 141: "And *purple* all the ground with vernal flowers").

Mr. Squires listed as separate color names all the modifications of *red* occurring in Milton's poems, although there is no real distinction in some cases. A *red* blush (*Ps.* VI, 22) and a *rosy red* blush (*P. L.* VIII, 619) seem to be the same. Furthermore, according to the N. E. D., *roseate,* listed by Mr. Squires as a color name, means rose-*scented* in *P. L.* V, 646.

Such points as these M. Saurat should not have overlooked in dealing with the list given by Mr. Squires. Still less should he have misquoted as he has, giving *gold* instead of *golden,* and *violet* instead of *purple.* Milton uses *gold* 51 times, apparently to

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denote gloriousness rather than color; he does not use *violet* as a color name at all.

"The important fact to start with, in our opinion," says M. Saurat, "is Milton's perception of colors." Just why his opinion is such, he does not say, although the reader would be greatly enlightened by reasons, especially as the very article by Mr. Squires, quoted by M. Saurat, built up a very considerable argument that Milton *was* myopic. Mr. Squires did not start with Milton's perception of colors, but with his perception of many forms of life and manifestations of nature. Into his argument he brought his list of color names, as a rather minor part of the discussion. The main argument of Mr. Squires, showing that Milton did not see well, and was probably myopic, is ignored by M. Saurat, who seizes upon one of the least significant lists in the article, and proceeds to build on that foundation, giving it no critical examination, and insinuating that the opinion he arrives at is the gist of the "useful article" he quotes.

Next, M. Saurat indulges in some logic as strange as it is unsound. "Milton mentions in his works," he says, "29 different shades of color; he could, therefore, distinguish them." The course of reasoning implied by the *therefore* is faulty: more evidence than naming names must be adduced to prove that a man can distinguish among the things named. As a matter of fact, such a confusion of descriptive color names as shown by Milton when he refers to "thwarting thunder *blue*" in *Arcades* 51, and to "*red* lightning" in *P. L.* I, 175, leads one to question the accuracy of his power to distinguish colors.

M. Saurat goes on with another bit of faulty reasoning. "These," he says, "are the normal colors of nature: the gold of the sun, the red, gold, and violet of sunrise and sunset, the green of vegetation, the blue of the sky, the gray of somber days, of the earth, and of cities. Milton, therefore, saw the colors about him in a normal manner." Let us consider Milton's actual use of the colors mentioned by M. Saurat.

Milton does not refer to the "*gold* of the sun," although he once calls the sun *golden* (*P. L.* III, 572). Three times only does he refer to the *gold* of sunrise or sunset (*P. L.* IV, 596; V, 187; VI, 13). The sun in the *Nativity Ode* 130 rises "Curtain'd with cloudy *red*." Three times (*P. L.* V, 1; VI, 3; XI, 175) morn is

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described by the adjective *rosy,* since the time of Homer the conventional epithet. Once *purple* (not *violet*) is used in connection with sunset (*P. L.* IV, 596).

To the "*green* of vegetation" Milton does refer many times; but, as Mr. Squires pointed out, he has no shades or tints of *green.* Such use of *green* unmodified shows no intimate acquaintance with nature, for he might have got his descriptions in great part from such a poet as Spenser. The "*blue* of the sky" Milton mentions but once (*P. L.* XI, 206); and he mentions "heaven's *azure*" once (*P. L.* I, 297).

The "*gray* of somber days" does not appear in Milton's poetry, nor does the *gray* "of cities." Once only the *gray* "of the earth" appears, in *L'Allegro* 71. However, the *gray*ness of twilight is mentioned six times.

Milton's other uses of these "colors of nature" are entirely imaginative and literary. When we compare the actual number of times the colors mentioned by M. Saurat are used as he suggests, with the whole number of their appearances in Milton's poetry (using the count given by M. Saurat for the sake of simplicity), we find the ratio to be 57 : 147 (38.8%)—giving M. Saurat the benefit of such expressions as "heaven's azure" and "twilight gray." Without *green,* the ratio is 18 : 104 (17.3%)!

Consequently, M. Saurat's statement needs further proof; for as it stands it is merely this: Milton knew the names of colors that appear in nature, and therefore saw the colors themselves in a normal manner!

M. Saurat says, again, "He also saw colors at a distance," and cites the famous twilight passage from *P. L.* IV, 591-609 in support. Yet, although it may seem at first glance colorful, this passage has really only 4 color names in it: *purple, gold, gray, silver.* Of these, *gray* is in reality no spectral color; and *silver,* describing moonlight, would seem to connote the familiar colorless sheen of that illumination. As has been said, the color value of *gold* and *purple* is doubtful.

There are, however, 4 other words in the passage which suggest color or absence of color: *sapphires, sober, clouded, dark.* Of these, *sapphires* may denote blueness, although more probably it denotes merely brilliance and glory. Milton liked to use the names of precious stones to such purpose. (Cf. *P. L.* III, 596-7; V, 634; VI,

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756-8; *At A Solemn Music* 7.) Dr. Heinrich Mutschmann ingeniously suggests a literary origin for "living sapphires" in Milton's readings of Russian travel. (*Studies Concerning the Origin of "Paradise Lost,"* p. 22.)

The other 3 words show absence of color, mere degrees of darkness. In addition to them are 3 words of light and brightness, *glow'd, brightest, light,* equally unindicative of color.

The passage shows us, then, that Milton was aware of the gorgeousness of a sunset covering half the heavens, although not that *purple* and *gold* refer to the colors *violet* and *golden,* rather than to mere splendor. He was aware, also, of the brilliance of the stars, and the sheen of moonlight. But to argue that such a nyctalopian passage shows that Milton saw colors "at a distance" is such questionable logic that one example, that of the rainbow, may refute it. In *P. L.* XI, 866 and 897, Milton refers to the rainbow as having three colors. In a note on l. 866, R. C. Browne states that Du Bartas gives the rainbow only three colors. In relying on Du Bartas, rather than on his own observation if he could distinguish colors at a distance, Milton shows a curious and perverse attachment to his books!

We see, in conclusion, that M. Saurat has failed to verify his source; he has misquoted his source; he has argued from his own notions of color names rather than from Milton's use of them; he has made no definite statistical consideration of color names, but has argued from generalities not well founded; and, omitting a contradictory example, he has quoted in support of his thesis a passage which really offers no support.

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THE COMEDY *LINGUA* AND THE *FAERIE QUEENE*

Fleay alone among the scholars of the nineteenth century who have discussed T. Tomkis' play *Lingua* (1607) has contributed information as to the source of this play. According to Fleay, *Lingua* is "clearly founded on an Italian model."[1] He fails, how-

[1] Fleay, *Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama,* II, 261; *idem, Shakespeariana,* 1885, II, 121.

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ever, to give any definite indication of such an original. Professor James Holly Hanford, in support of Fleay's statement, in 1913 announced that "a very probable ulterior source [of *Lingua*], which seems to have escaped the notice of those who have discussed the English play, is found in Giorgio Alione's *Comedia de L'Omo e de' soi Cinque Sentimenti,* written in the dialect of Asti and first published in 1521."[2] As Professor Hanford points out, the main resemblance between the two plays lies in the central idea of the plot, which is built around the aspirations of a part of the body to rise to the position of a sixth sense. There is much in *Lingua,* however, that finds no counterpart in the Italian comedy. It is much more elaborate, and introduces numerous characters not found in Alione's comedy.

The main action in *Lingua* is concerned with the civil strife in Microcosmus in which the five "exterior senses" are arrayed against Queen Psyche and her counselors, the three "interior senses." This main action of the English play, which is lacking in *L'Omo,* is based upon Canto IX of Book II of the *Faerie Queene,* with details borrowed from Cantos XI and XII of the same book.

The main characters of the allegory of the body in the *Faerie Queene* and in *Lingua* are the same. In the *Faerie Queene,* Alma (soul) is guided by the counsel of three wise sages, representing Imagination, Reason and Memory, the three interior senses. The names of the first and the third of Alma's counselors are Phantastes (imagination) and Eumnestes (memory). Alma's second counselor, personifying reason, is unnamed. In the defence of the Castle of Temperance (the body of man), Alma has the active assistance of Man's five exterior senses, Sight, Hearing, Touch, Smell and Taste. In *Lingua,* the same characters occupy a prominent part. Queen Psyche[3] (soul) corresponds to Alma. She, as Alma, has three counselors typifying the three interior senses. Their names, which are either identical with the names, or sug-

[2] *The Debate Element in the Elizabethan Drama,* by James Holly Hanford, in *Anniversary Papers by Colleagues and Pupils of George Lyman Kittredge,* 1913, 455.

[3] Queen Psyche is included in the *dramatis personae* of the 1607 quarto edition of *Lingua* as among the "Personae, quarum mentio tantum fit." Although she does not appear as a character in the play, she is frequently mentioned: pp. 338, 371, 379, 394, 418, 425, 428 and 429.

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gested by the natures, of the characters of Spenser's allegory, are Phantastes, Common Sense and Memory. By their assistance Psyche finally succeeds in quelling the civil disorders instituted by the Five Senses, that have in *Lingua* the Latin names, Visus, Auditus, Tactus, Olfactus and Gustus.

The allegories of the body in the two works differ mainly in the relation of the Five Senses in each to their respective rulers, Alma and Psyche. Whereas in the *Faerie Queene* the allegory tells of a victory of the *united* forces of the body, including the Five Senses, over evil forces that attack the body, in *Lingua* the allegory presents the Five Senses plotting strife among themselves to the injury of the body. In other words, the Castle of Temperance in the *Faerie Queene* becomes in *Lingua* a Castle of Intemperance, in which the revolt of the Five Senses plotted by *Lingua* furnishes the major part of the action of the comedy.

A comparison of passages in the *Faerie Queene* with derived passages in *Lingua* will make clearer the influence of the one work upon the other and show how closely Tomkis followed at times his source.

The prototypes of Psyche's three counselors[4] in *Lingua* are the "three honourable sages" in the *Faerie Queene,* that in "three rowmes did sondry dwell" (the head) of Alma's castle (the body of man). Spenser introduces them as follows:[5]

> These three in these three rowmes did sondry dwell,
> And counselled faire Alma, how to governe well.
> *The first of them could things to come foresee;*
> *The next could of thinges present best advize;*
> *The third things past could keepe in memoree:*
> So that no time nor reason could arize,
> But that the same could one of these comprize.

These three characters, typifying among them, in Hamlet's words, "that capability" of "looking before and after" and "god-like reason," are introduced in *Lingua* in the same order as they are found in the *Faerie Queene,* in three successive comic scenes, Act II, Scenes II, III, IV, which contain a number of de-

[4] The relation to Queen Psyche in Tomkis' play of the three counselors is described in I, I, in the Hazlitt's *Dodsley* edition of *Lingua,* vol. IX, p. 338. Other references to *Lingua* are to this edition.

[5] *Faerie Queene,* II, IX, 48, 8-9, and 49, 1-5.

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scriptive details supplied by Spenser. An instance of the manner in which Tomkis employed in these three scenes, and elsewhere, Spenser's descriptive details is found in his description of Spenser's character "that hight Phantastes by his nature trew." In the *Faerie Queene* Phantastes is described as,[6]

> A man of yeares yet fresh, as mote appere,
> *Of swarth complexion*, and of crabbed hew,
> That him full of melancholy did shew;
> *Bent hollow beetle browes, sharpe staring eyes,*
> *That mad or foolish seemd:* . . . .

In *Lingua,* Phantastes (the name is the same in both instances) is introduced in a descriptive stage direction as "a swart-complexioned fellow, but quick-eyed."[7] Later Heuresis, Phantastes' page, in a description of his master, repeats the same and other details of Spenser's description of Phantastes.[8]

Another instance in which Spenser has furnished Tomkis with a descriptive detail is found in his account of Eumnestes, "all decrepit in his feeble corse:"[9]

> *The warres he well remembred of King Nine,*
> *Of old Assaracus,* and Inarchus divine.

In *Lingua,*[10] Memory, "an old decrepit man," can also "*remember, in the age of Assaracus and Ninus,* and about the wars of Thebes and the siege of Troy."

An equally clear example of Tomkis' indebtedness is connected with that part of Spenser's description of Eumnestes which refers to his page, Anamnestes (reminder), "a litle boy" who "did on him still attend,"[11]

[6] *Ibid.*, II, IX, 52, 3-7.

[7] *Lingua*, p. 367 (II, II). Compare also the last speech of Phantastes on p. 370, and the same character's speech on pp. 401-402, with *Faerie Queene*, II, IX, 50, for similar borrowing of ideas.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 389 (III, III): "O yes! If any man can tell any tidings of a spruce, neat, apish, nimble, fine, foolish, absurd, humorous, conceited, fantastic gallant, *with hollow eyes, sharp look, swart complexion,* meagre face, wearing as many toys in his apparel *as fooleries in his looks and gesture,* let him come forth and certify me thereof, and he shall have for his reward—"

[9] *Faerie Queene*, II, IX, 56, 8-9.

[10] *Lingua*, p. 374 (II, IV).

[11] *Faerie Queene*, II, IX, 58, 5-9.

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> To reach, when ever he for ought did send;
> And oft when thinges were lost, or laid amis,
> That boy them sought and unto him did lend:
> Therefore he Anamnestes cleped is,
> And that old man Eumnestes, by their propertis.

In *Lingua,* Memory's page of the same name, Anamnestes, has the similar task of waiting on his master and of finding misplaced or lost articles. In the scene in which we are introduced to Memory and Anamnestes, Act II, Scene IV, the latter is sent by his master to look for his lost purse.

A passage in *Lingua,* which has not only verbal but also allegorical resemblance to a passage in the *Faerie Queene,* occurs in Gustus' description of his house (the mouth), which was placed, "not much unlike a cave," "near to the lowly base of Cephalon" (the head). This house is described in *Lingua* as "arch'd above by wondrous workmanship,"[12]

> With *hewen stones wrought smoother and more fine*
> *Than jet or marble fair from Iceland brought.*
> Over the door *directly doth incline*
> *A fair percullis* of *compacture strong.*

The corresponding passage in the *Faerie Queene* occurs in the description of the gate into Alma's castle "by which all in did pass" (the mouth):[13]

> Of *hewen stone* the porch *was fayrely wrought*
> Stone more of valew, and *more smooth and fine,*
> *Then jett or marble far from Ireland brought;*
> . . . . . .
> *And over it a fayre portoullis hong,*
> Which to the gate *directly did incline,*
> With comely compasse and *compacture strong.*

Tomkis' debt to Book II of the *Faerie Queene* is not limited to Canto IX, but extends to Cantos XI and XII as well. Spenser's account in Canto XI[14] of Maleger's attack upon the Five Senses defending the bulwarks of Alma's castle is alluded to directly in *Lingua.* This allusion occurs in *Lingua* in a speech

[12] *Lingua,* p. 424 (IV, v).
[13] *Faerie Queene,* II, IX, 24, 1-3, 6-8.
[14] *Faerie Queene,* II, XI, 5 to 15 especially.

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of Mendacio's concerning the coming hostility among the angry Senses, in which Mendacio misreports in characteristic manner the outcome of Maleger's attack upon Alma's castle. In spite of the jumble of fact and fiction in Mendacio's account, the allusion is clear:[15]

> I long to see those hotspur Senses at it: they say they have gallant preparations, and not unlikely, for most of the soldiers are ready in arms, *since the last field fought against their yearly enemy Meleager and his wife Acrasia;* that conquest hath so fleshed them, that no peace can hold them. But had not Meleager been sick, and Acrasia drunk, the Senses might have whistled for the victory.

The same account furnishes *Lingua,* further, in Mendacio's description of the forces gathered by the Senses, with the symbolic animals, insects and birds typifying the enemies of the different senses. Maleger's forces are divided into five troops, each troop being composed of creatures symbolizing the vices of the particular Sense whose bulwark it is to attack.[16] In *Lingua,* similar personifications of the vices of the senses make up the troops of the Five Senses preparing for battle.[17] As an example, Maleger's fifth troop, designed to assault the bulwark of Touch, suggested in *Lingua* the symbolic creatures in Tactus' army. Maleger's "fift troupe" is made up "of fowle misshapen wightes," in the forms of "snailes" "spyders" and "ugly urchins."[18] Similarly in *Lingua,* Tactus is "strongly mann'd with three thousand bristled *urchens,*" "four hundred *tortoises,*" "besides a monstrous troop of ugly *spiders.*"[19] In the same way the "houndes," "apes" and "puttockes" in Spenser's account of the enemies of Smell[20] become in *Lingua,* in Mendacio's report of the troops of Olfactus, "great swine," "hounds and hungry mastiffs," and "vultures."[21]

[15] *Lingua,* p. 361 (II, i). There is also in *Lingua,* p. 338 (I, i), an allusion to Una in the *Faerie Queene:* "'Tis plain indeed, for truth no descant needs; Una's her name, she cannot be divided."

[16] *Faerie Queene,* II, xi, 8-13.

[17] *Lingua,* pp. 379-382 (II, v).

[18] *Faerie Queene,* II, xi, 13, 3-9.

[19] *Lingua,* p. 380 (II, v).

[20] *Faerie Queene* II, xi, 11.

[21] *Lingua,* p. 382 (II, v). There are other less striking resemblances of the same kind between the creatures making up the troops of Visus, Auditus and Gustus in *Lingua,* and those forming the three troops in the

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In the fifth act of the play, a new intrigue of Lingua's brings the Senses into a second disorder by means of a bottle of wine obtained of the enemy of temperance, "an old witch called Acrasia,"[22] a character imported into this play from Canto XII of Book II of the *Faerie Queene*. Upon the discovery of Lingua's part in bringing about this second disorder of the Senses, Common Sense commits her "to close prison in Gustus's house," and charges Gustus "to keep her under the custody of two strong doors . . . till she come to eighty years of age." Gustus is to see, also, that "she be well-guarded with thirty tall watchmen, without whose license she shall by no means wag abroad."[23] The "thirty tall watchmen" (the teeth), who are to guard Lingua in "the close prison of Gustus's house," are derived from Spenser's allegorical description of the entrance of Alma's castle, where "rownd about the porch on every syde,"[24]

> Twise sixteene warders satt, all armed bright
> In glistring steele, and strongly fortifyde:
> Tall yeomen seemed they, and of great might,
> And were enraunged ready still for fight.

Another Spenserian echo in *Lingua* owes much of its beauty to a famous passage in Canto XII of Book II. It occurs in a speech of Auditus' praising the sense of hearing, and is to be traced to Spenser's description of the music heard issuing from Acrasia's Bower of Bliss. The passage in *Lingua* is as follows:[25]

> May it please your lordship to withdraw yourself
> Unto this neighbouring grove: there shall you see
> How the sweet treble of the chirping birds,
> And the soft stirring of the moved leaves,

Faerie Queene which Maleger had gathered to attack the bulwarks of Sight, Hearing and Taste.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 433 (V, I). Acrasia, like Psyche, is only referred to in *Lingua*.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 461 (V, XIX).

[24] *Faerie Queene*, II, IX, 26, 2-5.

[25] *Lingua*, pp. 409-410 (III, VII). The only reference that I have found suggesting the influence of the *Faerie Queene* upon *Lingua* is contained in Collier's comment upon this passage, found in Hazlitt's *Dodsley* edition of *Lingua*, vol. IX, p. 409, note 3: "The author certainly in writing this beautiful passage had Spenser (*Faerie Queene*, b. II, c. 12) in his mind."

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> Running delightful descant to the sound
> Of the base murmuring of the bubbling brook,
> Becomes a concert of good instruments;
> While twenty babbling echoes round about,
> Out of the stony concave of their mouths,
> Restore the vanished music of each close,
> And fill your ears full with redoubled pleasure.

The lines in the *Faerie Queene* to which these beautiful lines are indebted are found in Book II, Canto XII, Stanza 71:

> The joyous birdes, shrouded in chearefull shade,
> Their notes unto the voice attempred sweet:
> Th' angelicall soft trembling voyces made
> To th' instruments divine respondence meet:
> The silver sounding instruments did meet
> With the base murmure of the waters fall:
> The waters fall with difference discreet,
> Now soft, now loud, unto the wind did call:
> The gentle warbling wind low answered to all.

We are now in a position to estimate the extent to which *L'Omo* and the *Faerie Queene* have influenced the plot of *Lingua*. *Lingua* as we have seen, is indebted to *L'Omo* (whether directly or indirectly) for its central theme, the endeavor of *Lingua* to "have both name and power" of a sixth sense. After the first scene, in which this central theme is introduced to motivate what follows, we are chiefly concerned with the results of Lingua's "subtle policies" involving the revolts of the Senses. These disorders of the Senses are built upon the allegory of the body as it is found in the *Faerie Queene*, but not in *L'Omo*, and form the main action of *Lingua*. The influence of the *Faerie Queene*, therefore, outweighs the influence of Alione's comedy. In contrast with *L'Omo*, "a very probable ulterior source" of Tomkis' work, the *Faerie Queene* is the immediate source, influencing the allegory, the plot, the characters, and the phrasing of *Lingua*.

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A NEW POE POEM

It is quite generally known that Poe was deeply indebted in his early literary career to John Neal, of Portland, poet, novelist, and editor in 1828 and 1829 of the *Yankee and Boston Literary Gazette.* In his earliest preserved letter, quoted in the *Yankee* for December, 1829, Poe makes the statement that Neal had given him "the very first words of encouragement that I ever remember to have heard." These words of encouragement, used by Neal, in September, 1829, in an otherwise rather caustic editorial comment on a poem called "Heaven" which Poe had submitted for publication in the *Yankee,* were "he might make a beautiful and perhaps a magnificant poem." This is the first thoroughly authenticated relationship between the two men. In the December *Yankee* Neal reviewed favorably Poe's contribution "Unpublished Poetry," comprising selections from the volume about to be published at Baltimore, *Al Aaraaf, Tamerlane, and Minor Poems.* In his gratitude, Poe dedicated "Tamerlane" in the new volume to Neal, and there is later evidence of their continued friendship. It is further contended by Harrison and other Poe scholars that two poems signed "P" which appeared in the *Yankee* for August and December of this same year, 1829,—"The Skeleton-Hand" and "The Magician," respectively—were probably the work of Poe.

Why Poe, living in Baltimore in the summer of 1829, should have chosen Neal's comparatively obscure paper, published in Boston but edited at Portland, as almost the sole recipient of his early poetic endeavors, especially in view of Neal's caustic treatment of fledgling poets, has remained one of the numerous mysteries in his biography—a mystery which I think I have now solved. I believe that a poem of Poe's had already found publication in the columns of the *Yankee* over a year previously, before Neal had ever heard of the youthful poet. That this poem had been printed without any adverse comment—an unusual compliment from the editor of the *Yankee*—sufficiently accounts, if it is Poe's, for his later recourse to the paper.

The poem in question occurs on page 72 of the first volume—in the issue for February 26, 1828—and runs as follows:

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THE THREE MEETINGS

To Eva

When first we met, thy cheek was fair,
For love's own rose was blooming there,
And in its varying hues revealing,
A soul of deep and chastened feeling.
The thought was full of agony
That such a being e'er could *die*.

We met again in after years,
Those eyes of love were dim with tears,
That cheek was pale—for pain and care
Had blighted every rosebud there;
Alas! 'twas deepest misery now,
To gaze upon that altered brow.

Ah! with my soul is lingering yet,
The madd'ning thought when *last* we met;
'Twas in thy shroud, thou dearest maid,
I saw that form beloved laid;
I press'd thy lips: ah God! the chill
Is present to my memory still;
Thy spirit pure had sought above,
Its home in a Redeemer's love.

Cambridge, Feb. 19, 1828. Edgar

My reasons for assigning the poem to Poe, besides consideration of his well-known later indebtedness to the *Yankee*, are the signature used, "Edgar," one he occasionally used elsewhere,[1] and the internal evidence, which seems to me strong everywhere except in the last two lines. Their clash with the rest of the poem helps to confirm me in my opinion, for I cannot believe that the author of this poem, whether or not he were Poe, could be guilty of such desecration. The theme of the poem is the wasting away of youthful beauty, and its natural culmination is in the shudder that death occasions. To append here the conventional balm for the blight of death is, artistically, to cause an unpardonable obtrusion. The author of the poem must certainly have known better.

Then, too, these last two lines not only pervert the spirit of the work; they destroy its symmetry. They are not only banal;

[1] *The Complete Poems of Edgar Allan Poe*, ed. J. H. Whitty, 1911, pp. 275 and 284.

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they are redundant. Without them the poem is composed of three similar stanzas.

Furthermore, these lines are not, in themselves, of the same poetic quality as the rest of the poem. The combination of sibilant and explosive consonants in the first is distinctly discordant, and the second foot of the other is unpleasantly weak.

Altogether, because they contradict the rest of the poem, because they destroy its symmetry, and because they are not so good poetry, I find it impossible to think that these two lines are a part of the original work.

Now according to Poe's biographers, he could not possibly have been in Cambridge on February 19, 1828, the address and date of the poem: the battery in which he was enlisted as Edgar A. Perry was ordered to Charleston, South Carolina, on October 31, 1827, and he did not come north again for over two years. It is clear that he could not have sent the poem directly to Neal. Dr. H. M. Ellis of the University of Maine has suggested that Poe either left it with a friend, or sent it to such a friend, in Cambridge, whence it somehow, after the friend had performed a blacksmith's repair job upon it, found its way to the *Yankee,* perhaps at Poe's request; and its favorable reception probably influenced Poe to try Neal again in September, 1829.

This hypothesis seems the most probable one; for it scarcely seems credible that Neal himself appended the two objectionable verses, as he was apparently not in the habit of altering manuscripts submitted to him without noting such alterations. He frequently changed them, but he gave notice of these changes so regularly that we must think it his common practice to do so.

The poem itself, except those two ruinous lines, shows strong traces of the peculiar genius that later animated such craftsmanship as has moved its pencil under but one name, and has known no peers in America. The theme is Poe's avowed choice—death and a beautiful woman; and its treatment reflects that melancholy view of life which was never absent from his work. There is here evidence of that dreaming faculty, of that interest in emotion as the value to be found in beauty, which Mr. George Woodberry has pronounced a primary element in Poe's genius, as original in

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poetry as was Blake's conception in art—[3] a mingling of beauty with a vague and infinite horror that is felt rather than revealed. The subtitle addressing the poem to a particular woman, whose given name at least we do not here have to guess, scarcely needs to be pointed out as characteristic of Poe. The meter, iambic tetrameter, was a very common one with him, particularly in his early work. The stanza-form he used at least once, in "The Lake," among his early poems. The rich effect of the feminine rhyme in the third and fourth lines was a predilection which grew upon Poe, and the false rhyme of lines five and six can be duplicated over and over again in his work. We know that he frequently made rather radical use of mechanic devices like the italics of lines six and fourteen to secure precise elocutionary effects. But perhaps it is the intangible elements of poetry, the peculiar verse overtones, the harmony that appeals to the inner ear, that suggest Poe most.

I know of no way to prove it his; it has been too long overlooked for one to do that without the special favor of fortune. But because it occurs in a place where he later took special pains to seek publication; because it is signed with his given name;[3] and because, all except two lines which are very much out of place and destructive of its symmetry—lines which actually deform it,—it is his theme treated in his manner, I believe the poem Poe's.

It may be objected that Poe never in any way lays claim to this poem. In his meticulous collection of Poe's poetry,[4] after discarding poems elsewhere assigned to Poe, Mr. Killis Campbell publishes as "Uncollected Verses" and as "Poems Attributed to Poe" fifteen of the pieces commonly ascribed to him by such good authorities as George E. Woodberry, J. A. Harrison, and J. H. Whitty; some of these pieces are definitely known to be Poe's, and others of them are almost certainly his;—yet he referred to none of them in his letters. It seems practically certain that

[3] *Edgar Allan Poe*, George E. Woodberry: American Men of Letters Series, 1885, pp. 34-36.

[3] The use of only the given name supports the foregoing hypothesis; for it was in general, as would be expected, poems sent to intimate friends that Poe signed thus.

[4] *The Poems of Edgar Allan Poe*, ed. Killis Campbell, Ginn and Company, 1917.

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he, who revised his verse with painful minuteness, like most others, wrote many things to which he later made no claim, and which he probably wished to forget, as might well be true of this piece in its turgid entirety.

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LE DISSIPATEUR AND *TIMON OF ATHENS*

In his preface to *Le Dissipateur*[1] Destouches claims for his play complete originality. "Je n'ai travaillé sur aucun modèle," he says, "j'ai fait choix de mon sujet, j'en ai formé le plan et c'est la nature qui me l'a fourni." Nevertheless source-hunters, especially those of some fifty years ago, such as Moland, Wetz and Lenient, have not hesitated to point out resemblances between *Le Dissipateur* and Shakespeare's *Timon of Athens* and to assert, in the vague and light-hearted way of the days when comparative literature was still in its infancy, that Destouches's play was a direct imitation of Shakespeare's.[2] Mr. Jusserand alone, to my knowledge, rejected this theory. He remarks: "Petitot thought (but wrongly) that he had discovered an imitation of 'Timon' in 'Le Dissipateur' of Destouches."[3] A detailed comparison of *Le Dissipateur* with Shakespeare's *Timon* leads one to agree with Mr. Jusserand and to wonder not a little at the ready acceptance by other critics of *Timon* as the model of *Le Dissipateur*. The resemblances—save for the episode of the desertion of both Timon and Cléon by their friends—are of the most general kind and seem in no way to justify the categoric assertion of a direct imitation.

The most recent biographer and critic of Destouches, Mr. Jean

[1] *Le Dissipateur*, ou *l'Honneste-friponne*, comédie, Paris, Prault père, 1736. It was performed in the provinces in 1736, but had little success and was not produced in Paris until 1753.

[2] *Théâtre de Destouches*, avec une introduction par M. Louis Moland, Paris, 1878, p. xix; W. Wetz, *Die Anfänge der ernsten bürgerlichen Dichtung des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts*, I. Band, Worms, 1885, p. 170; C. Lenient, *La Comédie au XVIIIe siècle*, Paris, 1888, I, p. 199.

[3] J. Jusserand, *Shakespeare in France under the Ancien Régime*, London, 1899, p. 238, n. 3.

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Hankiss, feels that his predecessors have gone too far in their statements and his conclusion on the matter is: "Je ne sais non plus si le *Dissipateur* relève de 'Timon.'" [4] He does however suggest, without examining in detail, two possible ways by which Destouches might have known *Timon:* "'Timon le Misanthrope' a été joué par les Italiens à plusieurs reprises; d'autre part, on a représenté à Londres la pièce de Shakespeare remanié par Shadwell" (here Mr. Hankiss quotes in a note from the account of this version given by Genest [5]: "Shadwell introduces two ladies . . . . he has spoilt the character of Flavius."), de sorte que le sujet a pu être connu à Destouches sans qu'il se fût rendu compte d'avoir sous les yeux un ouvrage de Shakespeare." [6] Both these versions were apparently known to Mr. Hankiss only indirectly, and an examination of the texts casts a great deal of light on the question.

The *Timon le Misanthrope* of Delisle de la Drevetière [7] was first performed on January 2, 1722, while Destouches was still in England. However it is not impossible that he saw it, or at least heard it spoken of later, as it had a great success and a long run. It was certainly derived, not from Shakespeare, but either directly from Lucian's dialogue, *Timon the Man-hater* [8] or from an earlier French play by Brécourt,[9] derived in its turn from Lucian. The play is a curious mixture of philosophical dialogue and harlequinade and presents only one possible point of contact with the *Dissipateur*; the introduction of a female character into the story. But the plots and characters are so completely different that one must conclude that if Destouches did know this *Timon,* it certainly was not in his mind when he wrote the *Dissipateur.*

Mr. Hankiss' other suggestion is that Destouches might have known *Timon* through Shadwell's version of it, played in London.

[4] Jean Hankiss, *Philippe Néricault Destouches, l'homme et l'oeuvre,* Debreczen, 1920, p. 271.

[5] [John Genest] *Some Account of the English Stage, from the Restoration in 1660 to 1830,* Bath, 1832, 10 vols.

[6] *Op. cit.,* p. 188.

[7] Paris, 1722.

[8] Translations of Lucian had been published in France in 1582, 1613, 1654, 1674, 1685 and 1707. Shakespeare's *Timon* was based on Plutarch and on an earlier English play derived in its turn from Lucian. It is doubtful whether Shakespeare knew Lucian's dialogue directly.

[9] *Timon,* comédie en un acte, en vers, par Brécourt, 1684.

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This version was first produced in 1678, with Betterton in the title rôle, and from then until the middle of the eighteenth century it completely supplanted the original on the stage.[10] Destouches was in London for six years, from 1717 to 1723, and during that time Shadwell's *Timon* was played at least five times at Drury Lane,[11] so that Destouches may very probably have seen *Timon* performed in Shadwell's version, but not in Shakespeare's. Shadwell, in the dedication of *Timon of Athens* or *the Man-Hater*,[12] says that his version "has the inimitable hand of Shakespeare in it, which never made more masterly strokes than in this. Yet I can truly say, I have made it into a play."[13] This Shadwell accomplishes by introducing two important female characters (in Shakespeare's *Timon* the only female characters are the mistresses of Alcibiades, who play a very small part). Melissa, a coquette, is betrothed to Timon, and at the end of the first act his mistress, Evandra, appears and reproaches him bitterly for deserting her. In the next act Timon's feast is given for Melissa, and Evandra appears disguised in the mask of ladies and reproaches Timon further. In Act III, Melissa rejects Timon after the loss of his fortune and turns to Alcibiades. Evandra consoles Timon and in Act IV follows him to the woods to offer him her fortune, but finds him digging gold. On hearing the rumor of this, Melissa and her confidente, Chloe, arrive, but are rebuffed by Timon. After Timon's death, Evandra stabs herself and Alcibiades repulses Melissa's advances. These two characters certainly correspond to the Julie and Cidalise of Destouches. Julie is loving and faithful to Cléon as Evandra is to Timon; and Cidalise, fickle like Melissa, rejects Cléon in his distress. Moreover, the character

[10] So much so that La Place, in his translation of Shakespeare which forms the first four volumes of the *Théâtre anglais* (1745), translates from Shadwell and not from Shakespeare.

[11] October 11, 1717; November 24, 1719; December 8, 1720; October 10, 1721; May 20, 1723. (Genest, *op. cit.*, vol. I.)

[12] Bankside Restoration Shakespeare. *The Life of Timon of Athens* (the text of the Folio of 1623, with that as made into a play by Thomas Shadwell in 1678), edited by Willis Vickery, New York Shakespeare Society, 1907).

[13] Genest comments: "Some Frenchified definition of a play seems to have prevailed at this time, and for many years after." (*Op. cit.*, I, 250.)

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of Timon in Shadwell's version is much closer to Cléon than is Shakespeare's *Timon*. The latter is a noble and extravagantly generous gentleman, loved by all, while Shadwell's Timon, like Cléon, is a rash and careless spendthrift. A close parallel between the two plays is manifestly impossible; one can say that *Le Dissipateur* borrowed from *Timon*, but not that it is an imitation of it. Certain figures, certain incidents are alike, but the plays are fundamentally different in conception. *Timon* is the tragedy of the man-hater; *Le Dissipateur* is the comedy of the spendthrift. But such borrowings as there are were very evidently made not from the *Timon* of the First Folio, but from *Timon* "made into a play" by Shadwell.

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GOLDSMITH'S SUPPOSED ATTACK ON FIELDING

In Mr. Blanchard's recent study of Fielding[1] the question is again raised for which of his contemporaries Goldsmith intended the attack on romances, contained in Letter LXXXIII of the *Citizen of the World*. After reviewing the claims of Richardson and Smollett to this dubious honor, Mr. Blanchard concludes, "If any single author was glanced at, it was probably Fielding."

Goldsmith could not have intended this passage as an attack on any of his contemporaries, since he did not write it. The entire essay, with the exception of the introductory passage, is an almost verbatim borrowing from *A Description of the Empire of China and Chinese-Tartary*, etc., translated from the French of P. J. B. Du Halde, and published in London by Edward Cave, in 1738-41, in two volumes folio. Goldsmith himself acknowledged the borrowing, by a foot-note giving the exact, and correct, page references[2] and by enclosing the borrowed portions in quotation marks. Although all the modern editors, with the exception of Knight,[3] retain the foot-note and the quotation marks, they have cast

[1] *Fielding the Novelist*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1926, p. 150.

[2] II, 47 and 58. He also uses selections from pp. 48 and 61.

[3] Knight encloses the first five paragraphs in quotations, and omits them from the remainder.

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doubts on their veracity, even Gibbs, Goldsmith's most careful annotator, suspecting that the passage under consideration was really from Goldsmith's own pen, and was intended as a glance at Richardson.[4] An examination of Goldsmith's source settles the doubt. The two versions of the passage under consideration are here given in parallel columns, to show Goldsmith's close dependence on Du Halde:

Du Halde.	Goldsmith.
It was a saying of the Antients that a Man never opens a book without reaping some Advantage by it: I say with them, that every book can help to make me more expert, except Romances, and these debauch me. They are dangerous Fictions, where love is the ruling Passion. The most indecent strokes pass there for turns of Wit; and Intrigue and criminal Liberties for Politeness and Galantry; secret Appointments, and even Villainy itself are put in such Lights as may inspire the strongest Passion. There may be danger in them to Men who are come to Years, and who are of the strictest Probity. How much then ought young men to dread them, whose reason is weak, and whose Hearts are so susceptible of Passion! Can they swallow this Poison without being mortally infected.	It was a saying of the ancients, that a man never opens a book without reaping some advantage by it. I say with them, that every book can serve to make us more expert, except romances, and these are no better than instruments of debauchery. They are dangerous fictions, where love is the ruling passion. The most indecent strokes there pass for turns of wit; intrigue and criminal liberties for gallantry and politeness. Assignations, and even villainy, are put in such strong lights, as may inspire even grown men with the strongest passion; how much more, therefore, ought the youth of either sex to dread them, whose reason is so weak, and whose hearts are so susceptible of passion?
To slip in by a private Passage, to leap a Wall cleverly, are Accomplishments that, when handsomely set off, enchant a young Heart. It is true, the Plot is commonly wound up by a Marriage, concluded with	To slip in by a back-door, or leap a wall, are accomplishments that, when handsomely set off, enchant a young heart. It is true, the plot is commonly wound up by a marriage, concluded with the consent

[4] The confusion may have resulted from the fact that another translation, published in four volumes octavo, by J. Watts, in 1736, omits all the portions borrowed by Goldsmith for this essay. If this edition were used for verification the conclusion might naturally have been drawn that the professed borrowing was a literary subterfuge.

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Consent of the Parents, according to the Rites that are prescribed. But as in the Body of the Work, there are many Passages that offend good Morals, overthrow the laudable Customs, violate the Laws, and destroy the most essential Duties among Men, Virtue is thereby exposed to the most dangerous attacks.

But, say some, the Authors of these Romances have nothing in view, but to represent Vice punished, and Virtue rewarded. I grant this; but will the greater number of readers take Notice of these Punishments and Rewards? Is not their Mind carried to some thing else? Can it be imagined that the Art with which the Author inspires the Love of Virtue, can overcome that Crowd of thoughts which sway them to Licentiousness? In order to treat the subject in such a Way, that all which precedes the Moral may be no more than an ingenious Artifice, for conveying it to the Mind in a more agreeable manner, the author ought to be a Philosopher of the first Rank. But in our Age where can we find Philosophers of so exalted a virtue.

of parents, and adjusted by every ceremony prescribed by law. But, as in the body of the work, there are many passages that offend good morals, overthrow laudable customs, violate the laws, and destroy the duties most essential to society, virtue is thereby exposed to the most dangerous attacks.

But, say some, the authors of these romances have nothing in view, but to represent vice punished, and virtue rewarded. Granted. But will the greater number of readers take notice of these punishments and rewards? Are not their minds carried to something else? Can it be imagined that the art with which the author inspires the love of virtue, can overcome that crowd of thoughts which sway them to licentiousness? To be able to inculcate virtue by so leaky a vehicle, the author must be a philosopher of the first rank. But in our age we can find but few first-rate philosophers.

It may be objected that, although Goldsmith did not write the passage himself, he could hardly have failed to see its applicability. This may be granted, without lessening the improbability of his having included it on that account. The unifying theme of the essay is the effect of reading on the minds of young people, and each passage which Goldsmith has culled from the pages of Du Halde illustrates one aspect of that theme. The passage under discussion is simply one of those illustrations. Furthermore, if he had wished his readers to make a special application of this particular passage, he almost certainly would have pointed it, by some slight changes, to fit more exactly the object of his attack.

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As the essay stands, and as the various interpretations of this passage show, the criticism applies as much to Richardson as it does to Fielding, and perfectly to neither. We may safely assume, then, that any subtle motive attributed to Goldsmith in this passage did not exist, and that here, as later in the case of his *History of England,* he intended "no harm to nobody."

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GOLDSMITH AND JOHNSON ON BIOGRAPHY

Attention has been drawn of late to the fact that Goldsmith's knowledge of foreign—particularly of French—literature led to frequent, and all too often unacknowledged, borrowing from such sources in his early writings.[1] Rarely, however, do we find indebtedness to his English contemporaries, doubtless for the excellent reason that so obvious a procedure would invite discipline from the self-appointed literary police of Grub Street. It is the more interesting and surprising, therefore, to find that Goldsmith's remarks on the art of biography in the opening paragraphs of his *Life of Richard Nash, Esq.,* echo the ideas and sometimes the phraseology of no less a writer than Samuel Johnson, whose essay on this subject in the *Idler* had appeared a scant three years earlier. So far as I know, the parallel which follows has not heretofore been noted. To facilitate comparison without disturbing the sequence of either passage, sections from Goldsmith are numbered to correspond with their parallels in Johnson.

The Idler, No. 84, Nov. 24, 1759. (Johnson's *Works,* ed. Hawkins, 1787, 8. 339-41.)

(1) The examples and events of history press, indeed, upon the mind with the weight of truth; but when they are reposited in the

The Life of Richard Nash, Esq.[2] (Goldsmith's *Works,* ed. Gibbs, 453-4.)

(1) History owes its excellence more to the writer's manner than to the materials of which it is composed. (3) The intrigues of

[1] See *Les Sources françaises de Goldsmith,* by A. L. Sells, Paris, 1924; *Oliver Goldsmith's "The Citizen of the World,"* by H. J. Smith, Yale Studies in English, LXXI, 1926; "Goldsmith's Indebtedness to Voltaire and Justus van Effen," by J. E. Brown, *Modern Philology,* XXIII (1926), 273-84.

[2] First published in October, 1762.

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memory, they are oftener employed for shew than use, and rather diversify conversation than regulate life. (2) Few are engaged in such scenes as give them opportunities of growing wiser by the downfal of statesmen or the defeat of generals. (3) The stratagems of war, and the intrigues of courts, are read by far the greater part of mankind with the same indifference as the adventures of fabled heroes, or the revolutions of a fairy region. (4) Between falsehood and useless truth there is little difference. As gold which he cannot spend will make no man rich, so knowledge which he cannot apply will make no man wise.

(5) The mischievous consequences of vice and folly, of irregular desires and predominant passions, are best discovered by those relations which are levelled with the general surface of life, which tell not how any man became great, but how he was made happy; not how he lost the favour of his prince, but how he became discontented with himself. (6) Those relations are therefore commonly of most value in which the writer tells his own story . . . (7) The high and low, as they have the same faculties and the same senses, have no less similitude in their pains and pleasures. The sensations are the same in all, though produced by very different occasions. The prince feels the same pain when an invader seizes a province, as the farmer when a thief drives away his cow. Men thus equal in themselves will appear courts, or the devastation of armies, are regarded by the remote spectator with as little attention as the squabbles of a village, or the fate of a malefactor, that falls under his own observation. (7) The great and the little, as they have the same senses, and the same affections, generally present the same picture to the hand of the draughtsman; and whether the hero or the clown be the subject of the memoir, it is only man that appears with all his native minuteness about him; for nothing very great was ever yet formed from the little materials of humanity.[8]

(5) Thus none can properly be said to write history, but he who understands the human heart, and its whole train of affections and follies. Those affections and follies are properly the materials he has to work upon. The relations of great events may surprise indeed; they may be calculated to instruct those very few who govern the million beneath, but the generality of mankind find the most real improvement from relations which are levelled to the general surface of life—which tell—not how men learned to conquer, but how they endeavoured to live—not how they gained the shout of the admiring crowd, but how they acquired the esteem of their friends and acquaintance.

(6) Every man's own life would perhaps furnish the most pleasing materials for history, if he only had candour enough to be sincere, and skill enough to select such parts as once making him more

[8] Cf. *Rambler*, No. 60. (*Works*, ed. cit., 5. 382-83.)

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equal in honest and impartial biography.

prudent, might serve to render his readers more cautious . . . (2) It were to be wished that ministers and kings were left to write their own histories: they are truly useful to few but themselves; but for men who are contented with more humble stations, I fancy such truths only are serviceable as may conduct them safely through life. (4) That knowledge which we can turn to our real benefit should be most eagerly pursued. Treasures which we cannot use but little increase the happiness, or even the pride, of the possessor.

A few other minor resemblances between the two authors on the subject of biography may be added:

Rambler, No. 60, Oct. 13, 1750. (*Works*, ed. cit., 5. 382.)

I have often thought that there has rarely passed a life of which a judicious and faithful narrative would not be useful.

Life of Sir Thomas Browne. (*Works*, ed. cit., 4. 604.)

. . . those minute peculiarities which discriminate every man from all others, if they are not recorded by those whom personal knowledge enables to observe them, are irrecoverably lost.

Life of Thomas Parnell.[4] (*Works*, ed. Gibbs, 4. 159.)

There is scarce any man but might be made the subject of a very interesting and amusing history, if the writer, besides a thorough acquaintance with the character he draws, were able to make those nice distinctions which separate it from all others. The strongest minds have usually the most striking peculiarities . . . but in the present instance, from not knowing Dr. Parnell, his peculiarities are gone to the grave with him, and we are obliged to take his character from such as knew but little of him, or who, perhaps, could have given very little information if they had known more.[5]

[4] Published in 1770.

[5] See also *Memoirs of M. de Voltaire* (ed. Gibbs, 4. 8-9): "I am not insensible, that by recounting these trifling particulars of a great man's life, I may be accused of being myself a trifler; but such circumstances as these generally best mark a character . . . Let this, then, be my

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Thus Goldsmith, in advance of most of his contemporaries, accepted in theory—and illustrated in practice, one may add—a conception of biography that was soon to be further perfected in *The Lives of the Poets* and Boswell's *Life of Johnson,* and was even to become the basis of present-day methods. The ideal of truth rather than panegyric, the will to pierce through the outer vestments of public acts to the real man within, the importance of the trivial and of the shadows as well as the lights of character to the moralist and the artist seeking convincing, rounded portraiture—such, in general, were the principles of these three biographers. And the dominating influence upon Goldsmith as well as upon Boswell was that of Johnson.

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THE INFLUENCE OF E. A. POE ON JUDITH GAUTIER

In an article entitled "The Influence of Edgar Allen Poe in France" appearing in the *Romanic Review,* Oct.-Dec., 1926, pp. 319-337, Prof. C. P. Cambiare has clearly shown how much modern French literature has been influenced by the example and theories of Poe. After showing that Théophile Gautier came under the influence of the American story-teller, he wrote (p. 331): "As Gautier occupies an important place in the history of fantastic fiction in France, Poe's influence on him is reflected in his disciples." Further than this, Cambiare did not go. It is interesting to note, however, that Poe seems to have influenced, through Baudelaire's translations, Gautier's eldest daughter, Judith, in her youth. In her memoirs she stated that she read Poe's stories as they came out in Baudelaire's version.[1] Her father, she added, used to discuss Poe's stories with his children, and she asserted

excuse, if I mention anything that seems derogatory from Voltaire's character, which will be found composed of little vices and great virtues. Besides, it is not here intended either to compose a panegyric or draw up an invective; truth only is my aim," etc. A similar conception of the biographer's function later appears in Johnson's remarks as recorded by Boswell: *Life,* ed. G. B. Hill, 2. 166, 446; 3. 155; 4. 53, 65; 5. 238.

[1] J. Gautier, *le Second Rang du collier des jours,* p. 38.

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that as a child she had proposed another way of telling the story of the *Gold Bug*,[2] which led her father to urge her to try writing.[3]

When Baudelaire's translation of *Eureka* appeared (1864), Gautier gave the book to Judith with the request that she should analyze it fully and try to write an article about it for her father's sake.[4] A week later, the article was ready. Her father did not allude to it again, but sent it secretly to the *Moniteur universel*, signed *Judith Walter*, his translation of the name Gautier. To her surprise her essay appeared on March 29th, and she was paid Frs. 80.40 for it. She was also rewarded by a complimentary letter from Baudelaire, to whom Gautier had shown the proofs of the article, of which two paragraphs may be quoted:

Dans votre analyse si correcte d'*Eurêka*, vous avez fait ce qu'à votre âge je n'aurais peut-être su faire, et ce qu'une foule d'hommes très mûrs, et se disant lettrés, sont incapables de faire. Enfin vous m'avez prouvé ce que j'aurais volontiers jugé impossible, c'est qu'une jeune fille peut trouver dans les livres des amusements sérieux, tout à fait différents de ceux si bêtes et si vulgaires qui remplissent la vie de toutes les femmes. Si je ne craignais pas encore de vous offenser en médisant de votre sexe, je vous dirais que vous m'avez contraint à douter moi-même de vilaines opinions que je me suis forgées à l'égard des femmes en général. (*op. cit.*, p. 67).

Elsewhere in these memoirs, Judith Gautier gave the scenario of the first story which she invented at the age of fifteen. It was the tale of a mad violin-maker who murdered a great singer and used her hair for his bows and human gut for strings.[5] Her father, after hearing this "abominable histoire," declared that it showed the influence of Edgar Poe, and that he, perhaps, could have made something out of this horrible adventure. In repro-

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 52-3, "—Pourquoi la découverte du trésor est-elle réalisée avant l'explication du parchemin mystérieux qui en indique la place? Il était plus naturel de suivre William Legrand dans les émotions du déchiffrement, les recherches à travers l'île et enfin les péripéties de la découverte,—que l'erreur du nègre, qui confond l'œil gauche de la tête de mort avec l'œil droit, suffit à dramatiser.—Edgar Poë prend le sujet à rebours, et c'est seulement après le dénouement, qu'il explique comment il a pu l'amener."

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 54-5.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 65.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 152-6.

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ducing this anecdote, Judith Gautier seemed to acknowledge that her first attempts to write were indeed made under the influence of Poe. Although her first books were concerned with Far Eastern subjects: *le Livre de jade,* translations from the Chinese, 1867, *le Dragon impérial,* a novel, 1869; in the latter book, Chapter X, "les Pieds du pendu," is composed entirely in the manner of a story by Poe.

WILLIAM LEONARD SCHWARTZ.

Stanford University.

THE BURNING OF HEOROT: AN ILLUSTRATIVE NOTE

The ultimate destruction of Heorot by fire is hinted at twice in the *Beowulf,* in vv. 82-83 and 781-82 respectively. This was, we know, the all too common fate of Germanic frame structures, and similar situations in other literary documents have been pointed out by editors of the poem.[1] The two following illustrations, both from Bede, commend themselves by virtue of their matter-of-factness, circumstance, and close geographical and chronological relationships to the OE. poem.

The first is part of the account of a miracle worked by Aidan against the destruction of Bamborough by Penda in 651 A. D.; it describes the technique of firing a town (or fortification) from without:

> . . . . discissisque uiculis, quos in uicinia urbis inuenit, aduexit illo plurimam congeriem trabium, tignorum, parietum, uirgeorum, et tecti fenei, et his urbem in magna altitudine circumdedit a parte, quae terrae est contigua, et dum uentum oportunum cerneret, inlato igne conburere urbem nisus est. (*Eccl. Hist.*, III, 16; ed. Plummer, I, p. 159).

Such may have been the technique unsuccessfully employed against Heorot by the Heaðobards under Ingeld.[2]

The second illustration occurs in connection with a miracle ascribed to the power of dust taken from the spot on which King

[1] E. g., Gummere, *Oldest English Epic,* note to v. 83; Holthausen, *Beowulf,* II (4th ed., 1919), p. 107, notes to vv. 82, 84.

[2] *Widsiþ* (vv. 45-49) implies successful resistance by the Danes on this occasion.

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Oswald died: 642 A.D. would not be far from the date of this event.

Intrauitque [quidam] in domum, in qua uicani caenantes epulabantur; et susceptus a dominis domus, resedit et ipse cum eis ad conuiuium, adpendens linteolum cum puluere, quem adtulerat, in una posta parietis. Cumque diutius epulis atque ebrietati uacarent, accenso grandi igne in medio, contigit uolantibus in altum scintillis culmen domus, quod erat uirgis contextum, ac foeno tectum, subitaneis flammis impleri. Quod cum repente conuiuae terrore confusi conspicerent, fugerunt foras nil ardenti domui et iamiamque periturae prodesse ualentes. (*Eccl. Hist.*, III, 10; ed. Plummer, I, p. 147).

The scene here so vividly described gives a striking picture of contemporary helplessness against fire and of what may have been the circumstances of the burning of Heorot, hinted at in the *Beowulf*.

F. P. Magoun, Jr.

Harvard University.

AN UNPUBLISHED LETTER BY LOUIS RACINE

Louis Racine's famous poem *La Religion* (in six cantos, not four, as Lanson states p. 648 of *Man. Bibl.*) first published in Paris in 1742, had a very considerable popularity in its day, appearing in several editions during the eighteenth century, and being translated into English, German, Italian, and Latin. Seeking to gain ecclesiastical approval for his poem, Racine sent a copy of an early edition to Pope Benedict XIV, together with a letter in Latin, wherein he gave expression to his firmness in the faith. The pope replied with a gracious letter of thanks, which was forwarded to Racine along with a note from the Cardinal Valenti, Secretary of State at the Vatican. Racine, apparently greatly flattered by these two letters, replied on March 15, 1743, from Paris, stating that "Jamais les muses n'ont pu procurer à ceux qu'elles ont le plus favorisés une gloire comparable à celle que me procure Votre Eminence."

Believing this correspondence important, Racine made copies of the four letters and sent them, glued into a copy of *La Religion*, to an unnamed gentleman at Paris, perhaps the Royal librarian.

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With this he sent the following unpublished note: "J'espère, Monsieur, que vous voudrez bien remettre, comme vous me l'avez promis, cet exemplaire à la Bibliothèque du Roi et le faire insérer sur le catalogue. J'ai écrit à la tête une copie de la lettre que j'ai pris la liberté d'adresser à Sa Sainteté en lui envoyant un pareil exemplaire. Il est important pour moi que cette lettre subsiste, parcequ'elle contient dans toute leur sincérité mes sentiments de soumission sur la doctrine. J'ai l'honneur d'être avec un inviolable attachement, Monsieur, votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur. L. Racine. à Soissons, le 27 février, 1744." (Manuscript letter found in Bib. Nat. Ye 2427). It is especially to be noted that Louis Racine wished that his correspondence with the pope be preserved. In fact, in some of the eighteenth century editions of the poem the letters exchanged between Racine and Rome are printed, but, unfortunately, in the standard edition of Racine's *Oeuvres* by Lenormant of 1808 (Lanson says 1868, *loc. cit.*) the correspondence, so closely connected with *La Religion*, does not accompany it.

George B. Watts.

Davidson College.

AARON HILL AND THOMSON'S *SOPHONISBA*

The following verses, hitherto unprinted, are written in the autograph of Aaron Hill on the verso of the title-page of a copy of the first edition of Thomson's *Sophonisba* in the Yale University Library. The play is bound up with several others by Thomson and Hill, the first of which bears on its title-page the signature "E. Lowther." This is, presumably, the Mrs. Lowther to whom Hill addressed at least one of the letters in his published correspondence, and the Mrs. L——r who inspired his poem *To Mrs. L——r, playing on a Bass-Viol.*

It is amusing to note that Hill's praise of Thomson, so unrestrained in his letters to the poet and in his public utterances, is here greatly qualified, although it is hard to say whether the qualification is motivated by critical honesty or by the desire to pay a neat compliment.

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The volume containing the verses has been cut down in the process of binding, with the result that the first one or two letters of each line have disappeared. These letters have been restored in square brackets in the transcript below.

To Mrs. Lowther.

[Sw]eetness like Yours, will scarce condemn this Play,
[O]r judge the Author by his first Essay;
[Sh]ou'd Sophonisba too much Fire express,
[Un]temper'd by her Sexe's Tenderness,
[Th]ink from what Copies, his rough Painting came;
[Sc]otland's bleak Hills inspire no gentle Flame:
[Ha]d He been bred where smiling Beauty grew,
[An]d learnt your Sexe's softe'ning Charms from You,
[He] had not give'n the Fair so fierce a Dress,
[N]or, meaning more than Woman, made her Less.

A. Hill
York ỹ 23d of April. *1730.*

Arthur E. Case.

Yale University.

THE TERM *STURM UND DRANG*

In his valuable monograph *Early References to Storm and Stress in German Literature*[1] Professor Edwin H. Zeydel clears up the misconceptions that have prevailed concerning the use of the term *Sturm und Drang* as a designation of "the revolutionary movement that dominated German literature during the decade from 1770 to 1780." Professor Zeydel, who points out that Hildebrand, in Grimm's *Deutsches Wörterbuch, s. v. Genie,* is unable to cite a single clear instance of such use prior to Tieck, 1828, adduces examples from texts of the years 1784, 1793, and 1803.

A still earlier instance may be cited from the rare *A B C Buch für grosse Kinder,* Wien, 1782, the *Nachrede* of which is dated Dec. 16, 1781. The work proper is anonymous, but a *Zweytes Heft,* 1782, bears the name of Joseph Richter, to whom Meusel (VI, 350) also ascribes the work, whilst an *Anhang* to the first

[1] *Indiana University Studies,* Vol. XIII, No. 71, Sept. 1926.

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part bears the presumably fictitious name of Johann Strommer. The book is a satire on contemporary events, and was probably patterned upon Bahrdt's *Kirchen- und Ketzer-Almanach aufs Jahr 1781,* the difference consisting in the fact that not proper names, but words such as *Altväterisch, Jesuiten, Kenner, Pabst, Scheiterhaufen, Vaterland,* and *Weltbürger* are used as the vehicle of the author's persiflage, which, as will be noted, is contemporary with the "Reformation" of Joseph II. Under *Originalgenie* there is the following entry:

Originalgenie. Werden nur wieder von Generalgenien[1] verstanden. Ein Unheiliger faßt das all nicht. Hat keinen Sinn dafür.—Weis nicht was Sturm und Drang ist—Es wirft ihm nicht in den Eingeweiden; hingegen erspart er sich aber auch bey reiffern Jahren Erröthen, ein Originalgenie gewesen zu seyn.

We have here not merely the earliest known instance of the use of *Sturm und Drang* in the technical sense—it is even coupled with the alternative term *Originalgenie,* which it serves to define.

W. KURRELMEYER.

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[1] Probably misprint for *Originalgenien.*

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REVIEWS

Materials for the Study of the English Renaissance.

Workers in the Tudor and Stuart period have reason to be grateful for the constantly increasing supply of original sources put at their disposal through the generosity of publishers and scholarly editors. Time was when the necessary material could only be had by travel to a large library. Even pioneer work by scholars like Arber and Grosart was available only in very limited editions, not particularly attractive in form, and sold at high prices certain to become still higher when the few copies set apart for the general public had been absorbed. Now there are many series, delightfully printed and bound, reasonable in price, reprints of works almost inaccessible a few years ago.

In the extremely useful Bodley Head Quartos, for example, rare tracts by Greene, Nashe, Chettle, Dekker, and others may be had.[1] Daniel's *Defense of Ryme* and Campion's *History of English Poesie* have recently appeared in one of these volumes, edited with a brief introduction by G. B. Harrison. The same scholar has given us, in another volume in the Bodley series, a reprint of Marston's *Scourge of Villanie.* The excellent introduction shows the relation of Marston's satire to the wave of disillusion and bitter reaction that followed the glorious Armada period. Shakespeare is not alone in expressing this reaction in the plays of his so-called tragic period; the thing is characteristic of the thought and literature of the time. In Marston, as in *Hamlet* and *Lear,* there is a melancholy more bitter than the affected melancholy of Jaques.

Of greater interest because of the perplexing problems which it raises is G. B. Harrison's edition, also in the Bodley Quartos, of *Willobie His Avisa.* Outwardly this poem was written in praise of a chaste wife, who repulsed suitors of various nationalities. Published in 1594, Hadrian Dorrell's preface "To the Reader" gives it a quasi-philosophical setting, explains Avisa as an anagram (*amans. uxor. inviolata. semper. amanda.*), expressing a Platonic idea of a constant wife; links the poem with Plato's Commonwealth and More's Utopia; holds that the suitors represent racial types of lovers (Italian, Spanish, French, German, and English), but concludes by saying that the poem may refer to real events, since he heard of such a woman once in the west of England. Two years later, however, Dorrell retracted this suggestion, insisting that Avisa was purely fictitious and that the poem had been

[1] The Bodley Head Quartos, New York. Dutton. Fifteen volumes published.

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written at least thirty-five years earlier. Since we know that the poem was "to be called in" in 1599, and that the verses by Vigilantius Dormitanus which follow Dorrell's Epistle clearly link the poem to *Lucrece,* it is evident that we have a very pretty problem. To the solution of the problem the editor contributes an essay in which these and other related matters are set forth, the conclusion being that the poem marks the rivalry between the Raleigh group and the Essex-Southampton group, that H. W. is Southampton and W. S., Shakespeare, and that the poem is an answer to *The Rape of Lucrece.* These conclusions, I think, must be held as conjectural only. There is too little evidence for the identification of H. W. and W. S., tempting though such identification may be. The connection with Raleigh is plausible but distinctly not proven. The connection with Lucrece may or may not be significant, for it may mean no more than that we have here another story of a chaste wife beset by suitors, with a happier outcome. But it is certain that the poem had to its first readers a significance quite apart from the story and the pseudo-philosophical setting given it by Dorrell. The present edition ought to turn students once more to the problem.

With the exception of *Willobie His Avisa,* the chief value of The Bodley Head Quartos is that they give us inexpensive texts. For more elaborately edited reprints of Elizabethan works we must continue to look elsewhere. Miss Ethel Seaton, for example, has recently given us a splendid edition of *Venus and Anchises* and other poems by Phineas Fletcher.[2] The edition is based on a manuscript in the Library of Sion College and is published for the Royal Society of Literature. The discovery of this manuscript, as Dr. Boas remarks in his Preface, "is one of the minor romances of research." The chief poem in it has a title which marks its Shakespearian relationship; it has a different beginning from that of *Britains Ida;* and it is preceded by two stanzas in which Fletcher appears as its author under his pen-name of Thirsil. Thus is settled for all time the controversy over the authorship of a poem ascribed in 1628 to Spenser. Internal evidence, of course, long ago took *Britains Ida* from the Spenser canon and ascribed it to Fletcher, but here we have the final proof, as well as an unexpected justification for argument by internal evidence. Miss Seaton also adds to the Fletcher canon a long *Epithalamium* and gives important textual matter on poems previously known. She is also able to make important additions to our knowledge of Fletcher's life. "Ida crew," she holds, refers to Ide Hill, in Kent, to which the poet bids farewell. *Venus and Anchises* is early work. The

[2] ***Venus and Anchises** (Britains Ida) and Other Poems by Phineas Fletcher.* N. Y. Oxford, 1926. Pp. li, 125. Price $3.50.

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editor inclines to sanction Grosart's conjecture that Fletcher allowed Walkeley to print the poem as Spenser's because the country parson desired to obscure his connection with so pagan a poem, and supports the view by a quotation from Fletcher's *The Way to Blessedness* (1632). The new *Epithalamium* belongs to the same early period, before Fletcher's conversion, in its pagan and sensuous tone, and is thus markedly different from the poet's other marriage poems. The poem *Non invisa cano,* printed in the Quarto of 1633, acquires new importance because the Sion MS. has for its title "To Mr. Jo. Tomkins," thus identifying the Thomalin of the poem and also of the *Eclogs* and *Purple Island.* Tomkins, organist of King's College Chapel, Cambridge, and later organist at St. Paul's, was probably the composer of music for Fletcher's lyrics. These and other bits of evidence enable Miss Seaton to postulate two Norfolk periods: "one of youth and poetry and play, and the other of maturity and prose-writing and work."

In such a setting, *Venus and Anchises* is re-read with new delight. The Sion MS. does not have the divisions into cantos and the doggerel arguments inserted by Walkeley in order to make the poem seem to be Spenser's. The marriage hymn is an interesting addition to our collection of Elizabethan Epithalamia. The commentary supplies parallels between Fletcher and Sidney.

Mr. F. P. Wilson's edition of the Plague Pamphlets of Dekker will be of use for a variety of reasons.[3] It adds to the materials for the convenient study of Elizabethan prose. The material is of interest both for content and style. The pamphlets are related to the newspapers of later times, and to the broadside ballads such as Profesor Rollins is editing in a series of volumes. Dekker's sense of the dramatic is shown in the artful construction of "The Wonderful Year" and also in a different way in such a tract as "The Meeting of Gallants." The editor stresses his humanity, his sympathy for the common people, his hatred of usurers and others who preyed upon the miseries of the people. Dekker keenly appraises the way in which the prodigious sufferings of the people brought out the dross and the nobility of human nature. The tracts are full of local allusions; they are a mine for the study of the language; on both these points the editor's notes and his index are invaluable. For story interest and technique (for example, the stories of the lovers, of the sexton, and of the tinker); for illustration of the peculiar mixture of pathos and humor that is one characteristic of the Elizabethan literature, and for the excellence of a prose less mannered than that of Sidney and Lyly and yet not quite modern, the book will find a place. There are

[3] *The Plague Pamphlets of Thomas Dekker.* Edited by F. P. Wilson. N. Y. Oxford, 1925. Pp. xxxix, 268.

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special topics, too, such as what Dekker holds of the state of learning and of poetry; what he says of map-travel; most of all, perhaps, his sense of the futility of the contemporary science when confronted by the national crisis of the plague. Professor Soddy has recently spoken of the contrast between the age-long ascription to Providence of such plague spots as the old Panama and the scientific work which made Panama as safe a place to live in as New York. The idea is in Dekker. Most people, he says, explain the plague as a punishment sent from Providence—

> . . . and that's the common spell
> That leades our Ignorance, (blinde as hell)
> And serves but as excuse, to keepe
> The soule from search of things more deepe.

It is true that the analysis of these deeper things that follows is not exactly what modern science would give; Dekker has not seen the whole truth; still, there runs through the tracts something of the same scorn of the superstitious science of the time that we find in Jonson. For the study of Dekker, therefore, this little book will take high place. Only two of the six tracts have been previously printed as Dekker's; one other has been reprinted, but without ascription to Dekker; the three remaining pamphlets are here reprinted for the first time. The introduction discusses bibliography and authorship; the text is an accurate reprint of the first editions.

Dr. McClure's edition of Harington's *Epigrams* presents no such fascinating problems as *Willobie His Avisa* or the Sion MS. of Fletcher, but it gives us a much more detailed account of the life of the translator of Ariosto than can be found elsewhere, and besides the epigrams of the edition of 1633 contains eighty-two epigrams previously unpublished.[4] The biography, which will supplant both Creighton's account in *DNB* and Professor Raleigh's essay, is abundantly documented. The text is based upon that of the first complete edition (1618) with collations from two autograph MSS. in the British Museum and the Cambridge University Library, the additional epigrams in the BM. MS. being printed for the first time. The edition also includes a commentary showing Harington's debt to Martial and a few other authors. Harington differs, however, from most epigrammatists of his time in the facts that he draws more upon his own experience and observation than upon literary models, and that while he is a satirist, he is urbane and not cynical. Some of his epigrams are "merry tales"; many of them throw light upon the life of his times, both

[4] The Epigrams of Sir John Harington. Edited with Introduction and Notes by Norman Egbert McClure. Philadelphia, The University of Pennsylvania, 1926. Pp. 250.

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court and pastoral; they bear witness to the wit that made him such a favorite with the Queen, although this wit perhaps prevented him from being taken seriously enough to justify promotion. Dr. McClure is inclined perhaps to press this last point a bit too far. Certainly Harington, for all his love for his country place near Bath and for his wife, his well-instructed children, and his well-fed cattle, was drawn by the court as by a magnet, and certainly he failed to rise. His one most considerable sally, as an attendant of Essex on the Irish expedition, brought him only a somewhat disreputable knighthood and but for his diary might have brought him under suspicion at the time when Essex fell. But despite the glamor of court, the friends he had there, his witty enjoyment of what he saw, his real analysis of it is very like Spenser's. Passages in his diary read almost like the autobiographical passages in "Colin Clout's Come Home Again."

For several reasons Professor Mead's edition of *Chinon of England* and of Robinson's translation of Leland's *Assertio inclytissimi Arturii* is a work of cardinal importance to workers in this field.[5] Middleton's romance, here first printed since the original edition of 1597, is a curious re-appearance of Arthurian romance material in the closing decade of the sixteenth century, and was perhaps suggested by the popularity of the *Faerie Queene*. Professor Mead gives an admirable survey of Arthurian romance in the Elizabethan period, and in his introduction and notes discusses the relation of Middleton's work to the great cycle and to Huon of Bordeaux. The romance is of no great merit, being a compound of imposible and irrational adventures. There is more fairy lore in it than in Huon; it introduces some of the great heroes, Lancelot, for example; it is quasi-medieval only, for there is a large classical element in it. On such matters Professor Mead writes with authority. He does not point out obvious indebtedness of Middleton, however, to the Italian romances (the love-madness connected with the vial of water, for example) or to Sidney. Middleton's debt to Arcadian rhetoric he notes, but not such incidents as that of the girl imprisoned by the wicked enchantress, clearly drawn from the Cecropia episode in *Arcadia*. Indeed, the romance seems to be an attempt to make use of the technique (oracles, bizarre adventures, love complaints, etc.) of the English romances drawn from the Greek tradition, plus characters and some of the incidents of medieval Arthurian story. The curious amalgamation is suggested by the very opening of the story. Laura, the lovely princess

[5] The Famous Historie of Chinon of England by Christopher Middleton; to which is added The Assertion of King Arthure. Edited with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary, by William Edward Mead. Lond. E. E. T. S. (Oxford Press), 1925. Pp. lxviii, 85; xiii, 155.

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whose beauty attracts young men from every quarter of the world, is own sister to the heroines of Sidney and Lodge; Chinon, her brother, is a Perceval or Sir Gareth, a Fair Unknown aroused to a life of chivalric adventure after Lancelot, marvelous to tell, falls in love with Laura. It is this Elizabethan element that Professor Mead fails in his introduction and commentary to bring into relation with the ancient tradition.

The reprint of Robinson's translation of Leland's defense of Arthur is of importance for a quite different reason. Professor Mead gives a clear account of the controversy about Arthur that raged among antiquaries during the sixteenth century. Rastell, earliest of the group, neglected or failed to perceive the problem. But Polydore Vergil's attack on the historicity of Arthur in 1534 was followed by others, including Holinshed, and provoked defences from Leland (1544) and Robinson who translated Leland's tract in 1582. Robinson's significance in relation to this whole matter Professor Mead does not point out. It is not merely a question of growing historical sense. It is quite clear, from the dedication to Grey of Wilton (Spenser's Artegal), Sir Henry Sidney (Lord President of Wales) and Thomas Smith, as it is clear also in the Epistle Dedicatorie, the verses "to the Syncere Readers," and the Assertion itself, that Leland and Robinson sought to exalt Briton as against Saxon claims to merit as the founders of all that was great in England. This, of course, is a form of the historical primitivism that is constantly met with in Elizabethan literature, that led to the exaltation of the Tudors as restorers of the pristine British glory, and that motivates Spenser's *Faerie Queene*. Students of Spenser, therefore, would do well to give attention to Professor Mead's book, not alone as a reprint of Arthurian material surviving in the age of Elizabeth but as material for the study of historical primitivism in Spenser's time.[6]

Of a quite different nature is J. M. Lloyd Thomas's edition of

[6] Professor Mead's treatment of Leland seems to me to be somewhat unfair. Leland was an antiquary, not an historian, but it may be doubted if Polydore's scepticism and cavalier methods of accepting or rejecting material are any sounder than Leland's painstaking research at the seat of traditions such as those clustering about Glastonbury. How thorough Leland's work was comes out incidentally in Dean Robinson's recent book, *Two Glastonbury Legends* (Cambridge, 1926). As for the translator of Leland, Mead remarks (p. x, n. 3) that "his most interesting addition to Leland—derived from his learned friend Master Steven Batman—is that Arthur is descended from Joseph of Arimathea!" There is no occasion for surprise; the idea is in some of the Latin Chronicles (Fletcher, 189) and in John of Glastonbury's History (*Two Glastonbury Legends*, 34-35). The verses partly supporting Robinson's note, which Mead adduces as a sample of the translator's credulity, may be found, in another version, in the book by the Dean of Wells already cited (34).

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the autobiography of Richard Baxter.[7] With it we are translated from the realm of Arthurian magic and Tudor supremacy to the troubled political and religious scenes of the Civil Wars. Mr. Thomas has made a most delightful book through an abridgement of the *Reliquiae Baxterianae* of 1696. There are twenty-five chapters, in three parts, the whole giving a connected story, in Baxter's own words, of his life, his reading, and his opinions. There are a dozen illustrations; the book is attractively printed and bound, and it will find many readers who cannot get access, or would not if they could, to the original, or to such highly unsatisfactory transformations as the abridgement of 1702. The introductory essay is an admirable companion. It is fully documented. It guides the reader to the chief elements in Baxter's philosophy of life. It opens the eyes to the significance of this "ascetic figure stepping out of the mists of the seventeenth century and appealing to the sympathies of the modern mind." Baxter's was a rich and powerful mind; his prose style is idiomatic, direct, sincere, free from every artifice. His autobiography is a document of high importance for estimating the times of the Commonwealth and the Restoration. What he says of Cromwell, of his people, of the Plague, of the religious quarrels which followed the return of the King, of the Bishops, is all of value. Even more valuable is the revelation of his own character through the passages devoted to self-analysis and in the sure but unconscious portraiture which we discern in this long record of the acts of his daily life.

Three recent anthologies may also be noted as supplying original material for the study of the period. The first of these, Professor Zeitlin's *Seventeenth Century Essays,* is primarily a college text but it merits notice because it represents a field hitherto largely neglected by anthologists.[8] Nichol Smith's *Characters of Seventeenth Century* traverses much of the same ground, but it is after all limited to the *character.* Mr. Zeitlin writes a conventional introduction, with the usual discussion of the essay as a type, of Montaigne *versus* Bacon, and of the *character.* He strangely omits Cowley, both from his introduction and his text.

Mr. Norman Ault's *Elizabethan Lyrics* is based, he tells us, upon his own examination of some two thousand printed books and three hundred manuscripts.[9] There are, inevitably, many

[7] The Autobiography of Richard Baxter. Edited by J. M. Lloyd Thomas. New York. Dutton. 1925. Pp. xxxvii, 312.

[8] Seventeenth Century Essays. Edited by Jacob Zeitlin. N. Y. Scribner, 1926.

[9] Elizabethan Lyrics. Chosen, edited, and arranged by Norman Ault. N. Y. Longmans, 1925. Pp. xv, 536.

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poems already familiar to users of anthologies. But there are also many of exceeding rarity, others never before printed, and still others here printed in more complete or more accurate forms. Moreover, the editor arranges his material not by author or by subject but by years of publication or probable composition. Thus we have, as the editor suggests, means for tracing the evolution of the Elizabethan lyric from Wyatt to about 1620. The inclusion of longer poems such as Spenser's marriage hymns, of lyrics inserted in narrative poems such as the *Faerie Queene,* and of some eighty lyrics belonging to the period between the time of Wyatt and Surrey and the time of Sidney, is a feature of the book. The notes are very brief, of necessity, but they are usually very valuable. Besides the usual index of authors and index of first lines there is an admirable index of subjects, which alone bears witness to the extraordinary scope and variety of theme of the Elizabethan lyric.

Our anthologies conclude with a splendid volume by Professor Rollins containing forty ballads of the seventeenth century to which the editor has given the happy title of *The Pack of Autolycus.*[10] It is difficult to write adequately of the scholarly characteristics of this book for sheer delight in its beauty. It is a fitting companion to its predecessors in the notable series which Professor Rollins and the Harvard Press are giving us. Besides the paper, the type, the binding, all of which evidence supreme skill in the making of fine books, there are numerous woodcuts which give a more authentic air of age to the book than the usual devices by which modern reprints are clad in a fictitious antiquity. The book is modern, but it is in superb keeping with the spirit of the age in which these broadsides first saw the light. As to the ballads themselves, the editor's sub-title "Strange and Terrible News" accurately explains not only his main title but the way in which these ballads appealed to their first readers. They are delightfully sensational. They give a cross-section of seventeenth century English life as accurate as that which we gain, on different lines, from Baxter's autobiography or the Bodley Quartos. And the editor's notes, as always, are full, scholarly, and illuminating.

I turn, in closing, to two recent books, closely similar in plan, which are primarily handbooks for students but are nevertheless of importance to Elizabethan scholarship. The first of these is a part of the Yale edition of Shakespeare, and is titled *Shakespeare*

[10] The Pack of Autolycus or Strange and Terrible News of Ghostes, Apparitions, Monstrous Births, Showers of Wheat, Judgments of God, and Other Prodigious and Fearful Happenings as told in Broadside Ballads of the Years 1624-1693. Edited by Hyder Edward Rollins. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1927.

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of Stratford.[11] In it Professor Tucker Brooke gives, first, "The Biographical Facts." Here are seventy items, reprints from documents, arranged chronologically, with compact notes supplying the information necessary to a correct understanding of the text, so that the student has in a single small volume all the source material upon which the biography of the dramatist, however extensive, must be based. This in itself is an impressive and salutary lesson; the whole exhibit occupies 97 pages. Second, the editor gives a list, also chronological, of documents mentioning Shakespeare which are either spurious or relating to a namesake of the poet, another warning against inaccuracy. Third, we have a list of the contemporary allusions to Shakespeare's plays, also chronological and supplied with the necessary annotation. Necessarily different in nature, the succeeding sections supply in brief form information on the printing of Shakespeare's works, with a table of quartos before 1633; information about the chronological order of the works, with a table; a discussion of Shakespeare's metrical development, also with an analytical table; a compact account of Shakespeare's Theatres; and an essay on the personality of Shakespeare, followed by an admirable index. The greater part of this unusual book is therefore correctly, though modestly, described on the cover as "Edited by Tucker Brooke." It is invaluable to the student and also to the experienced worker; nowhere else can so much source material be found on the subject in anything like the space or with anything approaching the clarity and effectiveness of its presentation.

Of Professor Brooke's closing essay, "The Personality of Shakespeare," something more should be said. It is dominated by the idea back of the title, "Shakespeare of Stratford." The thesis is that Shakespeare did not respond to the variegated life of Elizabethan London: that he took no interest in the tremendous national problems of foreign relations, colonial development, sea power; that his attitude toward the government was not Elizabethan but Plantagenet; that war was a subject for sporting interest only, Henry's famed speech at Agincourt being the triumph of foot-ball oratory; that, in short, we must look to Spenser, Marlowe, Jonson, Lyly, a dozen other men rather than to Shakespeare if we want to define to ourselves the true meaning of that mighty epoch. With much of this I find myself in accord. The essay is a merited rebuke to those who, perplexed by the mystery of genius, seek to ascribe the plays to Bacon, to Raleigh, to Southampton or Oxford or Rutland or any one else but Shakespeare of Stratford; it is a warning to those who find in the plays subtle direction and alle-

[11] Shakespeare of Stratford. By Tucker Brooke. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1926.

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gory of Elizabethan statecraft; it is a needful reminder that we do not know Elizabethan thought or literature if we confine our study to Shakespeare. Yet I think that the thesis also contains seed of error. For after we have made all due allowance for the slightness of topical allusions, the failure to apostrophize Drake or Galileo, the small interest in photographic reflection of court or London street, the medieval quality of the religion used as background and the seeming utter lack of interest in the religious as well as the political interests of that age,—after we have deducted all this, and have substituted the facts that Shakespeare's attention was apparently fixed on his little world of the stage, or of Stratford, and not on the larger stage on which Spenser's intellect played, or Jonson's or Hooker's or Francis Bacon's, one step remains to be taken. Professor Brooke stops, I think, too soon. In one of his closing paragraphs he justly remarks that the spectrum of life, running from dreams through thoughts into acts, was for the Elizabethan brightest at the two ends, but that Shakespeare kept his eye on the middle of the spectrum; the deeds mattered less; when the thinking was over he lost interest. But, surely, this thinking is also of the Renaissance, of Elizabethan England. Shakespeare's analysis of the meaning of life, not of life in general or for all time, but of life in his own time, is different in form from Spenser's or Bacon's or Jonson's, but it is penetrating, just, and sure. We cannot understand the English Renaissance by fixing our attention solely upon Shakespeare; it is not less certain that we shall never understand it by neglecting him, or by viewing him merely as Shakespeare of Stratford.

Professor Hanford's little book upon Milton is of the same provenience as the one of which I have just been speaking.[12] Its aim, we are told, is to supply in brief compass a body of materials which will be useful in the scholarly study of the poet Milton. To this end the editor gives us, under the caption "Materials for Milton's Biography," all the autobiographical passages, the documents, the testimony of contemporaries, necessary to source study of the life. Succeeding chapters deal with the prose works and the poems, with style and versification, and with Milton's fame and influence. The appendix includes other autobiographical matter, with commentary, and a bibliography notable because it includes the rich materials found in scholarly journals, materials which in recent years have supplied us with the means for a juster appreciation of Milton's work. Professor Hanford has himself contributed largely to this new conception of Milton, particularly in his study of the early poems, of *Paradise Lost,* and of *Samson.*

[12] A Milton Handbook. By James Holly Hanford. N. Y., Crofts, 1926.

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His command of the vast scholarly material that has grown up about the poet is extraordinary, and he has succeeded in digesting this material in such a way as to make its significance clear to the student. For this reason his book is invaluable. It is not a mere text-book, for it transmutes scholarship into learning, and so makes scholarship available.

EDWIN GREENLAW.

Le Romantisme. Ses origines germaniques. Influences étrangères et traditions nationales. Le Réveil du génie français. Par LOUIS REYNAUD. Paris: Armand Colin, 1926. Pp. viii + 288.

Voici un livre que l'on ne peut négliger, mais qui à côté d'aperçus neufs et originaux et d'indications utiles, contient bien des généralisations hâtives et hasardeuses et qui défend, avec véhémence, une thèse qui sera difficilement acceptée par les historiens littéraires. Avec une belle intrépidité, l'auteur lance un défi à ceux qui, avant lui, ont essayé de déterminer la part qu'ont prise à la révolution romantique les littératures de l'Angleterre et de l'Allemagne.

> L'on entend formuler, à ce sujet, dit-il, des opinions qui dénotent une complète indifférence pour les problèmes les plus inpérieux de l'histoire littéraire comparée, parfois même une ignorance *de fait* des littératures étrangères, stupéfiante chez des gens qui ont sans cesse à la bouche des noms d'auteurs anglais et allemands (p. vii).

D'autre part, comme il nous déclare qu'une bibliographie, même réduite, aurait exigé un autre volume de la taille de celui-ci et que d'ailleurs ce travail "est avant tout un travail de recherches personnelles et directes sur les textes" (p. viii), nous sommes forcés ou bien de croire l'auteur sur parole, ou bien de nous reporter nous-mêmes aux textes. Nous n'avons pu le faire dans toutes les occasions: les quelques vérifications que nous avons faites ont par malheur donné des résultats tels que la plus grande prudence, pour ne pas dire la plus grande défiance, nous semble de mise dans l'utilisation du livre de M. Reynaud.

Ceux qui ont lu le volume qu'il a publié il y a cinq ans, *L'Influence allemande en France au XVIII^e^ et au XIX^e^ siècles,* Paris, Hachette, 1922, se souviennent de la thèse qui y était défendue:

> Nulle influence étrangère n'a été plus puissante, depuis un siècle et demi, que celle de l'Allemagne. Moins apparente sans doute que l'influence anglaise, dont elle est d'ailleurs solidaire, elle a pénétré plus profondément, et a fini par atteindre parfois ces régions intimes de l'âme où s'élaborent les principes qui règlent la vie tout entière d'un peuple (p. 8).

La thèse d'aujourd'hui est que "La civilisation du XVIII^e^ et du XIX^e^ siècle sera essentiellement un phénomène anglais; en

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seconde ligne seulement un phénomène allemand" (p. 3). On voit le changement qui s'est produit en cinq ans dans l'esprit de l'auteur. Après avoir découvert l'Allemagne voici qu'il vient de découvrir l'Angleterre. Il faut espérer que dans quelques années il nous donnera un troisième volume où il démontrera avec autant de fougue que la civilisation des deux derniers siècles est essentiellement un phénomène français, ce qu'il serait tout aussi aisé d'établir. Pour discuter le nouveau point de vue de M. Reynaud, un livre au moins aussi volumineux que celui qu'il a écrit serait nécessaire. On ne trouvera donc ici qu'une discussion de quelques aspects de la question.

Dans un premier chapitre, l'auteur entreprend de montrer *La Destruction des idées fondamentales par le déisme et le sensualisme anglo-allemands.* Si je comprends bien, ces idées fondamentales étaient:

les deux grands principes de discipline que sont le catholicisme et l'antiquité romaine surtout qui au XVIIe siècle, prend nettement le pas sur l'antiquité grecque si goûtée de la Renaissance . . . C'est à cette magnifique concentration et régularisation de la force éparse de l'époque précédente que le siècle de Corneille et de Descartes, de Bossuet, de Boileau et de Racine, doit sa grandeur unique (p. 30).

C'est fort possible et c'est sans doute vrai, mais pourquoi laisser de côté Pascal et La Rochefoucauld, Molière et Lafontaine? Sans doute parce que leur catholicisme n'était pas de très bon aloi ou que l'on ne trouve pas chez eux cette magnifique concentration. M. Reynaud admet d'ailleurs aussitôt qu'à la fin du XVIIe siècle, les "courants cachés reparaissent de toute part," que "les anciennes conceptions relèvent peu à peu la tête contre l'idéal classique et catholique," que Fénelon plaide en faveur de la "nature," enfin que dans la littérature française elle-même il y a un "obscur mouvement de réaction" (p. 31). On ne peut même pas soutenir que sans l'influence anglaise ce mouvement n'aurait pas fini par l'emporter, puisque M. Reynaud constate que, dès 1685, "il y a eu un fléchissement de la vitalité française dans tous les domaines" et c'est, d'après lui, à cause de ce fléchissement que "les grands génies du siècle de Louis XIV cèdent la place à des talents secondaires, un La Bruyère, un Charles Perrault, un Regnard, bientôt un La Motte."

Si maintenant nous considérons le détail d'un peu plus près, nous pourrons constater une tendance marquée à attribuer à l'influence anglaise seule des courants dont l'origine remonte cependant à une date antérieure à 1685. M. Reynaud connaît peut-être très bien Mandeville, mais quand il nous dit que selon l'auteur de la *Fable des abeilles* "ce que nous appelons des vertus n'est que le résultat d'une hypocrisie et d'une vanité encouragées par les politiques dans des vues intéressées" (p. 27), il est permis de se demander s'il

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connaît La Rochefoucauld. Voici de même la définition d'un romancier:

> Le héros se laisse aller aux pires faiblesses, notamment de la chair . . . Il cueille sans scrupule toutes les occasions qui se présentent . . . On voit que [l'auteur] n'a pas un idéal très élevé. Il y a un peu de vulgarité dans sa nature. Il se complaît dans la description de scènes scabreuses, des ripailles, ou des grosses farces. Il lui arrive de comparer l'amour humain à l'amour des animaux. Ses femmes et ses jeunes filles même les plus sympathiques sont sensuelles avec gloutonnerie. C'est la morale de l'instinct jugé licite et bon en définitive.

De qui s'agit-il, de Scarron ou de Lesage? Pas du tout, mais bien de Fielding. Mais si exacte que soit cette analyse, on ne peut nier qu'elle ne puisse s'appliquer fort exactement à des auteurs français qui n'ont point connu l'Angleterre.

Ailleurs M. Reynaud affaiblit sa démonstration faute de choix et de discernement dans les faits qu'il recueille. Il nous déclare gravement que "le Régent et Dubois sont anglomanes comme la Palatine" et en note nous apprend entre autres choses que "Le Régent félicitera George I à son avènement," citant comme autorité "Wiesener, *Le Régent, l'abbé Dubois et les Anglais,* tome I, p. 3, 1891." Nous voilà fixés et quand les chefs d'état féliciteront le nouveau Mikado sur son avènement M. Reynaud ne manquera pas sans doute de les accuser de nippomanie. Protestant, sans d'ailleurs citer aucun nom, contre les historiens qui datent des *Lettres philosophiques* de Voltaire les débuts de l'influence anglaise, M. R. voit dans les *Lettres Persanes* "le premier exemple bien caractérisé" de cet esprit nouveau (p. 34). Cette fois-ci encore il a fait une découverte et signale des rapprochements "dont aucun n'est fait par M. Barckhausen dans son édition critique des *Lettres Persanes.*" Voyons de plus près quels sont ces rapprochements "Montesquieu expose longuement les théories de Mandeville sur le luxe dans la lettre CVI," ce que est en effet possible et probable;—"le système de Newton dont il fait grand éloge dans la lettre XCVII," or si l'on se repporte au texte on trouve que Montesquieu ne fait que copier la seconde loi de la nature et le 58 article de la troisième partie des *Principes de la philosophie* de Descartes. Si l'on consulte l'édition de Barckhausen on voit que l'éditeur de Montesquieu a dit: "Ce sont les principes de la physique de Descartes que Montesquieu rappelle ici" et c'est M. Barckhausen qui a raison. Enfin M. Raynaud affirme que Montesquieu explique "les idées de Locke sur le gouvernement dans la lettre CIX." Locke aurait donc dit "qu'il n'y a qu'un lien qui puisse attacher les hommes, celui de la gratitude . . . ces divers motifs de reconnaissance sont l'origine de tous les royaumes et de toutes les sociétés"; il aurait dit aussi que "le crime de lèze-majesté n'est autre chose que le crime que le plus faible commet contre le plus fort en lui désobéis-

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sant, de quelque manière qu'il lui désobéisse." M. Reynaud aurait bien dû nous dire où Locke a exposé ces théories. Ce qui me frappe au contraire est que dans une lettre où Montesquieu veut décrire le gouvernement anglais, il condamne nettement l'esprit politique qui règne en Angleterre et lui préfère en tout cas l'esprit de la monarchie française qu'il analyse dans les deux lettres précédentes. Quant à faire remonter à Collins *A discourse of free thinking,* 1713, l'origine des plaisanteries contre la trinité et l'eucharistie, c'est vraiment trop ignorer que l'on se querellait en France depuis cent cinquante ans sur la transsubstantiation et toutes les discussions sur les Ariens, sociniens et anti-trinitaires. Enfin déclarer que l'on retrouvera chez Montesquieu "la conception essentiellement morale et pratique de la religion des déistes anglais (lettre XLIV), leur affirmation que la morale peut se passer de la religion (lettre LXXXIII), leur façon de railler le Christianisme à travers un autre culte," me semble simplement démontrer de façon éclatante que Montesquieu avait lu Bayle et qu'il pouvait, sans passer le détroit, trouver en France la plupart des idées exprimées dans les *Lettres Persanes.*

Ce n'est point d'ailleurs que M. Reynaud n'ait pas fait de découvertes; les ressemblances qu'il indique entre Voltaire et Fielding en particulier valent qu'on s'y arrête. Mais, selon sa thèse même, il s'agit non pas tant de questions de détail que des principes (p. 47). C'est à cause de l'influence anglaise que Montesquieu et Voltaire "ont tué la faculté même de vénérer et de croire" (p. 45) et qu'ils ont adopté une attitude ironique, toute différente de "l'ancienne gauloiserie," qui selon M. Reynaud "s'attaquait aux hommes et non aux choses, visait les excès, non les principes," ce qui constituerait une singulière supériorité.

Les pages excellentes qu'il écrit sur l'introduction du "sensualisme" anglais sont diminuées par les mêmes erreurs que nous avons signalées plus haut et par un étrange mélange d'affirmations contestables, par exemple que "le point de vue latin de la victoire nécessaire et ennoblissante de l'esprit sur la chair n'est pas celui de Richardson." Que ce ne soit pas le point de vue de Richardson, j'y consens volontiers, mais que ce soit un point de vue exclusivement latin, c'est ce que je me refuse à croire et l'on aimerait à savoir ce qu'en aurait pensé Rabelais ou Montaigne, Molière et Lafontaine ou même Boileau et peut-être Racine. La véritable thèse de M. Reynaud apparaît à la page 75 quand il déclare:

Il existe des races distinctes et ces races ont entre elles des affinités ou des antipathies marquées comme tous les corps vivants. Ces vérités sottement combattues chez nous éclatent avec une évidence irrésistible dans les rapports intellectuels de l'Allemagne avec la France et l'Angleterre au XVIII siècle.

Si c'est là une vérité elle est au moins fort contestée et fort con-

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testable quand il s'agit de la France et, si je ne me trompe, c'est plutôt en Allemagne et en Angleterre qu'en France que M. Reynaud a pu la voir le plus souvent exprimée.

Entre temps, et comme involontairement, l'auteur laisse d'ailleurs échapper des aveux qui ruinent sa thèse. Après nous avoir dit que la littérature anglo-germanique allait déborder sur la France et y produire "une révolution analogue à celle qui avait eu lieu dans la philosophie" (p. 83), il admet aussitôt que "d'elle-même notre littérature, dès la fin du dix-septième siècle, lorsque les idées fondamentales avaient commencé à se modifier, avait pris une direction analogue vers la *nature* et la *réalité*." Bien plus, en bien des cas, les auteurs français avaient sur ce terrain devancé les auteurs anglais;—c'est ainsi que Gil Blas est déjà un roman analogue à ceux qu'écrira plus tard Fielding. Il ne s'agit donc plus d'influences unilatérales, "les emprunts ont été réciproques." Mais ceci une fois admis, M. Reynaud l'oublie malheureusement dans le cours de sa démonstration. Je ne peux entrer dans le détail; il me sera cependant permis de citer encore un exemple des procédés de M. R. Quand il en arrive à Rousseau, il s'amuse à railler

notre école actuelle d'historiens de la littérature qui cite avec componction Elien, Plutarque, Montaigne, l'Ecriture . . . va chercher les inévitables auteurs de récits de voyage . . . qui ont tout au plus fourni à Rousseau quelques misérables détails et . . . néglige complétement des ouvrages contemporains (p. 102).

Par là M. Reynaud entend surtout Locke et Pope dont en effet on ne tient pas toujours suffisamment compte; mais croit-il vraiment que Pope a été le premier à vanter "le bonheur de l'Indien qui a su rester dans l'ignorance où l'avait placé le Créateur" et que Rousseau n'aurait pu trouver cette idée ailleurs, en particulier dans les ouvrages que Rousseau lui-même cite dans les notes qu'il a mises à la fin du *Discours de l'Inégalité*?

On concédera difficilement que

Bernardin de Saint-Pierre dans les *Etudes de la nature* est déjà spiritualiste et chrétien. Dans *Paul et Virginie*, l'épisode qui les accompagne, il sera—peut-être à son insu d'ailleurs—catholique (p. 141).

Ce faux-bonhomme de Bernardin n'aurait peut-être pas protesté; mais il est assez amusant qu'encore aujourd'hui il se trouve quelqu'un pour se laisser prendre à ses déclarations vertueuses. Bien plus juste est l'étude sur Chateaubriand; M. Reynaud me permettra cependant de lui rappeler que l'influence de Milton sur l'auteur des *Natchez* a été signalée avant lui par Miss J. Van Ness Smead et Miss M. H. Miller dans deux études qui ont paru dans les *Johns Hopkins Studies*.

Par contre, il est difficile de laisser passer sans commentaire le parallèle qu'il établit entre l'esprit français traditionnel et l'esprit anglo-germanique:

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D'un côté la "nature," la sourde vie de la sensibilité, de l'instinct, l'imagination éclatante, se plaisant au contact de la réalité, l'affirmation énergique de l'individuel. De l'autre la raison claire, absolue, humaine et non individuelle, le mépris de tout ce qui émane des profondeurs troubles de la sentimentalité, l'indifférence aux choses du réel quotidien, le besoin d'ennoblir, de grandir la réalité comme l'homme (p. 157).

Voilà une comparaison qui aurait transporté d'aise M. Nisard; mais comment M. Reynaud ne s'apercoit-il pas qu'en parlant comme il le fait de "l'âme française," en la supposant immuable et sans doute éternelle et comme indépendante des Français eux-mêmes, il reproduit une théorie qui n'est point d'origine française et qu'à son insu il s'est laissé contaminer par le philosophisme anglo-germanique? Ce nationalisme déplacé l'amène même à déclarer dramatiquement, mais sans réussir à éveiller le moindre regret patriotique que

après *René* de nouvelles sollicitations étrangères viennent entraîner l'imagination française à un dernier assaut qui, cette fois, emportera jusqu'au réduit suprême de la résistance nationale: la tragédie classique (p. 162).

Ce n'est pas là d'ailleurs un simple lapsus; à la fin du chapitre suivant la même idée reparaît avec une métaphore différente:

Hernani triomphait. La tragédie "classique" celle des Corneille, des Racine et des Voltaire, dans lesquelles s'étaient incarnés deux siècles de littérature et de haute civilisation française, gisait définitivement effondrée. Le flot étranger qui se ruait depuis si longtemps contre ce dernier obstacle avait déferlé lui sur (p. 243).

M. Reynaud aura beau faire, il n'arrivera pas à nous faire croire que la tragédie de Voltaire est l'incarnation de "deux siècles de littérature et de haute civilisation," il a trop de goût pour le croire lui-même et pour pleurer sur l'effondrement de la tragédie de 1830.

Dans sa conclusion, après avoir résumé sa thèse, il a été forcé par l'évidence même d'admettre des restrictions telles que la thèse elle-même disparaît. Il montre fort bien qu'en fait, jamais l'esprit français

même dans sa conversion au déterminisme matérialiste et au sensualisme individualiste n'a complètement adopté le point de vue de ses initiateurs, qu'il ne s'est pas entièrement soumis aux choses et n'a pas subi, jusqu'aux limites extrêmes, la domination du réel (p. 272).

On peut se demander si, dans ces conditions, l'auteur était bien fondé à déclarer quelques pages auparavant

qu'en littérature aussi bien qu'en politique et en philosophie, c'est le génie anglo-germanique qui a régné sur le monde au XIXe siècle par suite de l'abdication de notre culture au XVIIIe (p. 266).

Dans la littérature d'aujourd'hui enfin M. Reynaud voit surtout des influences anglaises, allemandes, scandinaves, russes ou autres qui

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s'exercent toutes dans le même sens, un sens unique, celui de l'individualisme et de l'instinctivisme absolus, prolongeant ainsi très nettement celles que nous subissons depuis deux siècles (p. 281).

On voit paraître ici le but réel du livre de M. Reynaud; il a voulu avant tout adresser un appel aux jeunes écrivains pour les exhorter à travailler à la formation d'une littérature nationale. Il voudrait très nettement élever une muraille de Chine autour de la France. Il regrette le dix-septième siècle, époque ou d'après lui la balance du commerce intellectuel a été en faveur de la France et il craint que les importations étrangères ne tuent la production nationale. Il oublie que bien souvent l'étranger n'a fait que rendre à la France ce qu'elle avait prêté, que les écrivains français ont transformé, modifié et marqué à leur coin les matériaux qu'ils avaient reçus d'Italie, d'Espagne, d'Angleterre ou d'Allemagne. Il oublie que depuis le moyen âge il y a eu une littérature européenne, que la Renaissance, l'esprit du dix-huitième siècle et le romantisme sont des phénomènes européens, que le classicisme français est une sorte de miracle intellectuel où grâce à un effort de volonté et une rencontre de génies, qui ne pouvaient ni durer ni se reproduire sous la même forme, quelques hommes ont réussi à combiner "l'antiquité et le catholicisme." Il a, ce qui est profondément regrettable, apporté à l'étude de la littérature comparée un esprit de parti qui est la négation même de ce genre d'études. Il n'a pas fait œuvre d'historien. Son livre qui parfois a le ton d'un pamphlet vaut exactement ce que vaudrait un travail sur le libre échange qui serait écrit par un protectionniste obstiné.

GILBERT CHINARD.

The Johns Hopkins University.

Anatole France, the Degeneration of a Great Artist, by BARRY CERF, New York, Dial Press, 1926. xi + 303 pp.

The publishers call this book "the first comprehensive account in English of France's life and work," and Professor Cerf himself mentions only one English item, a chapter in Guérard's *Five Masters of French Romance.* This is to ignore Shanks's readable and sympathetic *Anatole France,*[1] and May's *Anatole France, the Man and his Work,*[2] hagiographic, yet urbane and informing. In any case it is not debatable that Mr. Cerf offers the first extensive American diatribe against the author of *Thaïs.*

[1] Chicago, Open Court, 1919.
[2] New York, Dodd Mead, 1924.

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Like Giese in his recent *Victor Hugo*,[3] Mr. Cerf attacks in the name of a doctrine which allies him with certain distinguished *humanists*, American and European. He would agree with another disciple of these, P. H. Frye, that Romanticist qualities "have infected the literature and criticism of posterity."[4] He chooses as epigraph lines from the *Confessions* about Rousseau's "strong tendency to degenerate" (which after all might be the admission of the most austere Puritan); France's despair is "vitiated hopelessly by Romanticist sensuality" (p. 95), his style "incurably romantic" (p. 257). What is remarked of "the insistent note of effeminacy" (p. 263) recalls Lasserre's stricture about Romanticism as "la dévirilisation de l'homme." The author refers to "all the muddy water of discouragement and disillusion which has flowed under the bridge during the last century of Rousseauistic experiment" (p. 59) in a tone which suggests Seillière's arraignment of the fifth Rousseauistic generation. The book is full of such reminiscences.

We get close to Mr. Cerf's essential philosophy in a passage where he writes, a little heavily, of

> a reconciliation of the claims of head and heart, and a recognition of something which is neither of the head nor of the heart (something which Socrates and Marcus Aurelius called the inner voice; or perhaps even something more mysterious still) (p. 165).

It is possible to find nobility in this attitude, even to accept it as a creed (as have people so diverse as Saint Paul, certain Elizabethans, George Meredith, and François de Curel) and yet to consider Mr. Cerf an unsuccessful champion. He criticizes with such an apostolic piety! More important to humanists, he says, than all other virtues is seriousness, and he so insists that one cannot help thinking of how the good humanist Molière tempered this virtue. Details about France's private life may be mentioned by a critic about to appraise his art; Mr. Cerf merely raises such questions as Ste.-Beuve in a famous passage recommended. But Ste.-Beuve suggested that the questions be put discreetly and perhaps only to oneself; Mr. Cerf asks and answers the questions loudly and, in a severe style that it requires some tenacity to follow, tells what is wrong with France's attitude. Ste.-Beuve himself, measured chiefly by such standards, would be only a third-rate critic.

Mr. Cerf is well-read in his author and in various literatures. But when he remarks that "it is only by a half-anglicized Gallicism that we dare speak of Anatole France's intellectual sensuality," he may be reminded that one of the best definitions of the

[3] New York, Dial Press, 1926.
[4] *Romance and Tragedy*, Boston, Marshall Jones, 1922, p. 33.

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dilettante, one he himself uses, came out of New England in 1867, Lowell's 'intellectual voluptuary."[5] It is bewildering to have Mr. Cerf quote from a preface written in 1908 to show what was France's mood in 1897 (p. 140). The critic misses a significant point about *le Procurateur de Judée,* a tale on which he insists; it first appeared, not as indicated by him in *l'Étui de Nacre,* but in *le Temps* for December 25, 1891, and as a Christmas story! Since credence is given so often to Brousson, it is surprising that along with the comment on the excellence of *le Crime de Sylvestre Bonnard* we do not find what Brousson reports as France's final estimate of the book: "un chef-d'œuvre de platitude."[6] I am not persuaded that Jules Lemaître, in calling France *l' extrême fleur du génie latin,* "meant that he was the last of the Alexandrians" (p. 260); I do not read this into Lemaître's "le produit extrême et très pur de la seule tradition grecque et latine."[7]

Mr. Cerf indicates himself that he is closely following certain French critics, notably Michaut. He would accept with alacrity the recent judgment of Bernard Faÿ that the character of France *avait quelque chose de veule* and that he possessed *peu de courage et peu d'imagination.*[8] If Mr. Cerf is on the side of these Frenchmen, he writes with less distinction, with less originality, and his book smacks over-strongly of the Preacher.

HORATIO SMITH.

Brown University.

Studies in Prefixes and Suffixes in Middle Scottish. By ELISABETH WESTERGAARD (Copenhagen). Oxford University Press, American Branch, N. Y., 1924. Pp. xii and 135. $4.20.

Miss Westergaard's monograph is devoted to a subject and a thesis. Her subject is a study of the suffixes and prefixes of whatever origin (inflectional endings excepted; cf. p. 12, n. 1) in Middle Scots. Her thesis is more difficult to state, but if I understand aright, it is that a word or type of word used by the 'makaris' is to be regarded as artificial and not a part of the spoken language of the day unless this same word be found in OE. or the modern Scottish dialect(s). In respect to word-formation modern Scottish is shown to be more conservative (with reference to OE. and ME.) than is the Standard.

In the introduction are discussed the rise and fall of the Middle-Scots literary language and the function and influence of prefixes

[5] *Works,* Boston, Houghton, Mifflin, II, 253.
[6] *A. F. en Pantoufles,* p. 179.
[7] *Les Contemporains,* II, 114.
[8] *Les Nouvelles Littéraires,* 21 Août, 1926.

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and suffixes. There follows a series of nine chapters on Germanic prefixes and suffixes, Romanic prefixes and suffixes, 'masked' Germanic suffixes, aphetic forms *vs.* the loss of suffix, and the conversion of dialect words; to certain verbal suffixes a special chapter is given. By 'masked' Germanic suffixes are meant such Germanic suffixes as by popular (or better 'learned') etymology have been adapted to some similar suffix of Romanic origin, e. g. *emptive* for *empty*.

The author has gathered in her little volume extensive and interesting collectanea drawn from an adequate canvas of representative Middle-Scots and modern Scottish literary works and dictionaries. Mätzner's *Wörterbuch* to his *Altenglische Sprachproben* does not appear to have been utilized for ME. material. The careful reader will extract much valuable information from this monograph, but the merits of the work are all too often obscured by lack of clarity of statement and simplicity of arrangement. In a revised or extended edition of this book attention should be given to the following points: (1) a more adequate (though brief) historical introduction to the compounding elements; (2) a freer glossing of, or provision of etymologies to, the words cited; (3) a more extensive use of quotation with translation where necessary—this last would save many explanations; (4) the use and citation of current studies which deal with details of the subject. For the prefix *be-* (pp. 18-21), for example, reference to J. Lenze's Kiel diss. (1909), *Das praefix 'bi' in der ae. nominal- und verbalkomposition* would be more useful than F. Tamm's *Om tyska Prefix i Svenskan* (Upsala, 1876). A whole series of Kiel dissertations on OE. word-formation are passed over and many other studies on OE. and ME. prefixes and suffixes. Reference to the *NED.* as *OED.* and to the *EDD.* as *'Wright'* further suggests a lack of familiarity with current practice.

Miss Westergaard succeeds in exhibiting the conservative character of mod. Scottish in word-formation, but her generalization that word-formations used by the 'makaris' and not found in OE. or in mod. Scottish were purely artificial and did not enter the spoken language of cultured persons cannot be admitted as a universal principle. There is, of course, no question as to the general 'ink-horn' character of Middle-Scots poetic diction, but we must remember that words change fashion in speech as well as in books. If the Standard had suffered in the mid-seventeenth century as did Scots, the application of Miss Westergaard's methods to the language of the Elizabethans would lead to curious conclusions as to the speech of Shakspeare and his fellows.

F. P. Magoun, Jr.

Cambridge, Mass.

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Guy de Maupassant. Von HEINRICH GELZER. Heidelberg, 1926. *Sammlung romanischer Elementar- und Handbücher. II. Reihe: Literaturgeschichte,* 204 + 4 pp.

Appearing in a series of *Elementar- und Handbücher,* this book makes no pretense to being other than an interpretation of Maupassant to the German public. His popularity in Germany is testified to by large editions and frequent translations. A brief sketch of his life is followed by a consideration of his literary origins and activities, critical résumés of his works, accompanied by discussion of his style, and a chapter on his personality. The presentation as a whole is adequate for its purpose, clear and readable, though the style is marred by the very frequent use of words of French origin (*respektabel, diffizil, der Mondain,* etc.) where the German term would be preferable.

The chapter on Maupassant's personality brings some interesting compilations of data from his writings: the musicians and works of art he preferred, the poems he quotes, the favorite readings of his characters, his political views, etc. In the discussion of his style two peculiarities of technique are pointed out with a wealth of examples. These are the accentuation of a word by its repetition and the use of the *Dreiklang* (*la triade*), often a combination of the two: (*Une Vie*) *C'est là que . . ., c'est là qu'il . . ., c'est aussi là qu'elle . . .* ; *les jours . . . , ces jours . . . , ces jours . . .* ; *la mer . . . , la mer . . . , la mer . . .* ; (*L'Héritage*) *sur ses gouts, sur ses rèves, sur ses plaisirs; sautait, bouillonnait, écumait; le bousculant, le secouant, le bourrant,* etc. The use of the *triade* is not uncommon in French; it is found, according to Mr. Gelzer, in Rousseau, Catulle Mendès, Zola, Barbusse, occasionally in Flaubert, but its overfrequent use in Maupassant he finds has a monotonous and tiring effect.

Some of Mr. Melzer's judgments are worth noting, as running counter to the generally accepted views. Much is said of Maupassant's triviality and sentimentality, characterized (p. 135) as "sweetish" (p. 115), as "oily and shallow"; the style of *Notre Cœur* is qualified as "perfumed" (p. 134); a group of stories (*Le Baptême, Petit Soldat,* etc.) are termed (p. 89) *Gartenlaubegeschichten* (*à l'eau de rose*). These are questions of personal reaction, not susceptible of proof. Mr. Gelzer's theories as to Maupassant's literary genesis are, however, decidedly dubious. While conceding, necessarily, Flaubert's influence on Maupassant's career, he rates this influence on the formation of the artist as superficial, a "slight whitewash" (pp. 14, 26). Flaubert's fanatical devotion to his art is called a mere pose with Maupassant, who admires but cannot imitate Flaubert's objectivity and impersonality and the thoroughness of his hatred of the bourgeois. Maupassant loved and revered the great artist but was never pene-

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trated with his ideas, never struggled to attain his art. Mr. Gelzer's proofs of the above are far from adequate and he dismisses with the remark "in theory but not in practice" Maupassant's own statement (quoted p. 187) "Whenever I think I have forgotten my trade as an author I read Flaubert again. He is the master, the true master." A real kinship is found, however, to exist between Maupassant and Octave Feuillet. This likeness is based on some outward resemblances of style, on the fundamental "sentimentality" of both, on the inclusion (*preface to Pierre et Jean*), of *M. de Camors* in a list of important novels, and on a couple of references to Feuillet. The first of these is inconclusive, and as for the second, does not *une espèce de pastiche de la manière élégante de Feuillet et Cie* express sarcasm rather than admiration?

Goucher College. EUNICE R. GODDARD.

Le Rôle du surnaturel dans les chansons de geste. Par ADOLPHE JACQUES DICKMAN. Paris: Champion, 1926. Pp. xii + 208.

La Croyance à la magie au XVIIIe siècle en France dans les contes, romans et traités. Par CONSTANTIN BILA. Paris: Gamber, 1925. Pp. 158.

The two books under review, written by American modern language men and published in France, discuss different phases of the marvelous element in French literature.[1] Dr. Dickman's study, which is an Iowa University dissertation, deals, as the title shows, with the rôle of the supernatural in the *chansons de geste*. The author distinguishes two sorts of supernatural: the marvelous and the religious or Christian supernatural. Under the first term

[1] Dr. Williams' book, *The Merveilleux in the Epic*, equally recently published in France, would have been grouped in this review together with these two studies if it had not already been competently reviewed in the December, 1926, number of this journal. We will only mention that the title is a misnomer inasmuch as the book deals exclusively with the theoretical discussion of the employment of the marvelous in epic poetry and is a recapitulation of the controversy waged in France throughout the classical period between the champions of the Christian supernatural and the protagonists of pagan mythology. The book should have been named "The Theory of the Merveilleux in the French Epic during the Classical Period," for the first brief chapter devoted to the marvelous in antiquity does not warrant the omission of the word "French" from the title. It is furthermore to be regretted that the author has failed to consult several important recent studies on the subject, such as Hubert Matthey's Geneva thesis *Essai sur le merveilleux dans la littérature française depuis 1800* (Paris, 1915) and the present writer's booklet *Supernaturalism and Satanism in Chateaubriand* (Chicago, 1922), both of which repeatedly refer back to the classical quarrel in regard to the Christian supernatural.

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he understands all sorts of feats which surpass our natural capacities. The second is reserved for the direct intervention in human affairs of extra-human agents, the Lord with his angels on the one hand, and the Devil with his imps, on the other. The content of both sorts of supernatural in all the medieval epics thus far published and analyzed by the author is contained in the Index (thirty-three pages). After a thorough discussion of the subject, Dr. Dickman himself comes to the conclusion that the supernatural does not after all play a very important part in the *chansons de geste*. The moderation of this poetic *genre* in regard to the marvelous, in contrast to all other forms of medieval literature, is one of its chief characteristics. The employment of the supernatural in the medieval epics apparently is, as the author suggests, a concession on the part of the poets to popular liking for prodigies. Dr. Dickman would have found a far more fruitful field for his investigation if he had carried it on in any other form of medieval literature. We can, of course, have no quarrel with a man in regard to the choice of his subject. But what the author owes us, indeed, is an explanation of why he has chosen a subject for his thesis which had been treated only eight years before. He lists Miss Margaret Hollauer's Basle dissertation, which bears almost the very same title as his own,[2] without saying a word as to the reasons which prompted him to do the work over again. The reviewer has not read the Swiss thesis and cannot tell whether or not it sufficiently covers the field. The fact that Miss Hollauer's book is written in German does not warrant a duplication in French. An explanation is necessary on the part of the author of the later thesis. He has failed to offer it. Dr. Dickman's book is far above the average American thesis in the modern language field. But it must be admitted that it suffers first of all from prolixity. The second of the five parts, into which the book is divided, containing brief résumés of the poems under discussion, is superfluous in a dissertation, which is not intended for the lay reader. The book contains other faults of composition. It would indeed be well if the men at our universities who direct the writing of doctoral dissertations would pay more attention to the form in which they are presented. The first part of the book, containing two chapters entitled respectively Introduction and Definitions, belongs wholly in the Introduction. It is in fact just as peculiar to see the Introduction as part of the book proper as to find the Index called Part V. Yet it should be said that the book is inter-

The value of the book is considerably lessened by its lack of an index. In all likelihood, Dr. Williams rushed his book into print without giving it time to "ripen" under his hands.

[2] Margaret Hollauer, *Das wunderbare Element in den chansons de geste*. Basel, 1918.

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esting as well as informing. The subject is presented in a clear and efficient manner.

Dr. Bila's thesis belongs to *Kulturgeschichte* rather than to *Literaturgeschichte*. It deals with the belief in magic, which was so prevalent in the eighteenth century, the century of a Voltaire and a Diderot. Notwithstanding its subtitle, we find no discussion of the element of magic in the well-known fictional writings of the period. The chapter VI, twenty-three small pages long, deals almost exclusively with such works as Montfaucon de Villars' *Comte de Gabalis* and Bordelon's *Histoire . . . de M. Ouffle* known only to literary historians. The author refers with but a few words to Le Sage's *le Diable boiteux* and Cazotte's *le Diable amoureux*, the two outstanding "magical" novels of that period. The book bespeaks for its author maturity of mind and liberality of spirit. As a theologian he was well qualified to deal with the subject, but he has failed to do it justice. The book is disappointing in subject-matter as it is displeasing in its mechanical aspect. It will certainly not do credit in this country to the doctorat de l'Université de Paris.

Baker University. MAXIMILIAN RUDWIN.

A Dictionary of Modern English Usage, by H. W. FOWLER. Oxford University Press, American Branch, New York, 1926. Pp. viii + 742. $3.00.

Mr. Fowler's latest volume has grown naturally out of his earlier work as editor of dictionaries and author of various treatises on English usage. He reveals himself, in the work under review, as master of his material and delightful in its presentation. The book is eminently readable. It swarms with "general articles" having seductive titles like *Cannibalism, Malaprops, Superiority, Unequal Yokefellows*, etc., and if the reader turns to any of these and begins to read, he will not stop till he comes to the end. Yet nowadays we make great demands on an author of an authoritative work on any subject. It is not enough that he have his material well in hand and agreeably set forth. We expect him to be trained in scientific method, and dominated by the scientific point of view. Now in Mr. Fowler's chosen field of activity, viz., linguistic science, sound and abiding work cannot be done by a man weak in phonetics and neglectful of the historical approach to the problems of which he writes. And Mr. Fowler, unfortunately enough, cannot well be denied both weakness in phonetics and neglect of history. At bottom his book is unsound. It gives us the conclusions of a learned and charming dilettante rather than those of a man of science. It is a collection of linguistic prejudices

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persuasively presented by a clever advocate; it is not an objective, scientific presentation of the facts of English usage.

It would be easy to cover many pages with illustrations of the deficiencies of Mr. Fowler as a man of science. I will confine myself, however, to one illustration, chosen by opening the book at random. The author writes as follows on the word *Canaan:*

The prevalent pronunciation is undoubtedly kānyan, and this is a quite justifiable escape from the difficult and unEnglish kāna-an; kāna-an passes into kānayan, and that into kānyan; the pronunciation kānan, alone recognized by the OED, but chiefly in clerical use, is a worse evasion of the same difficulty.

After such an example, comment on Mr. Fowler's knowledge of phonetics and historical grammar is hardly needed, and the unscientific tone of his work is sufficiently obvious. Mr. Fowler's volume belongs rather with books like Mr. Mencken's *American Language* than with works of exact scholarship. But when I say this, I am not condemning the book. On the contrary, I am praising it. Grammarian and layman alike ought to have it on their shelves, and if they fail to find it highly enjoyable and highly stimulating, there is something wrong with them.

The Johns Hopkins University. KEMP MALONE.

Beowulf, translated into English verse with an introduction, notes and appendices, by D. H. CRAWFORD. Vol. XXVII of *The Medieval Library,* under the general editorship of Sir ISRAEL GOLLANCZ. Chatto and Windus, London, 1926. Oxford University Press, American Branch, New York. $1.85.

The translator has given us an agreeable, and, on the whole, a faithful rendering of the Old English epic into modern English verse. While I have not made a complete line-by-line comparison of text and translation, I have noted but few departures from the usual interpretation of the text like 'sons' for *sunu* (v. 1115). Occasionally a stylistic point is missed, with unfortunate effect, as the variation *Geotena leode* | *mægen Hreðmanna* (vv. 443-445) 'people of the Geats' (acc. + gen.) | 'host of the Hreðmen' (acc. + gen.). The failure to apply in this case the stylistic principles of OE epic variation leads the translator to interpret *Hreðmen* as 'Danes' (p. 155)! The same tendency to overlook epic variation is no doubt ultimately responsible for the denaturing of the sword-name *Hunlafing* (v. 1143) into 'son of Hunlaf,' although here the translator has many fellows in sin. The variation *wind* | *lað gewidru* (vv. 1374-1375) likewise escapes notice, with unhappy effects on the translation. See E. A. Kock, *Anglia,* XLV,

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118. In the Index of Proper Names we find the Scandian form of the name given now and then, whether in Saxonian or Icelandic shape. It would have been well to do this systematically. The use of the German form *Schonen* for the name of the Swedish province Skåne is unfortunate, in my opinion. Either the Beowulfian *Scedenig* or the Danish *Skaane* would be preferable, if typographical difficulties precluded the use of the Swedish form. In general, the Scandian material is not taken sufficiently into account. Thus, the *Bjarkarímur* is not mentioned on p. 134, and under *Wylfings* (p. 160) we learn of the retainers of Dietrich von Bern but not of Helgi or Hjörvarðr ylfingr. Various statements in the notes (pp. 121-133) are open to challenge. Thus, the emendation of *þara* to *wāran* in v. 1015 is by no means certain (see Kock, *Anglia*, XLVI, 77). Again, there is nothing "highly improbable" in the assumption that, after the fall of Hroðulf, Beowulf ruled over the Danes (see my *Literary History of Hamlet*, I, 93 ff.). But in spite of these and other faults of detail, the book as a whole is distinctly to be commended.

KEMP MALONE.

The Johns Hopkins University.

Hamburgische Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Philologie, herausgegeben von CONRAD BORCHLING, ROBERT PETSCH, AGATHE LASCH. Dortmund. Fr. Wilh. Ruhfus. Reihe I. Texte:

1. *Das Landrecht des Sachsenspiegels, nach der Bremer Handschrift von 1342*, hrsg. von CONRAD BORCHLING. Dortmund, 1925. Pp. xxix, 94.

2. *Aus alten niederdeutschen Stadtbüchern. Ein mittelniederdeutsches Lesebuch*, hrsg. von AGATHE LASCH. Dortmund, 1925. Pp. ix, 165.

These first two volumes published by two of the editors of this new series are what we would expect from such well known specialists in the field of Low German. They are exceedingly well executed and especially welcome at this time when Middle Low German is beginning to claim its rightful place as a subject of thorough study in Germanic Philology.

The first volume replaces the edition of the Bremen MS. of the *Sachsenspiegel* by Homeyer,—not the complete Homeyer, however —which has long been out of print. A valuable introduction gives a minute description of this MS. and the newly found Brunswick fragments, which in their language are closer to that of Eike's, and a characterization of their dialects. Inserted between the intro-

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duction and the text are photostatic copies of a page of the Bremen MS. and a page of the *Braunschweiger Bruchstücke*. As to the text itself, only the Brunswick fragments in the appendix are reproduced in the exact reading of the MS. In the Bremen text all abbreviations are resolved, and words or phrases inserted to make it readable.

The second volume is a Middle Low German Reader—a splendid supplement to W. Stammler's *Lesebuch*, which contains only literary selections—offering a most varied collection of statutes, letters, deeds, and other legal documents, very carefully chosen as well for their intrinsic historical and cultural value, as also for their linguistic importance. The latter being of course the main purpose of the book, for it is primarily an introduction to the study of Middle Low German dialects. The selections illustrating these various dialects are chronologically arranged and given in the exact manuscript readings, with only the abbreviations resolved and palpable mistakes corrected. The following cities and towns with their respective dialects are represented: 1. Bremen, Lüneburg, Garz, Danzig, and Groningen as types of *nordniedersächsisch;* 2. Berlin, Halle, and Aken as types of *elbostfälisch;* 3. Braunschweig, as *ostfälisch;* 4. Minden, Werl, Coesfeld, as types of *westfälisch.*

Following the text are fifty pages of valuable notes mainly of a linguistic character, and a short list of words which are either not found at all in the Schiller-Lübben (and Walther) *Mittelniederdeutsches Wörterbuch,* or not with the particular meaning in the selections. This *Wortverzeichnis* is the unsatisfactory part of the book from the student's standpoint. The only handy dictionary is the *Mittelniederdeutsches Handwörterbuch* of Christoph Walther, Norden u. Leipzig, 1888, and is out of print and difficult to procure. The large Schiller-Lübben is also out of print and besides is not nearly as complete as the small Walther. A glossary, such as that appended to Weiske's edition of the Leipzig MS. of the *Sachsenspiegel* by R. Hildebrand, which happily may in a way also serve the student using the Borchling edition, would materially enhance the value of the book.

EDWARD H. SEHRT.

George Washington University.

America in Imaginative German Literature in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century. By PAUL C. WEBER. New York: Columbia University Press, 1926. XV + 301 pp.

In this Columbia doctoral thesis Paul Weber has given us by far the fullest and most authoritative treatment of a subject which possesses both a live interest and a real significance. Proceeding from his comparatively narrow original purpose of investigating

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the presentation of America in the works of Sealsfield-Postl, the writer has broadened the scope of his work to such an extent that it has required ten years and over three hundred pages to arrive at and set forth the results. They are important enough to merit this amount of time and space.

The opening chapter, entitled "The Awakening of Interest in America in German Literature from 1775 to 1800," shows how the American Revolution first aroused German curiosity and interest in America and how this interest was nourished by a wealth of scientific and descriptive writings, glowing at first with a Roussellian enthusiasm, but then, as the century waned, dying down to a troubled censoriousness born of the realization that the New World was still woefully lacking in culture and ideals. The author does not say so, but it is a fact that right here, in the eighteenth century, we have the two poles between which the pendulum will swing throughout the entire period under discussion.

The "Era of Romanticism" which follows reveals a certain apathy toward the fascinating historical development of the United States and toward conditions prevailing there, but shows all the greater interest in the ideals of the Republic and in its possibilities as a haven for the many *Europamüden*. The attendant conception of the American Indian as an uncouth but kindly son of the wilderness, the hapless victim and prey of the civilized European invader, a conception so well exemplified by Seume's much quoted "wir Wilden sind doch bess're Menschen," follows as a natural consequence. The author is wise in stressing the fact that the German romantic attitude toward America may well have taken its light and leading from French and English sources, for of course France and England woke up to America much earlier than Germany did.

The "Travel Literature" which is next discussed, is of a more personal nature and deserves consideration primarily as paving the way for the emigration literature which followed later. The importance of the "Ethnographical Novels," represented chiefly by Sealsfield and Gerstäcker, in outlining on the whole a clear picture of actual American conditions for German readers, is recognized. In his discussion of Sealsfield the author is naturally unable to go far beyond what Uhlendorf has said in his painstaking study published in vols. XX-XXI of the *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter*.

In the "Austrian Writers" other than Sealsfield—Feuchtersleben, Lenau, Grün, Stifter and Grillparzer—we find a variety of opinion, which the author tries in vain to epitomize in a few sentences. For Feuchtersleben the political aspect is predominant, for Grün country life and nature. Lenau, about whose stay in America all the facts and documents are not yet known in spite of frequent treatment, is the disillusioned idealist, and Stifter the enthusiastic romanticist. Grillparzer finally is the benevolent realist.

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Those writers whom the author calls Romantic-Realistic, chiefly Alexis and the superficial Freiligrath, prepare us for the so called "Emigration Literature" of Willkomm, Hoffmann von Fallersleben and Auerbach. In all these men there is a strong tendency to turn from nebulous, ill-informed romanticism to realities. Willkomm's *Europamüden* and Hoffmann von Fallersleben's *Texanische Lieder* are appraised as the most valuable works of this period from the point of view of the subject under discussion. The treatment of Menzel might just as well have been postponed to the next and last chapter on "Young Germany," for Menzel is quite at one with that group in his scathing arraignment of the American boorishness of his day, with all the vices which accompanied it.

The dissertation almost suffers from an excess of summarizing. Not only does each chapter contain a summary, but the Conclusion sums up the results once more and casts a hasty glance at the period after 1850. The eighteen-page bibliography is practically complete, except for periodical literature.

In view of the vast amount of ground and material covered, the author has performed a remarkably complete and convincing piece of work. It is very unlikely that succeeding scholars will be able to do much more than fill in or correct details. Of such details the author has several, but he ventures to offer only one on this occasion. He hopes, however, to supplement this material in another place.

In conjunction with the Erhard letter of 1794 to George Washington it would certainly have paid to discuss also the *Schreiben eines deutschen Juden an den amerikanischen Präsidenten O***. Herausgegeben von Moses Mendelssohn, Frankfurt und Leipzig, 1787 (23 pp.). This pamphlet, an appeal for a land-grant to the German Jews, which will be published and discussed by the reviewer in a forthcoming number of the *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter,* is even more significant for early German interest in America than such purely theoretical eulogies as are contained in Erhard's letter.

Finally the reviewer is inclined to put more stock than the author in Young Germany's criticism of American mercantilism, materialism and rusticity. He questions also the author's statement (p. 277) that the United States found a "worthy and honorable place in German literature" at the end of the nineteenth century. In fact is it not reasonable to say that the stark ignorance of America and Americans displayed by German writers at that time was appalling? We may question too the appropriateness of listing in a catalogue of worthy students of America such men as Liliencron, who soon departed in disgust, Wolzogen, who came with a snicker and left with a sneer, and Herzog, whose *Grosses Heimweh* is a veritable comedy of errors and distortion.

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It is true, however, that now after the World War the ground in Germany is better prepared than ever for a real understanding.

A disturbing misprint is found on page 200; surely Charleston, S. C. (not N. C.) is meant.

As for publishing the results of his work in the field of non-imaginative literature, the reviewer believes that the author would do well to refrain, unless he were certain that new or greatly diverging conclusions would follow. This is hardly likely, however, for in a case like this the imaginative literature is almost sure to be a true reflection of the spirit of the non-imaginative writings, in addition to having the saving grace of imagination.

University of Cincinnati. EDWIN H. ZEYDEL.

Die Wesensbestimmung der deutschen Romantik. Eine Einführung in die moderne Literaturwissenschaft. Von JULIUS PETERSEN. Leipzig, Quelle u. Meyer, 1926. 185 pp.

Taking as its point of vantage German Romanticism, which has busied recent investigators to such an extent that contemporary German "Literaturgeschichte" is all but synonymous with "Romantikforschung," this treatise undertakes a survey and critique of the various tendencies in modern literary scholarship, and concludes with an attempt to unite these divergent rays into a steady light by which further investigation may be profitably pursued.

After an introductory chapter in which general account is taken of the present status of literary science, five chapters are devoted to as many schools of scholarship, which might be described as: 1) the "territorial" school, associated with the names of Sauer, Nadler und Stefansky; 2) the "philosophical" (e. g. Unger, Korff); 3) the "aesthetic" (e. g. Wölfflin, Strich, Walzel); 4) the "social" (e. g. Lamprecht, Francke, Brüggemann); 5) the "generational" (e. g. Dilthey, Haym). The final chapter essays, in a "three-dimensional" method, an original synthesis of previous methods, and shows the ultimate aim and value of the book to be less negative and critical than positive and constructive. The appended bibliography of works discussed in the text indicates impressively the scope of the author's investigation.

Petersen's work is an informative and stimulating introduction to modern literary science. It shows the same robustness of principle which marked his *Literaturgeschichte als Wissenschaft* (Heidelberg, 1914). Its style is crisp, clear and interesting; its

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judgments are sane and fair, and constitute truly productive criticism. To anyone who has penetrated the hollow allurements of writings of the newest "metaphysical" school, it is refreshing and reassuring to learn that sound doctrine can still be cast into such pleasing form.

WALTER SILZ.

Harvard University.

A Vocabulary of the Anglo-Manx Dialect. Compiled by A. W. MOORE, C. V. O., M. A., with the coöperation of SOPHIA MORRISON and EDMUND GOODWIN. Oxford University Press, 1924. Pp. xii, 206.

On September 8, 1909, Mr. Moore wrote to Mr. Goodwin that he had for some time been contemplating a book on the Anglo-Manx dialect, and had been compiling "a list of Anglo-Manx words and phrases in addition to those in Wright's *English Dialect Dictionary.*"[1] The present book represents that list as it had developed up to the time of Moore's death in November, 1909. As indicated, the volume is intended as a supplement to the great Dialect Dictionary. There are in the volume ca. 3,000 words not (discovered and) recorded in Wright. Of philological commentary there is but a minimum; however, the folk-lore contained in many of the discussions of the use of words is of great interest and value. It is a fine contribution to English philology to have been made by a lover of his dialect and a student of English. I am inclined to think that harvests equally rich can (if done soon) be reaped in many another peripheral dialect region of the British Isles, as The Hebrides and the islands of Western Scotland in general, Caithness and Sutherland, above all in the Orkneys, and perhaps in Wales, and Northern Ireland. Mr. Moore's death cut short the work of collecting; and it unfortunately also deprived us of much additional material that the compiler had intended to prepare, and other material to be prepared by others. The plans in regard to this are most fully set out in a letter of Oct. 8, written to his collaborator Miss Morrison. There were to be chapters on the origin of Anglo-Manx; there were to be articles on certain classes of words, 'swear-words, terms of endearment, etc.'; the Manx Fisherman, the Farmer and the Housewife, were to be presented with their occupational vocabulary; there was to be an Anglo-Manx Phonology (by Mr. Goodwin); Miss Morrison was to write a chapter on Manx Customs and Superstitions. And from the

[1] Introduction, p. v.

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letter of June 8, 1909, we gather that there was to have been considerable attention paid to the Gaelic element in the vocabulary. We hope that some of these contributions may hereafter be supplied by other scholars.[2] As for the item of June 8, a reliable discussion of the sources of the Celtic element in the present vocabulary would have enhanced greatly the value of the book, and we regret its absence.[3]

Tested by phonology and peculiarities of word-usage Anglo-Manx is most closely related to the dialect of South-West Lancashire.[4] But possibly North Lancashire-West Yorkshire has contributed almost as large a share toward the character of Anglo-Manx; in his examination of his material as regards words and phrases, Moore found that Yorkshire parallels 'easily head the list.' The Isle of Man lies opposite Cumberland and North Lancashire, so that is perhaps what we should expect. But, no doubt, in recent times South Lancashire (with Liverpool) has been the main influence.

Characterizing the dialect in a few words I would say, that it would seem to show 1, an extensive Gaelic element in the vocabulary; 2, otherwise mainly native English words with Lancashire-Yorkshire affinities; 3, a moderate Norse element; 4, a small French element; 5, scattering elements of other origin; 6, numerous idioms of Gaelic origin, and prepositional constructions of the same origin; 7, many examples of archaic English usage, and inflexion; 8, many special developments in the grammar where analogy has operated to produce non-standard forms; 9, in general much word-contraction and word-reduction, as one would expect in a Celtic-colored dialect; 10, many picturesque phrases and characterizations; 11, numerous slang terms and other 'dialect' forms that are current in most parts of the United States; finally, 12, a considerable body of noa-words (connected with taboo practices).

I shall note briefly examples of a few of these.

at is used for 'of.' Sometimes this is OE *æt*, and a few times ON *at*. But in such a case as 'a house at him, maybe ten stories high' (a house of his, etc.), it is Manx Gaelic *ec*, 'at,' which with the vb, 'to be' denotes possession (p. 6). However, on this page, the Editor lists 13 uses of *at*, and the discussion seems to carry the idea that they are all of Gaelic source, though probably this is not the intention. However I am certain they are not, and that only those of the type of the one quoted are of Gaelic origin (hence numbers 2 and 4 only, plus type 5, quoted). Under characteristic 7

[2] Miss Morrison has since died; the intended chapter on Manx customs did not appear among the papers left.

[3] Mr. Goodwin supplies to the present volume a brief phonological introduction, and gives the transcriptions through the volume.

[4] Introduction, p. x.

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above I shall note that the form *amn,* 'am not,' is quite clearly (Northern) Old English *am ne.* For 'children' the old plural *childer* survives by the side of *childhern* (tʃildern and tʃildən). Here belong also some instances of verbs whose stem ends in a dental, and that do not take *-ed, -et,* in the past prtc. Under characteristic 3 I shall cite the word *sling,* 'to loiter,' which is evidently the ON *sløngva,* 'to sling.' Likewise here belongs the word *scowte* (now obsolete, we are told), 'a small boat,' which is OIcel *skúta,* 'a small craft,' modn. Norw. *skute,* do. Under characteristic 8 may be noted *brenth,* 'breadth,' and *winth,* 'width'; these seem to be, not nasalizations of the vowel before *dth,* but are apparently merely analogical *n*-forms, due to the word *length,* which in Anglo-Manx is pronounced *lenth;* the direction of the analogy was then due to the frequency of the couplet 'length and breadth,' the *n* being carried over into the second word (as a dittograph in scribal errors). It is possible, however, that in 'breadth' and 'width' the *d* has been nasalized between the vowel and the (voiceless) dental. In the word 'altogether,' a later sound has apparently been anticipated in the pronunciation *ɋldəgaðə(r)*, by the side of *ɋltəgaðə(r)*. The verb 'choose' has a wk. pprtc. *chised* (*tʃàist*);[1] the vb. 'give (giv)' has the pprtc. *gōv* (change from the 5th to the 4th ablaut class), but apparently only in a special sense (*gove to fighting,* 'given to fighting'). Of word-contractions and reductions may be noted *bumbee,* 'bumblebee,' *forster,* 'forester,' and *dungle,* 'dung-hill.' Under number 12 I shall mention that the word 'dog' (regularly used on land) is not uttered at sea but instead one says *coill,* from Manx *quallian,* 'a pup'; there are many other 'sea-names.'

A very unusual phonological feature may finally be noted. One has the form *lemme,* 'let me'; but in the other persons this becomes: *lerrim,* 'let him'; *lerrer,* 'let her'; *lerrit,* 'let it,' and *lerrus,* 'let us'; because intervocalic *t,* or *tt,* or *th,* and sometimes *d* very often becomes *rr.*[2] Hence also 'Kitty' has become *Kerree;* 'out of' = *orrov;* 'about him' = *aburrim;* and 'whatever' = *wharraver.*

GEORGE T. FLOM.

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[1] *à* like *a* in French *pas* (Introd., p. xii).

[2] It appears to me that in words that have sentence stress the intervocalic *t* or *tt* remains at the stage *tþ*. Thus the steps are *t*(*tt*) > *tþ* > *rr*.

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Volume XLII APRIL, 1927 Number 4

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Edited by EDWIN GREENLAW

WITH THE COÖPERATION OF

GUSTAV GRUENBAUM W. KURRELMEYER

H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER

CONTENTS

PAGE

BUSH, D.—The Influence of Marlowe's 'Hero and Leander' on early Mythological Poems, - - - - - - - - - - 211

GOULD, C. N.—"Which are the Norns who take Children from Mothers?" 218

TAYLOR, A.—'Das Schloss in Österreich,' - - - - - - - 222

LINEBERGER, JULIA E.—An Examination of Professor Cowling's new Metrical Test, - - - - - - - - - - - - 229

NOYES, E. S.—Another Smollett Letter, - - - - - - - 231

STEWART, G. R., JR.—A Note on the Sleep-walking Scene, - - - 235

MALONE, K.—A Note on 'Brunanburh,' - - - - - - - 238

FREEMAN, E. L.—A Note on Bacon's Influence, - - - - - 239

VOS, B. J.—Two Notes on Heine's 'Harzreise,' - - - - - 241

ZUCKER, A. E.—A Note on the Poet of the 'Trutz-Nachtigall,' - - 242

SHANKS, L. P.—A Possible Source for Rousseau's Name 'Émile,' - - 243

EMERSON, O. F.—Two Lexical Notes, - - - - - - - - 244

KANE, E. K.—Parrot and Pajarote, - - - - - - - - 246

REVIEWS:—

RALPH L. RUSK, The Literature of the Middle Western Frontier. [*F. E. Farley.*] - - - - - - - - - - - - 249

JOHN M. MANLY, Some New Light on Chaucer. [*J. F. Royster.*] - 251

E. DE SELINCOURT, *The Prelude*, by William Wordsworth. [*R. D. Havens.*] - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 256

English Place-Name Society, Vol. I and II. [*K. Malone.*] - - 259

KAARLE KROHN, Die folkloristische Arbeitsmethode. [*A. Taylor.*] - 260

L. A. WILLOUGHBY, The Classical Age of German Literature, 1748-1805. [*E. H. Zeydel.*] - - - - - - - - - - - 263

L. GROOTAERS en G. G. KLOEKE, Handleiding bij het Noord- en Zuid-Nederlandsch Dialectonderzoek. [*A. J. Barnouw.*] - - 265

E. C. ARMSTRONG, The Authorship of the *Vengement Alixandre* and of the *Venjance Alixandre;* B. EDWARDS, A Classification of the MSS. of Gui de Cambrai's *Vengement Alixandre.* [*Grace Frank.*] - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 266

L. M. RIDDLE, The Genesis and Sources of Pierre Corneille's Tragedies from *Médée* to *Pertharite.* [*L. Rivailles.*] - - - - - 269

MARIUS BARBEAU and EDWARD SAPIR, Folk Songs of French Canada. [*J. M. Carrière.*] - - - - - - - - - - - 274

AMERICO CASTRO, El pensamiento de Cervantes. [*J. Robles.*] - - 275

E. H. R. TATHAM, Francesco Petrarcha, The First Modern Man of Letters. [*W. P. Reeves.*] - - - - - - - - - 277

GEORGES ROGER, Chateaubriand: Selections. [*G. Chinard.*] - - 280

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Modern Language Notes

Volume XLII APRIL, 1927 Number 4

THE INFLUENCE OF MARLOWE'S *HERO AND LEANDER* ON EARLY MYTHOLOGICAL POEMS

As Professor Tucker Brooke says, "It was as the author of *Hero and Leander* and of the *Passionate Shepherd* that Marlowe enjoyed the highest personal reputation in the period immediately following his death."[1] The following items may constitute a small supplement to Professor Brooke's abundantly documented study, and suggest in particular the nature and extent of Marlowe's influence on mythological poems.[2]

The luscious Italianate manner had been naturalized in England by Lodge's *Glaucus and Scilla* (1589) and by Spenser, and from that time on direct Italian influence is not needed to account for the fashionable style, though occasionally such influence does appear. The Italianate manner was full-blown, of course, in the poems of Marlowe and Shakespeare, and these established the general conventions of the mythological poem. The great popularity of *Hero and Leander* and *Venus and Adonis* resulted in the rapid multiplication of pieces in this genre, and, while a few obscure conservatives still wrote in the medieval manner which prevailed before Lodge, almost all of the later poems were of the sensuous, decorative kind. Marlowe's influence is abundantly clear from many quotations and echoes, and influence of a more general sort, which cannot always be isolated, is seen in the fluid rhythms and in myth-making. The insertion of independent mythological narratives, real or fanciful (of which the chief ex-

[1] "The Reputation of Christopher Marlowe," *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, XXV (1922), 347-408.

[2] Perhaps I might say that I have collected a good deal of material for an annotated edition of Marlowe's poem, though it is not yet completed.

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ample in Marlowe is the tale of Mercury and the country maid), had been common in the first books of the *Faerie Queene,* from which Marlowe may have learned the trick, so that such tales in later poems may be imitations of Marlowe or Spenser or Ovid and his redactors. But the brief mythological conceits—"Since Hero's time hath half the world been black"—which, so often tastelessly, stud Marlowe's poem, are peculiarly Marlowesque and a common mark of his influence.

The relations of *Hero and Leander* to *Venus and Adonis* and *Endimion and Phoebe* have been discussed by others and may be passed over here.[3]

Professor Brooke cites Thomas Edwards's address to "Leander" in his poem *Narcissus* (1595), but does not suggest the extent of Edwards's obligation to Marlowe in the substance and manner of his *Narcissus* and *Cephalus and Procris.* The author's constant effort, not wholly unsuccessful, to imitate Marlowe's luxuriance can best be appreciated by a reading of his work, and it is needless to tabulate parallels. Edwards's editor noted over thirty, and I have found about ten more.[4] These are almost all quite certain borrowings, and imitation is everywhere.

[3] See, e. g., *N & Q.*, Ser. 10, Vol. I, Jan. 2, 1904; J. W. Hebel, introduction to *Endimion and Phoebe* (Boston, 1925), and in *MLN*, XLI (1926), 250; *Cam. Hist. Eng. Lit.*, IV, 180; and the various editions of Shakespeare.

Since a number of well-known allusions show that *Hero and Leander* circulated in manuscript, I might suggest another possible one in *Jack Wilton* (1594).

Hero and Leander, I, 37 ff.:

> Buskins of shels all siluered used she,
> And brancht with blushing corall to the knee;
> Where sparrowes pearcht, of hollow pearle and gold,
> Such as the world would woonder to behold:
> Those with sweet water oft her handmaid fils,
> Which as shee went would cherupe through the bils.

Jack Wilton (McKerrow, II, 284): "One tree for his fruit bare nothing but inchained chirping birdes, whose throates beeing conduit pipt with squared narrowe shels, & charged siring-wise with searching sweet water driuen in by a little wheele for the nonce, that fed it a farre of, made a spirting sound, such as chirping is, in bubling upwards through the rough crannies of their closed bills."

[4] Poems of Thomas Edwards, ed. W. E. Buckley, Roxburghe Club, 1882.

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Dunstan Gale's *Pyramus and Thisbe* was published in 1617 with Greene's *Arbasto,* but probably had appeared earlier, since the dedication is dated 1596.[5] The piece is elaborate and fanciful, and strives, unhappily, after luxuriant fluency. There is an un-Ovidian description of Thisbe's arraying herself for the tryst which is modelled on the description of Hero; a few lines will serve:

> And trickt her selfe so like a willing louer,
> As purblind *Cupid* tooke her for his mother.
>
> Her upper garment was a robe of lawne,
> On which bright *Venus* siluer doues were drawne. . .

The account of the admiration Thisbe excites as she goes is in part an imitation of *Hero and Leander,* I, 103 ff.

Marston's *Metamorphosis of Pygmalion's Image* (1598), which its author later declared a travesty, quite misses the spirit of Marlowe and Shakespeare, and instead of rich passion and decoration has only prurience. But a few incidental borrowings may be noted.[6]

The influence of Marlowe is very pronounced in the *Salmacis and Hermaphroditus* of 1602, which has been associated with Francis Beaumont, but, it is generally agreed, is almost certainly not his. The poem is topheavy with decorative additions, and the myth-making faculty runs wild. There are two imitations, more or less close, of Marlowe's episode of Mercury and the country maid.[7] Marlowe's picture of the temple, which had a long line of such pictures behind it, is imitated thus:

> . . . her stately throne,
> Which seat was builded all of iasper stone,
> And o're the seat was paynted all aboue,
> The wanton unseene stealths of amorous Joue.

The parallels are mentioned on pp. 195, 196, 200, 202, 203, 210, 214, 222, 223, 225, 227, 228, 232, 237, 240, 255, 263, 286, 291, 293, 294, 300, 305, 306, 309, 312, 315, 323, 324, 327, 332.

[5] See *D. N. B.*, and Collier, *Bibl. Acct.*, I, 301.

[6] Marston, ed. Bullen, II, 247 ff., ll. 37-39, 134-35, 219-20; p. 261, ll. 13-14. Cf. Marlowe, I, 21-22; 299-302; II, 254 ff.; I, 287-88; I, 69-70.

[7] *Shakespeare Society Papers,* III (1847), 94 ff. The imitations referred to occur on p. 113-14 and 115-16.

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> There might a man behold the naked pride
> Of louely Venus in the vale of Ide. . . .[8]

In addition to these many obvious borrowings, the whole poem is conceived, so fas as possible, in the spirit of Marlowe, with innumerable sensuous descriptions of beautiful things and beautiful bodies.

William Barksted's *Mirrha* (1607), one of the best of the lesser mythological poems, is usually related to *Venus and Adonis,* but Marlowe's influence is apparent too. The story proper follows Ovid (in fact Barksted reproduces at least a dozen lines or phrases from Golding), but there is some other matter besides. The opening episode, not in Ovid, is based partly on Marlowe. Mirrha, a priestess of Vesta, is one of a number of maidens who gather to hear Orpheus sing, and the singer falls in love at first sight. The enamorment and the ensuing dialogue closely imitate the scene in the temple in Marlowe. A few lines are enough to indicate the plagiarism:[9]

> My heart is the true index of my tongue.
> And by my naked wordes you may discouer,
> I am not traded like a common Louer. . . .
>
> With this, she turnd her blushing head aside,
> & vail'd her face with lawne, not half so white. . . .

Barksted is fond of myth-making in Marlowe's manner.

> Then blusht he [the sun] first, and backward would ha fled
> And euer since in rising hee's still red. . . .
>
> And euerie Autume since, a thing most rare,
> The falling leaues, resemble Mirrha's haire.

Leander's celebration of the claims of love against virginity—itself akin to the pleas of the sonneteers—was constantly imitated, and treatments of the commonplace theme reveal, in turns of phrase, or in rhythm, the influence of Marlowe. Thus Heywood

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 107. Lines or phrases of Marlowe's are echoed on pp. 101, 103, 104, 105, 113-14, 119-20, 125. Mythological incidents and conceits, in Marlowe's manner, are everywhere.

[9] Grosart's reprint, 1876, pp. 14 ff. Barksted's *Hiren* has a few echoes of Marlowe (pp. 81, 88). The same author's *Virginia* (1617) I have not seen.

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follows Marlowe—at a distance, like most of the versifiers here mentioned—in the story of Jupiter and Calisto in *Troia Britannica* (1609).[10] Leander's pleading provides the chief matter of *The Loves of Amos and Laura* (1613), by Samuel Page, the friend of Walton, to whom the second edition (1619) was dedicated. Although the poem obviously is not of the classical genre, it may be included as a remarkable illustration of plagiarism. Page alludes to Hero and Leander, and dozens of lines quote or echo Marlowe. In addition to many minor parallels we have, as usual, the courtship and the pictures in the pavement.

> So sweete, so proper, and so debonaire,
> That strangers tooke her for to be none other,
> Then *Venus* selfe, the god of *Loues* owne Mother. . . .
>
> The pauement Marble was, the walls of Glasse:
> Whereunder was so liuely caru'd the Story
> Of great *Ioues* loue, his wondrous works and glory. . . .

The formidably voluminous Richard Braithwaite echoes and imitates Marlowe sometimes, without much success. Marlowe's surging passion carries along conceits which are not always happy in him, and in mediocre imitators they are often merely bad. Thus,

> The wall replyde not: yet their words had force,
> piersing her hardnesse, softned with remorse.
> For euer since, as well it may appeare,
> the marble sheds each morne a Trickling teare.[11]

Braithwaite has the inevitable imitations of Leander's wooing and of the pictures in the temple, in both cases with quotations from Marlowe.[12] He likewise invents a myth (about Hero) in the manner of Marlowe's tale of Mercury.[13]

Patrick Hannay's *Philomela* (1622), a long and tedious version of the popular story, shows some slight recollections of *Hero and Leander*. The use of italics for sententious comments from the

[10] Canto 2, stanzas 53-54.

[11] *Loues Labyrinth* (1615), an elaborately fanciful tale of Pyramus and Thisbe, in *Strappado for the Diuell* (ed. Ebsworth, 1878, p. 261). Single phrases of Marlowe's are echoed occasionally.

[12] *Strappado*, pp. 43-44, 253. See also Braithwaite's *Natures Embassie* (1621), ed. Ebsworth, 1877, pp. 58-59.

[13] *Strappado*, pp. 88-89.

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author, at which Professor Saintsbury grumbles, was doubtless a trick caught from Marlowe and Chapman. At any rate one such maxim is taken from Marlowe.

> When love's deep grounded, there 's no wit
> Can his sure signs dissemble.[14]

Hannay's description of Philomela's gown, with its mythological scenes, is an evident imitation of the accounts of Hero's dress given by Marlowe and Chapman.[15]

The pronounced influence of *Hero and Leander* upon William Bosworth's *Chast and Lost Lovers* (published 1651, written about 1626) is well known and may be passed over. The interesting preface of 'R. C.' treats of Bosworth's discipleship, cites examples of imitative myth-making, and declares that from Marlowe the young poet takes "the strength of his fancy, and the shadowing of it in words."[16] Echoes of Marlowe are frequent, though somewhat less slavish than most of those cited hitherto, but the poem suffers, like most of the long narrative pieces of the age, from flabbiness and confusion and an excess that is not "fine" but cloying.

Phineas Fletcher's *Venus and Anchises* (1628) in both theme and manner was mainly influenced by *Venus and Adonis,* but there are traces of Marlowe:

> His lovelie limbs . . . . Were made for playe . . . .
> Night is Loues holyday.
> Too foolish is the man that starves to feed his treasure.
> He thinks that somewhat wantes for his requiring
> And still aspires but knowes not his aspiring . . . .
> That now he perfect knowes what ever blisse
> Elder love taught and he before did misse . . . .[17]

The account of Neptune and the fish attending Leander in his swim is imitated in a burlesque, unusually obscene even for its

[14] Saintsbury, *Minor Caroline Poets*, I, 626, ll. 361-62. Cf. Marlowe, I, 184.

[15] Hannay, ll. 785 ff.; Marlowe, I, 9 ff.; Chapman, IV, 35 ff.

[16] Saintsbury, *Minor Caroline Poets*, II, 523 ff.

[17] *Venus and Anchises*, etc. (ed. E. Seaton, Oxford, 1926), pp. 2, 5, 6, 19. Cf. Marlowe, I, 88, 191, 243, II, 61, 68-69. On "Night is Loues holyday," a favorite phrase of Fletcher's, see Miss Seaton's volume, pp. xxvi, 104.

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age, *The Loves of Hero and Leander, A mock Poem,* which was printed in 1651, 1653, and in later editions was bound up with Heywood's translation of the *Ars Amatoria.*[18] Wycherley's almost witless travesty, *Hero and Leander,* seems to follow Marlowe in the description of Leander, the mythological scenes which adorn the temple, and the dialogue between the lovers.[19]

During the Restoration period and the eighteenth century the Renaissance cult of physical beauty gave way to satiric wit, or the dull coarseness mistaken for wit, and mythological poems were mainly paraphrases or travesties of Ovid. Most of the literary treatments of the theme of Hero and Leander in the 17th and 18th centuries were versions of the letters in the *Heroides,* and the influence of Musaeus and Marlowe waned.

The rather tedious items collected here, confined to easily demonstrable obligations, in one special genre, do not of course fully set forth Marlowe's influence. That general influence, indeed, can hardly be assessed, for the sensuous manner, once established, quickly became an instrument on which every word-spinner could play a tune. But this concrete evidence of imitation at any rate shows the particular things in *Hero and Leander* which attracted versifiers.

DOUGLAS BUSH.

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[18] A. M. Clark, in *The Library* (1922), pp. 210 ff., and *Times Lit. Supp.,* July 16th, 1925, p. 480.

[19] Works of Wycherley, ed. Summers, IV, 76, 84 ff.

There do not appear to be any certain traces of Marlowe in three ballads on Hero and Leander, one of 1614 (Rollins, *A Pepysian Garland,* p. 49), and two of about 1650 (*Roxburghe Ballads,* VI, 558, 560).

A non-classical poem of Suckling's seems to borrow at least a line from Leander's plea against virginity, "One is no number, till that two be one." (Works of Suckling, ed. A. H. Thompson, 1910, "Lutea Allison. *Si sola es, nulla es,*" p. 57. Cf. Marlowe, I, 255. Of course the sentiment was a commonplace.

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"WHICH ARE THE NORNS WHO TAKE CHILDREN FROM MOTHERS?"

In the last half of stanza 12 in the *Fáfnismál*[1] Sigurth asks the dying dragon Fáfnir the following question;

Hveriar 'ro þær nornir
er nauðgǫnglar 'ro
ok kiósa mæðr frá mǫgum?

This passage is paraphrased in prose in chapter 18 of the *Vǫlsunga saga: "Hveriar eru þær nornir er kiósa mǫgu frá meðrum?"*[2]

There is complete unanimity among scholars as to the interpretation of these passages. Standard translations of the Elder Edda by Gering, Genzmer, Åkerblom, Bellows, Herrmann's translation of the *Vǫlsunga saga,* the lexicographical works of Fritzner, Gering, Finnur Jónsson all agree. Vigfusson cites without translating. William Morris' translation of the *Vǫlsunga saga* differs; it is however only a curiosity, and but distantly related to the original text.[3]

Bellows' translation of the verse will serve for all of them:

"Who are the norns who are helpful in need
And the babe from the mother bring?"

Gering and Jónsson indicate in their lexicons that the delivery of the child was probably accomplished by magic songs. Herrmann translates the prose: "*Welcher Art sind die Nornen, die Mütter erlösen von Leibesfrucht?*" In both passages translators and lexicographers assert that the norns aid mortal women in child-

[1] Sophus Bugge, *Norræn Fornkvæði*, 221.

[2] Magnus Olsen, *Vǫlsunga saga ok Ragnars saga loðbrókar*, 43.

[3] Hugo Gering, *Die Edda übersetzt und erläutert*, 204. Genzmer, *Die Edda = Thule*, Vols. I and II (Jena, 1912-20), II, 77. Åkerblom, *Der äldre Eddan* (Uppsala, 1920-21), II, 81. Bellows, *The Poetic Edda* (New York, 1923), 375. Paul Herrmann, *Isländische Heldenromane = Thule*, Vol. XXI (Jena, 1923), 78. William Morris, *The Vǫlsunga Saga*, 60. See *kiósa* in the following: Vigfusson, *Icelandic-English Dictionary*. Fritzner, *Ordbog over det gamle norske Sprog*[2]. Gering, *Vollst. Wörterbuch zu den Liedern der Edda*. Finnur Jónsson, *Lexicon poeticum* (København, 1913-16).

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birth. They have been influenced by stanza 7 of the *Oddrúnargrátr* and stanza 9 of the *Sigrdrífamál*.[4] The former tells that Oddrún helped Borgný in parturition by singing spells, the second that Sigrdrífa [Brynhild] tells Sigurth what runes he should employ to become a successful *accoucheur*. Neither of these passages refers to norns, and the situations are entirely different from that in the *Fáfnismál*. It is true that mysterious wisdom is being imparted to Sigurth in both the *Sigrdrífumál* and the *Fáfnismál*, but in the former case it is imparted by a fair lady just wakened from charmed sleep, in the latter by a dying dragon. Why *Oddr* 7 and *Sigrdr* 9 should influence the interpretation of *Fm* 12 is most mysterious.

There is no reference to childbirth in *Fm* 12 or in the prose of the *Vǫlsunga saga*. And the lexicographers claim for *kiósa frá* the meaning, 'to assist in the delivery of a child,' just in these two passages and nowhere besides. *Kiósa frá* means 'to take away from, to separate from,' and it can mean nothing else here. *Nauðgǫngull* has been understood to mean 'going in time of need,' i. e., when another person needs one. If it existed in English it might be *needgangle*. The word occurs nowhere else, and the interpreters in arriving at a meaning, proceeded just as with *kiósa frá;* they chose a meaning to fit their conception of the passage. They neglected, however, to examine the compounds with *nauð-*. The simplex *nauð* or *nauðr* has three meanings: 1) hardship, want, 2) compulsion, 3) slavery. Meaning 1 has been only slightly productive in compounds, 3 not at all. In no case does *nauð-* add the idea that an activity is caused by the needs of another. Meaning 1 has produced e. g. *nauðmikill*, 'full of hardships,' *nauðfǫlr*, 'pale, sallow,' a color produced by hardships, *nauðstaddr*, 'placed in hardships,' *nauðljótr*, 'awfully ugly looking,' where *nauð-* has been reduced to an intensive. Meaning 2 is more productive; e. g. *nauðbreytr*, said of a person forced to change his plan, *nauðbeygja*, 'to force a person to submit,' *nauðgjald*, 'forced payment,' a *nauðkván* is a woman forced to live with a man. The simple *gǫngull* means '*værende i Bevægelse, i Gang.*' *Nauðgǫngull* then means 'compelled to be on the move, forced to hurry.'

[4] Bugge, *op. cit.*, 277, 229.

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We started with the text of Sigurth's question as to which norns did a certain thing. The answer to his question throws light on the question that interests us; what is it that the norns do? The answer to Sigurth is transmitted in three places, stanza 13 of the *Fm*, chapter 15 of the *Gylfaginning* in Snorra Edda, and chapter 18 of the *Vǫlsunga saga*. The three versions of the answer are so near alike that one of them will do for all, and *Fm* 13 is undoubtedly the original, so we shall take it:

Sundrbornar miok
hygg ek at nornir sé,
eigot þær ætt saman;
sumar ero áskungar,
sumar álfkungar,
sumar dætr Dvalins.

We can now translate the passages which we have discussed:

Fm 12 Which are the norns
who move in haste
and take mothers from children?

Fm 13 Variously born
think I the norns be,
they have not kin together;
some are of the *æsir-kin*,
some of elf-kin,
some daughters of Dvalinn.[5]

We are fortunate in that we have the opinion of a man of the latter half of the thirteenth century as to the meaning of these verses. He makes it very plain, for the paraphrase in the *Vǫlsunga saga* of *Fm* 12 runs thus: "Which are the norns who take children from mothers?" He has said in prosaic language what *Fm* 12 says in poetic order.

Now the great function of norns is to determine or predict the fate of human beings,[6] and when they appear at the birth of a child it is to determine his fate and not to assist his mother in labor.[7] [8] But there are various sorts of norns, some of which are

[5] I. e., dwarves.

[6] E. g., *Vsp* 21. *Rm* 2. *Sgsk* 7. *Fm* ll. 44. *Hm* 30. *Ghv* 13. *HH* II, 26.

[7] *HH* I, 2. Also the *loci classici Snorra Edda* I, 72. *Flateyjarbók* I, 358.

[8] Elard Hugo Meyer assembles in § 229 of his *Germanische Mythologie*

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a bad lot.[9] What is then the traditional function at birth of the norns, and evil they must be, who according to our source take children away from their mothers? They are of three sorts, the *ásynjur* [female *æsir*], female elves, female dwarfs. Aside from a few great goddesses, the *ásynjur* are unknown to us as to number or function. But we know well what elves do at the time of childbirth, and dwarfs are often very like elves in conduct; the elves steal the child and leave a changeling in its place, usually an ugly elf-child or dwarf-child. They are *nauðgǫnglar,* for they have to finish the theft before the mother can call on God or otherwise summon help.[10]

Folk literature has many tales of changelings,[11] also many tales of mortal midwives helping elf-women in childbed,[12] but the writer knows no tales of elf-women or dwarf-women or *ásynjur* who help mortal women in travail. Such stories may exist, but until they are collected in convincing numbers and from apposite places it is much more reasonable, since the language of the passages and folk-thought favor it and since the author of the *Vǫlsunga saga* so understood it, to interpret stanza 12 of the *Fáfnismál* as not referring to obstetrical aid, but to stealing babies.

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the supposed evidence that norns act as midwives. His chief proof is in the two passages we discuss here, which do not refer to help in labor. He violently distorts the wording of *Sigrdr* 9, to no purpose however, for the *dísir,* which he treats as norns, are not called norns here; moreover we are not told if they are Sigurth's *dísir* or *dísir* in general. Nor are the *hollar vættir* called norns, which Oddný in *Oddr* 9 prays may help Oddrún if she ever gets into similar difficulty. They seem rather to be '*Frigg, Freyja ok fleiri goð.*" *Vsp.* 20 [Bugge's Ed. 21] refers to allotting fate, not to midwifery. He has not shown that the three holy maidens, who are venerated in certain churches in Germany and to whom women in certain parts of Germany pray for easy delivery, are of Germanic origin. Meyer has no evidence for his statement.

[9] *Rm* 2. *Sigsk* 7. Jiriczek, *Bósa-saga,* 18. Jónsson, *Hrólfs saga kraka,* 95.

[10] E. S. Hartland, *The Science of Fairy Tales* (2nd Ed., London, 1916).

[11] *Op. cit.,* Chapter V.

[12] *Op. cit.,* Chapter III.

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DAS SCHLOSS IN ÖSTERREICH

The relations of the famous German ballad *Das Schloss in Österreich* to its French and Scottish parallels offer a knotty problem of considerable interest. Although the lack of early texts will prevent us from solving it, a restatement may bring a clearer understanding and may help to a solution. The readily available materials[1] permit some deductions which have not been drawn, and a more searching examination may disclose still other facts about the spread of the story.

In France the ballad bears the name of *Les écoliers pendus* and represents, it is generally agreed, the oldest form of the story. We are solely concerned with the inter-relations of three forms, French, German, and Scottish, since the tradition is elsewhere clearly derivative in nature: the Italian and Catalan versions are surely traceable to French sources, while the Low German, Dutch, and Scandinavian ballads are all later than the first recording of *Das Schloss in Österreich* and dependent on it.[2] The French

[1] Only the following standard works are employed here: Erk und Böhme, *Deutscher Liederhort*, I, 205 ff., No. 61; "Das Schloss in Österreich"; Child, *English and Scottish Ballads*, II, 173 ff., No. 72, "The Clerk's Twa Sons o Owsenford"; and Doncieux, *Le romancéro populaire*, pp. 207 ff., No. 14, "Les écoliers pendus." For further study consult the abundant notes in Child, III, 509; IV, 469; V, 293; C. Köhler and J. Meier, *Volkslieder von der Mosel und Saar*, I, 4 ff., No. 4 and pp. 367 f.; M. E. Marriage, *Volkslieder aus der badischen Pfalz*, pp. 18 ff., No. 7; Jungbauer, *Bibliographie des deutschen Volksliedes in Böhmen*, Nos. 92, 103; Fr. Günther, *Die schlesische Volksliedforschung*, p. 196; P. Alpers, *Die alten niederdeutschen Volkslieder*, Hamburg 1924, pp. 56-58, No. 8. See also Ali-Ben-Noab-Tun, *Romancer popular catala*, Barcelona, 1900, pp. 11 ff. A. Riguer (*Los estudiantes de Tolosa*), Barcelona, 1886, gives a Catalan text with French and Spanish translation.

[2] Böckel (*Psychologie der Volksdichtung*,[2] p. 170) observes that it is not known whether the Swedish ballad comes directly from Germany or through Denmark; but Bolte (*Zs. f. vgl. Lit. gesch.*, n. f., III, 289) declares all the Germanic texts other than English are based on a High German original. Except for noting the secondary nature of the Swedish ballad we are not concerned with the question.

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ballad has been connected with a historical incident (A. D. 1259) of the hanging of three scholars who trespassed accidentally on baronial lands while hunting. Oral tradition found such a crime meaningless and substituted a more or less innocent love affair. Thus is provided a simple incident, hanging for a love affair, which becomes the basis of the three ballads.

Professor Child summarizes the Romance ballads as follows:

Three students meet three girls, and attempt some little jests with them. For this the girls have them arrested by an accomodating catchpoll, and they are hanged by a peremptory judge. The youngest student weeps all the time; the eldest tries to console him; their brother serves a king or duke, and if he learns of what has been done will kill judge, constable, and all their scribes. The brother gets word somehow, and comes with all speed, but the three clerks are hanged before he arrives. He gives the town of Tolosa to the flames, the streets run with the blood of the judge, etc.

The German versions, which are also abstracted by Professor Child, differ in some regards which will prove significant:

A youth is lying in a dungeon, condemned to be hanged. His father comes to the town, and they exchange words about the severity of his prison. The father then goes to the lord of the place and offers three hundred florins as a ransom. The ransom is refused: the boy has a gold chain on his neck which will be his death. The father says that the gold chain was not stolen, but the gift of a young lady, who reared the boy as a page or what not. The father, standing by the gallows, threatens revenge, but his son deprecates that: he cares not so much for his life as his mother's grief. Within a bare half year, more than three hundred men pay with their lives for the death of the boy.

Lastly, it will be convenient to have before us the contents of the Scottish ballad:

Two youths go to Paris to study, and have an amour with the mayor's daughters, for which they are thrown into prison and condemned to be hanged. The clerk, their father, comes to the prison, asks them what is their offence, and learns that it is a little dear bought love. He offers the mayor a ransom for their lives, and is sternly refused. The mayor's two daughters beg for their true-loves' lives with the same bad success. The students are hanged, and the father goes home to tell his wife that they are put to a higher school. She [or he] vows to pass the rest of her days in penance and grief.

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A few of the similarities and differences between these three main forms appear in the following tabulation:

	French	German	Scottish
Person	3 scholars	1 boy	2 clerk's sons
Crime	intrigue	has gold chain from girl	intrigue
Death	hanging	hanging	hanging
Aid	too late	ransom offered	ransom offered
Rescuer	brother	father	father
Revenge	curse on city	300 killed; city sinks from sight.	none

From this tabulation it is clear that Doncieux cannot be right in asserting that the German ballad is an imitation of the Scottish. If he were correct, *Das Schloss in Österreich* could not contain any important trait in common with *Les écoliers pendus* which does not appear in *The Clerk's Twa Sons.* But the French and German ballads agree against the Scottish on a crucial point, the revenge inflicted on the city, a point which cannot be reasonably explained as a later and independent addition to the German ballad. Doncieux's final stanza runs as follows:

> Par la ville de [Pontoise] il fait publier [un ban]:
> "Retir'ous, femmes enceintes, et vous, enfans de sept ans!
> Que la ville de Pontoise soit mise à feu et à sang!"

Such a curse is rhetorically ineffective, and popular tradition has substituted the bloody revenge it threatens. This is the case in the Spanish, Catalan, and Italian versions. A similar conversion of the curse into reality, described with incremental repetition, occurs in *Das Schloss in Österreich:*

> Es stund kaum an den dritten Tag,
> Ein Engel kam vom Himmel:
> Man sollt den Knaben vom Gerichte nehmen ab,
> Sonst würde die Stadt versinken.
>
> Es stund kaum an ein halbes Jahr,
> Der Tod der ward gerochen:
> Es wurden mehr denn drei hundert Mann
> Von's Knabens wegen erstochen.

In view of this agreement of French and German tradition we are

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forced to derive the German ballad from something resembling the French ballad and to set the Scottish ballad apart.

This setting apart signifies merely that the Scottish ballad cannot be the source of *Das Schloss in Österreich.* It does not in the least confuse or obscure our understanding of the relations of the three ballads, for the varying Scottish form is readily explicable. A vow of austerities provides a satisfactory termination to the tragedy:

> **And I will spend my days in grief,**
> **Will never laugh nor sing;**
> **There's never a man in Oxenfoord**
> **Shall hear my bridle ring.**[3]

In the headnote to *Clerk Saunders,* which contains a similar passage, Professor Child observes (II, 156) that "The like [vows] are found in *The Clerk's Twa Sons o Owsenford, Bonny Bee Ho'm, Lord Livingston, The Weary Coble o Cargill* and the *Lowlands of Holland.*" In other words this conclusion is a ballad commonplace which for one reason or another has attached itself to our theme. We have here the first of several bits of evidence that *The Clerk's Twa Sons* has been altered in the process of oral transmission.

Conceivably the connection between the Scottish and the German ballads might be the reverse of the one considered, *i. e. The Clerk's Twa Sons* might be descended from *Das Schloss in Österreich.* But a brief examination of the tabulation shows that this cannot be. The French and the Scottish versions are united against the German. The crime in the German ballad has taken new form:

> **Sein Vater zu den Herren ging:**
> **"Gebt uns los den Gefangen!**
> **Dreihundert Gulden wolln wir euch gebn**
> **Wol für des Knaben sein Leben."**
>
> **"Dreihundert Gulden die helfen euch nicht,**
> **Der Knab und der muss sterben:**
> **Er trägt ein güldene Ketten am Hals,**
> **Die bringt ihn um sein Leben."**
>
> **"Trägt er ein güldene Ketten um Hals,**
> **Hat er sie doch nicht gestohlen,**

[3] D 14, cf. A 17 and C 19.

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Hats ihm ein zartes Jungfräulein verehrt,
Darbei hat sie ihn erzogen."

Hardly a trace of the original intrigue remains; as Professor Child remarks, "There is no dear bought love in the case." In view of the French and Scottish versions we may conjecture that the relations of the boy to the *zartes Jungfräulein* were once less honorable and justified the lords' severity. Possibly the chain was concerned in the intrigue. A word jotted on the margin of the 1606 broadside establishes the correctness of this conjecture: the last line

Darbei hat sie ihn erzogen

is glossed "erkoren." This definitely implies an intrigue. Furthermore, "erzogen" may mean "angezogen, angelockt," so that the line would yield the interpretation: "With this [the chain] she led him on." From so faint a trace a hypothetical English or Scottish translator or adapter of the German ballad could not have restored the original situation.

It will also be noticed that there is a curious variation in the number of those who are hanged: the French has three, the Scottish two, and the German one. How this reduction came about appears on closer examination. Near the end of *Les écoliers pendus* the singers found a stumbling block in the number of victims: the phrase "frères germains" (st. 9) has been variously interpreted by the singers either as a cousin and two brothers or as two cousins and a brother. To some such confusion the "twa sons" of the clerk trace back. The German ballad reduces them to one, since no importance attaches to the larger number from the point of view of narrative structure. In this matter, accordingly, the Scottish ballad stands nearer to the French and cannot be derived from *Das Schloss in Österreich.*

We come therefore to the conclusion that in their present forms the German and the Scottish ballads cannot be derived one from another. Yet some connection exists between them, for they agree in so many traits. To define this connection we must study them a little more closely. This closer study makes clear the fact that neither German nor Scottish ballad lacks evidences of contaminations and alterations. Behind both the present texts lie others which cannot be readily defined in all particulars. The German

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ballad which cannot be traced back of the broadside of 1606,[4] shows in this earliest form signs of composite origin, of the typical *Zersingen des Stoffes.* The first stanza

> Es liegt ein Schlösslein in Österreich,
> Ist uns ganz wohl erbauet
> Von Silber und von rothem Gold,
> Mit Marmelstein gemauret.

belongs to several ballads or resembles several other introductions.[5] Ultimately it is connected with a Minnesinger's description of the heavenly mansion on marble columns.[6] Further traces of *Zersungenheit,* or communal recreation, could be brought fully only by detailed comparison with the stock of German ballads. Whether even the treasures of the *Deutsches Volksliedarchiv* would make possible the reconstruction of an earlier form is doubtful; but the existence of such an earlier form, a form antecedent to the present ballad of *Das Schloss in Österreich,* is not a matter of doubt.

Of *The Clerk's Twa Sons o Owsenford* much the same is to be said as has been noted in connection with the German ballad: the Scottish ballad cannot be carried very far back and it implies another and earlier form of the story. There exists no text or allusion older than 1829. Even in the archetype of the present texts there had been inserted an inharmonious stanza. The father returns from his unsuccessful effort to ransom his sons and reports:

> "It's I've putten them to a deeper lair,
> An to a higher schule;
> Yere ain twa sons ill no be here
> Till the hallow days o Yule."

The play upon words involved in hanging and the "higher schule" seemed more worth while than truth to the father's character. The scene of his return has been adapted to the ballad manner:

[4] It is uncertain whether the stanza printed in Forster, *Frische teutsche Liedlein,* 1540, II, No. 77 (ed. Marriage, pp. 107, 241) belonged at this period to the ballad theme.

[5] Marriage, *Souterliedekens,* The Hague, 1922, p. 102; Böhme, *Altdeutsches Liederbuch,* pp. 253-54, No. 158; M. Schäfer, *Volkslieder aus dem Kinzigtale,* Marburg, 1925, p. 10, No. 9, cf. p. 106.

[6] Erk und Böhme, *Deutscher Liederhort,* I, 209.

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His lady sits on yon castle-wa,
Beholding dale an doun,
An there she saw her ain gude lord
Come walkin to the toun.

This commonplace[7] has been inserted in the process of oral transmission. The conclusion of the Scottish ballad is also, as we have seen, a commonplace.

Under such circumstances speculation concerning the common source in *The Clerk's Twa Sons* and *Das Schloss in Österreich* is idle, although some facts are clear. The English and German ballads go back to a common source which was in circulation before 1606. This common source was not *Les écoliers pendus*, which, like the Scottish ballad, is known only from modern oral tradition, but was a modification in which the father of the victims had replaced the brother in the attempt at rescue and in which moreover a ransom was offered and refused. These changes were more or less suggested by the situation and involved in it. Furthermore, they lay ready to hand in the store of traditional ballad materials. For example, *The Maid Freed from the Gallows*, a ballad composed of hackneyed motives and international in its distribution, contains the same episodes of the father and the ransom, although here the father comes in no kindly mood:

"It's hold your hand, dear judge," she says,
"O hold your hand for a while!
For yonder I see my father a coming,
Riding many's the mile.
"Have you any gold, father?" she says,
"Or have you any fee?"[8]

To the conclusion that *The Clerk's Twa Sons* and *Das Schloss in Österreich* are descended from a common source we are thus led to add the final remark that this common source displayed evidences of communal recreation, of *Zersungenheit*.

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[7] See Child, v. 474, col. 2, near the bottom; B. Fehr, *Die formelhaften Elemente in den alten englischen Balladen*, Zossen bei Berlin, p. 69, § 3 a.

[8] A parallel which is in some ways even more apposite occurs in *Hallewyn en het kleyne kind* (Erk und Böhme, I, 224, No. 64). I do not quote it because of the relative unfamiliarity of the Flemish ballad.

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AN EXAMINATION OF PROFESSOR COWLING'S NEW METRICAL TEST

In a recent publication,[1] Professor Cowling has proposed a new metrical test for solving some of the questions of Chaucerian chronology. From a careful observation of Chaucer's treatment of the seven line stanza, Professor Cowling distinguishes two periods—the first extending from about 1372 to 1380, the second from 1380-1 to the period of the *Canterbury Tales*.

Professor Cowling's observations are, in brief, these. The Chaucerian stanza ends normally with a full pause after the seventh line, about ninety per cent of the stanzas have a half-pause or volta, which may be determined by the sense if not by the punctuation and which is recognizable by the breach in the unity of the stanza if not in the narrative itself. This half-pause has no fixed place, usually it comes at the end of a line, infrequently it is found in the middle of a line. The position of the half-pause determines the type of stanza of which the three most graceful are, in the first place, the 4:3 type (i. e. a quatrain followed by a tercet); secondly, the 3:4 type (i. e. a tercet followed by a quatrain); and thirdly, the 5:2 type (i. e. a quintet followed by a couplet). There are several other types which Professor Cowling classes as the "irregular group": the 2:5 (i. e. a couplet followed by a quintet), the stanza with no half-pause, the stanza with two well-defined pauses, the 6:1 and 1:6 types.

Applying this test to the poems written in the seven-line stanza, Professor Cowling finds, furthermore, that while in incontestably early work there is a preponderance of stanzas of the 4:3 type, in that generally conceded to be late there is steady increase in the number of stanzas showing a falling-off of the 4:3 type and a gain in the 3:4 type. Poems therefore, in which the 4:3 type stanzas predominates are placed in Goup A, (i. e.) in the first period extending from 1373 to 1380, those in which the 3:4 type shows frequency of occurence comparable with the 4:3 type he places in Group B, (i. e.) in the period extending from 1380-1 to the period of the Canterbury Tales.

[1] "Note on Chaucer's Stanza," G. H. Cowling, R. E. S., July, 1926.

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The apparent objectivity of such a test makes it worthy of serious consideration. One's faith in its trustworthiness is encouraged by the results of its application to the *Compleynte to Pitie,* the *Clerk's Tale,* and the *Parliament of Foules.* No one questions the early date of the *Compleynte to Pitie* nor the *Clerk's Tale,* and in these Professor Cowling finds 47 and 46.9 per cent 4:3 type against 17.6 and 19.3 per cent 3:4 type. On the other hand, in the *Parliament of Foules*—a poem which is generally believed to have been written in 1382—Professor Cowling discovers that the previously inferior 3:4 type has taken a place beside the 4:3, (i. e.) they both number 28.

The results of further investigation however are less convincing. One is momentarily suprised to find the first four books of the *Troilus* in Group A, and the fifth book in Group B. That would seem to indicate that the fifth book was a latter work than the first four books. (It is interesting to note that Professor Cowling's conclusion here agrees with Mr. Root's recent discoveries in examining the *Troilus* MSS.)

The division of the *Man of Law's Tale* into two parts (i e.) Parts 1 and 2 in Group A and Part 3 in Group B is more disturbing, especially when one examines the prologue which bears unquestionable external evidence of late composition but which, this test applied, agrees rather with Parts 1 and 2 than with Part 3. It seems, however, unjust to attempt to defeat a theory on the basis of a prologue of such few stanzas.

The *Life of St. Cecile* presents a real difficulty. Professor Cowling places the tale in Group B; that one cannot accept. The poetry itself, it seems to me, bears unmistakable evidence of quite early composition. I find nothing in Chaucer so crabbed, involved, immature as the first stanza to the prologue, for example. Moreover, according to my reckoning, the ratio of 4:3 to 3:4 stanzas in the prologue bears the same relation as Professor Cowling's for the Tale in entirety (i. e.), 4:4 in the Prologue against 24:24 in the Tale. Considerable divergence in percentages of the respective 3:4 and 4:3 types would be necessary to outweigh, it seems to me, the conviction of early work here, based upon internal evidence.

Having recognized, therefore, the failure of the text to apply in the case of the *Life of St. Cecile,* one discredits its trust-

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worthiness. For upon closer examination of Professor Cowling's figures one realizes that whereas in all cases Group A shows a noteworthy predominance of 4:3 type against 3:4, in Group B there is the same number of 4:3, 3:4 in every case except two, in *Man of Law* 3 and *Troilus* 5, where the preponderance is of 4:3 type. It is understood Professor Cowling bases his theory not on the predominence of 3:4 type in Group B but on the consistent rise of 3:4 type in what he calls late work. One agrees with him even in contested places,—for example Book 5 of *Troilus* has greater proportion of 3:4 type than any of the other four books. However, one does not feel that herein lies sufficient evidence upon which to found a theory, overthrowing all established notions of chronology.

This opinion is fortified in a more general criticism, to state which I can do no better than quote Professor Cowling's own words. In prefacing the remarks to his final conclusion he says, "I realize that these types of stanzas are not invariably easily recognized and may possibly be differently described by different people." Some stanzas fall naturally and easily into certain types, others might well fall into any of two or three types. This was my own experience. Although my final results agreed more or less closely with Professor Cowling's, I found no one else who agreed with me consistently. Thus a theory which bade fair to be the objective test that we are looking for came to be as subjective, perhaps even more subjective, than any test it aspired to supersede.

Bryn Mawr College. JULIA E. LINEBERGER.

ANOTHER SMOLLETT LETTER

Since the publication of my *Letters of Tobias Smollett* I have been informed, by the courtesy of C. Steedman Blue, Esq., of Ottawa, Canada, of the existence in print of an important letter which was not included in that volume. This letter appeared in *The New Scots Magazine* for December, 1829 (II, 406-407), under the heading *Fragments of Literary Correspondence,* No. V. Because this magazine, which seems to have had a life of only

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two years, is not easily available, and because the letter appears to be of considerable interest, I subjoin the text:

To Mr. John Moore,[1] Surgeon at Glasgow, North Britain[2]

Chelsea, Aug. 19, 1762

Dear Sir,

Your last found me in the country,[3] to which I had retired for the benefit of a purer air; but whether it was too keen for my lungs, or the change of bed produced a fresh cold, I was driven home by the asthma; and soon after I went to Dover with a view to bathe in the sea, and to use the exercise of riding on horseback and sailing in a vessel alternately.[4] There, too, I was disappointed. Immediately after my arrival the weather broke; my asthma returned; my flesh fell away, and my spirits faded; so that I returned very disconsolate, and almost despairing of relief. The journey, however, did me service. I have been at home these eight days, and find myself better than I have been these three years. Indeed, I am at present perfectly well; but how long I shall enjoy this respite I cannot foresee. The civilities you have shown to the three foreigners[5] on my account I shall never forget. They are very full of your praises; and talk much of the hospitality and industry of the people of Glasgow. I am much obliged to you for your kind expressions of concern about my health and fortune—with respect to the last, I have no cause to complain of want of encouragement. The public has always been a liberal patron to me since I commenced author. My difficulties have arisen from my own indiscretion; from a warm temper easily provoked to rashness; from a want of courage to refuse that which I cannot grant without doing injustice to my own family; from indolence, bashfulness and want of economy. I am sensible of all my weaknesses; I have suffered by them severely; but I have not vigour of mind sufficient to reform; and so I must go on at the old rate to the end of the chapter.[6]

Your conjecture is right in supposing I still write some articles in the Critical Review. As I am proprietor[7] of that work I should be a fool to give it up at a time when it begins to indemnify me for all the vexation and loss I have sustained by it; but the laborious part of authorship I have long resigned. My constitution will no longer allow me to toil as formerly. I am now so thin you would hardly know me. My face is shrivelled up by the asthma like an ill-dried pippin, and my legs are as thick at the ancle as at the calf. If we have peace this season, and I live till the Spring, I will endeavour to manage matters so as to be able to make an excursion to the south of France.[8] I made a push to go physician to our army in Portugal; but miscarried. The Secretary of War[9] professed great friendship, and assured me that I might command his best offices. I asked the place; he expressed great concern that I had not applied a week before—he said both the physicians were appointed. This was true; but two other physicians have been appointed since. You see how much I may depend upon the friendship of these

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gentlemen. If my health had held out, I would have buffeted the storms of life without having recourse to the protection of any man—as it is, I hope no misfortune shall ever be able to tame the free-born spirit of

Dear sir,

Your affectionate humble servant,

Tᵃ. Smollett

I offer my best respects to Mrs. Moore

Although the editor of *The New Scots Magazine* encouraged his readers to send in samples of literary correspondence, he gave no clues to the sources of such letters as were sent him. It is therefore almost impossible to trace the MS. of this letter, but I have no doubt of its authenticity, for various reasons which the following notes will make clear.

Note 1. John Moore (1728-1802) was Smollett's life-long friend, and his biographer. Fourteen letters to Moore are printed in the collection referred to above, the one just previous to this being dated June 1, 1762.

Note 2. Because of the popular prejudices against Scots, Smollett, like other compatriots of his, frequently substituted North Briton and North Britain for Scot and Scotland, respectively, thus calling attention to the kinship of the two races. Hence, of course, Smollett's attempt to gain sympathy in his defense of Bute by denominating his periodical *The Briton*—tacitly assuming that he spoke for North and South Britons alike—and hence the peculiarly biting sarcasm of Wilkes's name for his opposition pamphlet, *The North Briton*. It is perhaps significant that Smollett omits from this letter any mention of *The Briton*, which had been running about two months.

Note 3. I cannot identify Smollett's country retreat. He had previously been asked to visit Wilkes in Buckinghamshire, but would hardly be on such friendly terms with that gentleman while the newspaper war between them was raging. In a letter to Dr. Hunter dated October, 1762, from Bath, Smollett mentioned a considerable journey across country. How he managed these trips and kept up the weekly appearance of *The Briton* is a mystery as yet unsolved.

Note 4. In his letter to Moore of June 1, Smollett had written:

I believe I might retrieve my Constitution by a determined course of Exercise and the Cold Bath.

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His predilection for this formula I have already noted (*Letters,* 202) and he was evidently not one to preach what he did not practise.

Note 5. The 'three foreigners" were one Mr. Holt, of Denmark, and two young Norwegians who were making a tour of Great Britain, and whom Smollett had recommended to the good offices of Moore (*Letters,* 74, 76).

Note 6. Smollett's faculty of self-criticism called forth from the editor of *The New Scots Magazine* the following comment:

> This is undoubtedly a very curious and singularly interesting document, the conclusion of the first paragraph, in particular, is painfully instructive, Smollett's manly candour and generous sincerity shine conspicuous throughout the whole epistle.

To which might be added the remark that in its utter frankness as well as in its impartial justice and almost fatalistic resignation this passage anticipates a similar self-drawn portrait of the author in *Humphry Clinker* (Jerry Melford's letter of June 10).

Note 7. Here is the chief importance of this letter: its proof that Smollett was not only the editor but also the proprietor of *The Critical Review,* a fact which has escaped the notice of all his biographers to date, and one which certainly needs consideration in any estimate of his importance in the literary world of his day. The "loss and vexation" which the periodical had cost him undoubtedly refer particularly to the fine and imprisonment which followed his bitter attack, in the *Critical,* on Admiral Knowles. The task of identifying the articles which he was contributing to that magazine in the summer of 1762 remains unaccomplished. Later he wrote to Moore that he had given up all connection with the *Critical Review* before starting on his tour of France (*Letters,* 96), so that his proprietorship had yet a year to run.

Note 8. The "excursion"—Smollett's journey through France and Italy—took place, not in the following spring, but June, 1763.

Note 9. The Secretary of War at the time of this letter was Charles Townshend, the witty and brilliant orator (1725-1767). No doubt Smollett had access to him through their friend in common, Dr. Alexander Carlyle, who had been Townshend's fellow-student at Leyden in 1745. Carlyle's influence with Townshend

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must have been considerable, for in 1758 Townshend gave up his plan of entering Parliament as member for Edinburgh on Carlyle's advice (*D. N. B.*, also Carlyle's *Autobiography*, ed. Burton, 386-390). No doubt Smollett had this disappointment in mind when he wrote, some seven years later, his description of C- T- in *Humphry Clinker*, and after commenting on Townshend's undeniable good "parts," sorrowfully asserted:

> There's no faith to be given to his assertions, and no trust to his promises.—However, to give the devil his due, he's very good-natured, and even friendly when close urged in the way of solicitation.
>
> (Jerry Melford's letter of June 5.)

In justice to Townshend it might obviously be replied that Smollett's description of his own state of health, in this letter, indicates that his appearance was hardly such as to warrant his appointment as surgeon to the army in Portugal. Nevertheless, we have one more to add to the already long list of Smollett's disappointments at the hands of various cabinet officials. It is no wonder that *The Adventures of an Atom* paints English politics and politicians in the darkest colors possible.

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A NOTE ON THE SLEEP-WALKING SCENE.

The sleep-walking scene (*Macbeth*, V, 1) has variously been considered prose, free, and blank verse; in any case, however, one cannot fail to be startled by the sudden occurrence of a totally unexpected, but quite unmistakable rhyme—"The Thane of Fife, had a wife." Should not these words together with the four which follow be considered a bit of rhymed verse inserted in the general matrix, whatever it be, of the scene? If so, the rhyme should be frankly recognized, and the passage set off from the rest both in printing and speaking:

> The Thane of Fife,
> Had a wife:
> Where is she now?

There is evidence to support this view.

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In the first place, what are the objections to the present system of printing which supposes an accidental rhyme? The principal one is that the practice is not Shakespearean. One would be hard put to it to find other cases where a striking rhyme thus occurs unexpectedly in a highly poetic and dramatic scene. We have therefore some reason to assume that the practice was to Shakespeare's ears, as to our own, objectionable. That the rhyme was entirely accidental—an oversight of the Shakespeare who never blotted a line—seems unlikely. It does not seem probable that he would have let such a slip occur in a passage which even he must have recognized as one of his highest flights. There is moreover no reason to believe that the rhyme results from a corrupt text, or that the pronunciation was such that no rhyme was felt in Shakespeare's time.

Positive arguments for the change can be specified under several heads:

(1) Previous suggestion. Capell capitalized *Had* and *Where* showing most likely that he had a feeling for them as beginning lines of verse. A certain Nicholson (in a conjecture which both the Cambridge editors and Furness thought worth perpetuating) offers the stage-direction *Sings,* so that he must definitely have considered the lines a scrap of inserted song.

(2) Punctuation. The Folio inserts a comma after *Fife.* This is superfluous from a grammatical point of view, and its only use seems to be to set off the two phrases more strikingly. This further emphasizes the rhyme, and at the same time creates units which correspond to those of verse.

(3) Analogy with other passages. Shakespeare frequently inserts bits of verse and short rhymed tags in the mouths of his mentally perturbed characters. We have only to remember Ophelia, Lear's fool, and Hamlet and Edgar in their scenes of pretended madness. This practice is so frequent elsewhere that we should have no difficulty in ascribing it to Lady Macbeth here, if it can be made to seem likely from other points of view.

(4) Meter. The passage in question forms an excellent ballad line with the very common use of internal rhyme. Its musical time would be approximately:

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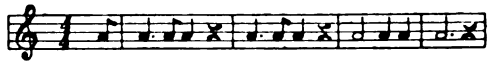

It could best be printed in three lines, as above. Thus arranged it shows clearly the characteristic divisions of the ballad line. One can note in passing also that the dipodic structure of the ballad meter would throw a primary stress upon *had,* thus emphasizing (as is necessary to bring out the meaning) the past tense. The *Battle of Otterburn,* curiously, contains a line which parallels this one in both rhyme and structure:

The Earl of Fife
Withouten strife
He boun him over Solway.

This resemblance may be significant as well as curious, for there is no reason why Shakespeare, like Sidney, should not have felt his heart stirred as with a trumpet over the ballads of that epic struggle.

There seems to me only one serious objection to the conception of the passage as a snatch from a ballad; this is the questionable propriety of having a song about an event so recent (dramatically at least) as Lady Macduff's murder, and, even so, of having Lady Macbeth familiar with it. But this is not insurmountable. Falstaff threatens to have ballads made about Prince Hal; apparently satiric personal songs were common in those days. There is nothing incredible in Shakespeare's having conceived that such songs were composed about the tyrant Macbeth when the dark days began to close around him. Perhaps Lady Macbeth's first knowledge of her husband's blackest deed was gained when a bitter song taunting the tyrant with his crimes came floating up to her window some dark night at Dunsinane. This is fancy, of course; but it shows that Shakespeare had at least a possible channel for his imagination in putting a ballad about Lady Macduff in the mouth of the Queen.

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A NOTE ON *BRUNANBURH*

The familiar OE place-name *Brunanburh* got its fame from the battle fought in its neighborhood and named after it. The battle, in turn, is remembered chiefly because it was made the subject of a spirited and much read English poem. This poem is still much read, by Anglicists and would-be Anglicists at least, yet, curiously enough, the name *Brunanburh* itself is spelt and (presumably) pronounced in no less than three ways by the Anglistic world, which seems unable to make up its mind what to do with it. Thus, Mr. A. J. Wyatt, in his *Reader* (1919), writes the name *Brunnanburh;* the late J. W. Bright, in the fourth edition (1917) of his *Reader,* writes *Brunanburh* (with a short vowel in the first syllable); the late F. Kluge, in his *Lesebuch,* (1902) writes *Brúnanburh.* Kershaw, in 1922, compromises by putting *Brunnanburh* in the text, but *Brunanburh* in title and translation![1] Under the circumstances, it may be worth while to bring together the evidence and try to determine the proper form of the name.

The name under discussion occurs in the *Saxon Chronicle* under the year 937. The evidence of the mss. is conveniently presented in tabular form, as follows:

MS. A (Corpus Christi Cambridge 173)	ymbe Brunnanburh
B (Cotton Tiberius A vi)	embe Brunnanburh
C (Cotton Tiberius B i)	embe Brunnanburh
D (Cotton Tiberius B iv)	ymbe Brunanburh
E (Bodley Laud 636)	to Brunanbyrig
F (Cotton Domitian A viii)	to Brunanbyri

Later and less authoritative spellings are listed by Bosworth in his *Dictionary* s. v., and need not be repeated here.

Obviously there is good authority for both *Brunnanburh* and *Brunanburh,* and the proper form cannot be determined from the MSS. alone. We must resort to etymology, if we wish further light. The analysis of the name is simple enough, of course; Bosworth is only pointing out the obvious when he tells us that *Brunanburh* means "the castle of Bruna." But his analysis sheds no light on the main difficulty, viz., that of determining the proper form of the first element of the name. Was the castle that of Brunna, Bruna or Brūna? Bosworth himself writes *Bruna* (with short *u*)

[1] N. Kershaw, *Anglo-Saxon and Norse Poems.*

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but gives no reason for the faith that is in him. And it is hard to see what reason he could have had, for when we look into the collections of Old English personal names, we soon find out that, of our three possible names, only *Brūna* was in actual use then (even as now).[2] We may conclude, therefore, with some confidence, that the first element of *Brunanburh* was the adjective *brūn* 'brown,' used in weak form as a proper name.[3] Brunanburh, in other words, was Brown's castle.

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A NOTE ON BACON'S INFLUENCE

The literary remains of Lady Grace Gethin (1676-1697) throw a slight bit of light on the question of Bacon's vogue at the end of the seventeenth century. For several years before her death at the early age of twenty, Lady Grace had kept a commonplace book. Her admiring relatives thinking highly of some of the papers in the book arranged them under proper essay heads and published them in 1699 as *Reliquiae Gethinianae;* a second edition appeared in 1700, and a third in 1703.

In a "Premonition to the Reader" and in an "Epistle Dedicatory" J. M. assures the readers that these essays "were written for the most part in haste, were her first Conceptions; and overflowing of her Luxuriant Fancy, noted with her pencil at spare Hours, or as she was Dressing . . . . and set down just as they came into her Mind, as never designed for any other View but her own."

As a matter of fact almost all of the matter of the pieces is Bacon's. The writer or possibly the editor has in at least twenty of the twenty-nine pieces simply shortened, or rearranged or patched together the essays of Bacon into new pieces. Only occasionally are the words of Bacon's sentences changed. Four or five

[2] See Mats Redin, *Studies on Uncompounded Personal Names in Old English*, s. vv. *Brun* and *Bruna* (Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift, 1919).

[3] This etymology is of course implied in Kluge's reading *Brúnanburh*, and it is specifically given in Sigurd Holm's monograph, *Studier öfver Uppsala Universitets Anglosaxiska Myntsamling* s. v. *Bruna* pp. 19 f. (Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift, 1917).

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subjects have been used that Bacon did not write upon, and on the subjects of love and friendship, the wisdom of Bacon did not at all suit the young writer as she shows by using but a sentence or two from his Essays in her long pieces. In the others the material is almost entirely from Bacon and unassimilated.

The circumstances of the publication of this piece seems more significant than the writing of it. If this was the only work left by Lady Grace, as is implied by the editor's preface, we may say that she held Bacon in high esteem to have relied so entirely on him for guidance. That such a volume was published three times between 1699 and 1704 would suggest that the essays of Bacon must have been very much out of the popular mind to have allowed the presumptuous preface to be repeated twice. And no less a person than William Congreve wrote verses praising the work and the mind that produced it.

> Whosoe'er on this Reflects, and then beholds,
> With strict Attention, what this Book unfolds,
> With admiration struck, shall question who,
> So very long could live, so much to know?
> For so compleat the finished piece appears,
> That learning seems combined with length of Years;
> And both improv'd by purest Wit, to reach
> At all that Study, or that Time can teach.

A fainter praise in verses appended to the first edition, 1699, may have been written by Congreve too. They are signed W. C. Further evidence that would weaken any supposition that Bacon has always been well known to literary men, is to be found in Ballard's *Memoirs of British Ladies* (1775). In a memoir of Lady Grace Gethin the learned antiquary says:

> No one seems to have had a greater regard and esteem for learning, or to know the advantage of accruing from thence better than she. "Reading (says she) serves for delight, for ornament, and for ability . . . . ."

And Ballard goes on to quote as Lady Gethin's twenty of the best known of Bacon's lines in the essay "Of Studies."

And perhaps of the same significance, are the marginal annotations of the original owner of the first edition of the *Reliquiae*, now in the British Museum. The reader has recognized and marked ten or fifteen passages that are verbatim from Bacon; many times that many should have been identified.

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TWO NOTES ON HEINE'S *HARZREISE*

The generous reception accorded the "Notes on Heine"[1] by Elster in the second edition of *Heine's Werke* may perhaps serve as a justification of the additional material herewith offered.

I

The reference contained in the passage Elster III, 360, line 27 has always seemed to me too specific to be casual and haphazard in character. The lines read:

"Ein gemütlicher Mecklenburger, der seine Nase im Punschglase hatte und selig lächelnd den Dampf einschnupfte, machte die Bemerkung: es sei ihm zumute, als stände er wieder vor dem Theaterbüfett in Schwerin!"

A passage from a Mecklenburg writer, Heinrich Seidel, serves to explain the reference. In his *Reinhard Flemmings Abenteuer zu Wasser und zu Lande*[2] we read:

Als wir dann am Beginn der Osterferien mit ihm in die Hauptstadt fuhren, bestanden wir die Prüfung denn auch mit Leichtigkeit, was ihn so erfreute, dasz er mit uns in die Konditorei ging, wo wir in Othellos, Schaumtorten und Brauselimonade eine wahre Orgie feierten, die, wie ich fürchte, unpädagogisch war. Am Abend gingen wir beide zum ersten Male mit ihm ins Theater, wo zu seinem Leidwesen kein klassisches Stück, sondern die Rädersche Zauberposse "Robert und Bertram" oder "Die lustigen Vagabunden" gegeben wurde, und spendierte uns im Zwischenakt ein Glas köstlichen Punsches, wofür das Theaterbüfett berühmt war.

The 'Hauptstadt' is Schwerin.

II

At the end of the same paragraph of the *Harzreise* (Elster III, 361) occur the words: "Aber der Schweizer weinte und küsste zärtlich meine Hand und wimmerte beständig: 'O Bäbeli! O Bäbeli!'" 'Bäbeli' is, of course, *Koseform* of 'Barbara,' but I am not aware that the name has a sufficiently specific Swiss color-

[1] *Modern Language Notes* XXIII, 25-28 and 39-43. Elster's attitude was the more gratifying since the *Insel-Ausgabe* had passed the "Notes" by in silence. Thus Petersen still styles a literal translation from Ossian a "Parodie des Ossianischen Stiles" (*Insel-Ausgabe* IV, 404).

[2] Heinrich Seidel's *Gesammelte Schriften*, Cotta, XVIII, 65.

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ing to make its use in the mouth of the Schweizer characteristic. Perhaps a new light may be shed on the passage by a reference to the Swiss folksong "Dusle und Babele." It is found in Herder's *Volkslieder* (Suphan XXV, 201), from which it also made its way into *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* (Hempel I, 314 f.). We may safely assume that Heine was familiar with the ballad through this latter source. For our purpose it will suffice to quote the first, fifth, and sixth stanzas:

Es hätt' e' Buur e' Töchterli,
Mit Name hiesz es Babeli,
Es hätt' e' paar Zöpfle, sie sind wie Gold,
Drum ist ihm auch der Dusle hold.

. . . . . .

Der Dusle lief wohl wieder heim,
Heim zu sin'm liebe Babelein:
"O Babele, liebes Babele mi',
Jetzt hab i' mi' dungen in Flandern 'ni!"

Das Babele lief wohl hinters Huus,
Es grient ihm schier sin' Aeugele uus:
"O Babele, thu doch nit so sehr,
I' will ja wieder kommen zu dir!"

Heine's use of the reference would, accordingly, be akin to that of the Ossianic passages, Elster III, 361-363. Goethe's characterization of the poem in his notice of the *Wunderhorn* in the *Jenaische Allgemeine Literaturzeitung* is as follows: 'Köstlicher Abdruck des schweizer-bäurischen Zustands und des höchsten Ereignisses dort zwischen zwei Liebenden." (*Jubiläums-Ausgabe* XXXVI, 256).

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A NOTE ON THE POET OF THE *TRUTZ-NACHTIGALL*

Lovers of the poetry of Friedrich von Spee will be pleased to find a worthy portrait of him in Jakob Wassermann's latest novel, *Der Aufruhr um den Junker Ernst.* The author follows closely the historical records and traditions of the poet and very effectively quotes from the *Trutz-Nachtigall* in the course of the story.

Of previous treatments in fiction of the first man to protest

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effectively against witch-burning in Germany there have been a number: Joseph Pape, *Friedrich von Spee, ein deutsches* Trauerspiel, 1857; Franz von Seeburg, *Der Hexenrichter von Würzburg,* 1883; Antonie Haupt, *Hexe und Jesuit,* 1893. Of these the first stresses more the patriotic, the latter two the religious sides of the hero; while Wassermann, standing above the quarrels of parties, deals with him in his broadly humanitarian aspect. Though he appears as broad-minded and modern in comparison with the fanatics of his day, yet the poet of 17th century erotic religious lyrics is portrayed as a true child of his time as far as dogma is concerned. The former fictional presentations of von Spee are pretty generally forgotten, but Wassermann's delicate work of imaginative art appears to be wholly worthy of its subject.

For Wassermann this historical-psychological novel seems to be a return to the manner of his earliest work, *Die Juden von Zirndorf.* The psycho-analytical dissection of the witch-burners that serves as a foil to the hero's broad humanity is in line with Wassermann's *Tendenz* as a prophet against intolerance and for a higher spirituality.

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A POSSIBLE SOURCE FOR ROUSSEAU'S NAME *ÉMILE*

In his *Confessions* Rousseau states that he read La Bruyère and Plutarch in the winter of 1719, at the height of his first enthusiasm for reading, and tells the anecdote of the *réchaud* to prove the impression left upon his mind by Plutarch. La Bruyère's stamp may be quite as deep, for while in love with Mme de Warens ten years later he again read this moralist preferred by her.

When Rousseau was tutor to M. de Mably's scapegrace children and the first idea of a treatise on education came to him, did he compare his wretched situation with that of the famous La Bruyère, tutor to the grandson of Condé? He certainly liked to console his pride by such comparisons. And did he think of the great Condé and La Bruyère's portrait of this "natural" genius, when he was seeking a suggestive name for the child of nature he

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wished to portray in his pedagogical romance? For La Bruyère's portrait of Condé runs:

> *Æmile* était *né* ce que les plus grands hommes ne deviennent qu'à force de règles, de méditations, et d'exercices. Il n'a eu dans *ses premières années* qu'à remplir des *talents qui lui étaient naturels*, et qu'à *se livrer à son génie*. Il a fait, *il a agi, avant que de savoir*, ou plutôt il a su ce qu'il n'avait jamais appris. [Italics mine.]

Plutarch may have combined with La Bruyère in Rousseau's mind to give him the name *Émile*, for we find in the *Life of Paulus Æmilius:*

> He was distinguished for not attaching himself to the studies usual with the young men of mark of that age . . . and for his children . . . he not only procured masters to teach them grammar, logic and rhetoric, but also preceptors in modelling and drawing, managers of horses and dogs and instructors in field sports, all from Greece.[1]

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TWO LEXICAL NOTES

[The Editors of *Modern Language Notes* have learned with deep sorrow of the death of Professor Emerson, on March 13, 1927, at Ocala, Florida. The proof of this article was read by Professor Walter Graham.]

I. *Lake* 'pit, grave.'

Referring to W. D. Briggs, "On the Meaning of 'Lake' in Marlowe's Edward II" (*Mod. Lang. Notes,* XXXIX, 437, Nov. 1924), I had intended earlier to call attention to the more widespread use of the term in Middle English as explaining its natural retention in the early Modern period. For example, Maetzner gives under *lac* (*lak, lake*) not only the usual meaning "1. stehendes Wasser," but "2. Höhle, Grube, Gruft" with several examples, some not recorded in the *NED.*

But the further history of the word in the meaning Professor Briggs notes is the real point of interest. Latin *lacus* perpetu-

[1] I have used the Clough translation, not having an Amyot at hand.

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ated its more common sense of 'pool, lake,' but seems to have acquired or at least strengthened a secondary meaning of 'pit, hole,' finally 'grave' from another source. Greek λάκκος, which meant primarily 'a pit, hole' and only secondarily 'a pond,' occurs 53 times in the Septuagint version of the Old Testament, according to the *Concordance* of A. Trommius. It had meanings of "1. fovea, it. cisterna" as in the Joseph story of *Gen.* 37, 19 ff.; "5. domus fovea, i. e. carcer" as in the Daniel story of the den of lions (*Dan.* 6, 7 ff.) and in other places; "8. perditio, it. fimis" as in *Jer.* 38, 6 and four other places in the same chapter. Now the Vulgate sometimes translated Greek λάκκος with lat. *lacus*, as *in lacum leonum* of *Dan.* 6, 7 and seven other places in the same chapter, as well as in the five examples of the Greek word in *Jer.* 38. Other writers used *lacus* for the Greek word in other places, as Sulpicius Severus who, in his *Hist. de Josepho*, has *in lacum demissus* where the Vulgate of *Gen.* 37, 19 (20) has *in cisternam veteram*. On this use Ducange quotes St. Jerome as explaining "Lacum, non stagnum . . . sed cisternam. Graec. λάκκος est fovea, fossa." This makes clear the *NED's* "† 3. (after Vulgate *lacus*) A pit; a den (of lions); occas, a grave. Obs.," and its quotation from Wyclif, illustrating *lake* as 'dungeon, prison.' The passage is that of *Jer.* 38, 6 already referred to, and reads: "Thei putte down Jeremye in cardes and into the lake." Thus in part at least, and no doubt largely, the medieval Latin *lacus* and its OF. *lac*, Engl. *lake*, came to have a common medieval meaning of 'pit, hole,' even 'grave,' which probably would not have been so prominent but for the influence of the Septuagint and its λάκκος.

Let me add one of the most interesting of the Middle English passages using *lake* 'pit, hole, grave,' and one not hitherto cited in the dictionaries. It occurs in the Laud MS. of the *Debate of the Body and the Soul*, where lines 319-20 (Linow's edition, p. 53) read,

> I miȝte have ben in erþe kest,
> And ileiȝen and iroted in a lake.

Here the three other MSS. have *pit* (*pitte, put*) for *lake*, the Auchinleck reading,

> And seþþen into a pit y-cast,
> Unto a nadder or to a snake.

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Thus three of the four MSS. of the poem gloss the word in Laud and confirm in an unmistakable way the use of *lake* as 'pit, hole.'

II. *Berm*—the New Meaning.

Although my investigation of the new use of *berm* seemed adequate I find a slight change must be made. From my informants I understood the new meaning of *berm* to be (*Mod. Lang. Notes,* XLI, 125) the part of the road between the ditch on either side and legal limit of the highway. I find that it is rather the strip between the road proper and the ditch. Suppose as before that the road is legally of sixty feet, with a space between the drainage ditches of 30 feet. The berm is most clearly evident if part of the 30 feet, say 20 feet, is paved. There will then be left on either side between pavement and ditch a strip of 5 feet. This is the berm. It is often built up to the level of the pavement and may be used as roadway in an emergency. My attention to the error in the previous explanation was called by my friend Professor J. S. Kenyon of Hiram College, and further investigation shows that he was right.

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PARROT AND PAJAROTE

The etymon of the English word "parrot" is usually regarded as the French proper name *Perrot,* a diminutive or derivative of *Pierre,* a name given to the house sparrow. Against this, Murray, in the *New English Dictionary,* rightly objects that ". . . the sense of 'parrot' is not recorded for French *Perrot,*" and furthermore ". . . the name *Perrott* does not appear as a man's name in 16th century English so that points of contact are wanting."

"Parrot" first came into the English language about 1525[1] at

[1] John Skelton uses the word quite often in his poem "Speke, Parrot" as for example in the line, "Passe forthe, *Parotte,* towardes some passenger" (line 301). This poem seems to have been written about 1525.

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the time when Spanish explorers and adventurers were bringing to the old world, besides gold and silver, strange and exotic plants and animals from the new. It does not seem improbable that the American parrot, which was much larger and quite different from the *lorro* (Arabic *lori*) or the *papagayo* (Arabic *babagá*) introduced by Moorish conquerors into Andalusia, was called simply a *pajarote* = "rather large bird" (Latin *passer*, or rather the *passar* mentioned in the Appendix Probi, with the augmentative suffix *-ote* added). English sailors and freebooters who came into frequent contact with the Latin masters of the tropical Americas may have taken over both the Spanish name and the bird and so have remade *pajarote* into some conformity with English phonology.

Not only do the semantics invite the acceptance of this etymon but the phonetic changes present little difficulty. The stress on the Spanish penult would regularly shift to the initial syllable in English as is common with many romance trisyllables (note Quíxote from *Quijóte*).[2] The pronunciation of Spanish "j" regularly becomes "h" in English (note "hoosgow" from *jusgado*) as any one can testify who has attempted to teach the pronunciation of jota to English speaking students.[3] This "h" preceded by accented "a" and followed by a vowel of the same quality, being in a precarious position would easily be lost (note for example the word "Graham"),[4] resulting in a fusion of the two vowels with compensative lengthening of the "a" and "r." The spelling of "parrot" with the double

[2] Otto Jespersen, *Modern English Grammar*, Heidelberg, 1922. Vol. I, paragraph 5.74.

[3] This is assuming, of course, that the guttural pronunciation of the Spanish sibilant existed as early as 1525. Professor J. D. M. Ford ("The Old Spanish Sibilants," page 157, in vol. VII of *Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, Boston, 1900) says that, "The new pronunciation must have begun at least several decades before the end of the 16th century. In fact, Velasco, "Orthographia y Pronunciacion Castellana" describes as early as 1582 what must certainly be regarded as a guttural sound." Also, as Professor Ford observes, the conservative nature of grammarians made them loth to record anything in the nature of an innovation. Therefore it does not seem illogical to suppose that, sporadically at least, there may have been examples of the guttural pronunciation as early as 1525 in the vulgar speech.

[4] Otto Jespersen, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, paragraph 13.63.

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"r" may have resulted from this lengthening or it may have been an attempt to render the strong Spanish single "r" with the double "r" orthography in English. As to the final "e" of *pajarote* its position, when coming into the English, three syllables from the English stress, would make its pronunciation so weak that its loss would be expected. In this connection it is very interesting to observe the earliest variants of the spelling of this word;—"parrote," "parotte," "parate," which resemble the Spanish *pajarote* even more. Here the retention of the final "e" may indicate its pronunciation at an early date showing a possible attempt to conform to the Spanish.

Should this explanation of the etymology of "parrot" prove acceptable it might also be extended to "parakeet." Italian *parochetto,* a diminutive of *parroco* = "parson" has been suggested as the origin of this word on the analogy of *moineau* a diminutive of *moine* which has furnished the French name for sparrow. Even more gifted imagiations have attempted to trace it to the diminutive *paruchetto* from Italian *parruca* meaning "peruke" or "periwig" in reference to the plumage on the head of certain rare species. But here again the variants;—"paraquito," "paraquitto," "parakito," "parakeeto," "paraqueto," "paraqueeto," seem to suggest Spanish *pajaroquito,* this time the diminutive of *pájaro* instead of the augmentative, as the correct etymon.

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REVIEWS.

The Literature of the Middle Western Frontier. By RALPH LESLIE RUSK, Ph. D., Associate Professor of English in Columbia University. Two volumes. New York, Columbia University Press, 1925. Columbia University Studies in English and Comparative Literature [No. 37]. Pp. xiii + 457, vi + 419.

Professor Rusk's two solid volumes present a valuable and much needed survey of literary culture in the Middle West from its beginnings in the eighteenth century to the year 1840, with which the pioneer period is arbitrarily regarded as coming to an end. By the Middle West, the author means the nine states of Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota. The publications which he reviews include books of travel and exploration, newspapers and magazines, controversial writings mainly devoted to religious or political propaganda, historical and scientific works, educational text-books, poetry, prose fiction, and the drama. He also gives some account of the schools, colleges, and libraries of this region, and in a chapter on the vogue of British and Eastern writers, considers the literary taste of the pioneers.

Although the total mass of printed material examined in this work is far greater and, on the whole, richer than the uninstructed reader would suppose, yet its value lies, not in the emergence of forgotten masterpieces, but rather, as the author observes, in "the record it contains of the growth of civilization during a unique epoch." With the picturesque setting and the cultural implications of that epoch, Professor Rusk contrives to keep everywhere in touch, in spite of the enormous amount of statistical matter he is compelled to digest. Beginning with the establishment of French trading posts in upper Louisiana in the seventeenth century, the author traces the successive stages of colonization until the year 1840, when the census showed a population of four million in this region, with 354 newspapers, 385 printing houses, and 48 colleges. The metropolis of the Middle West at that period was the city of Cincinnati, which had grown in forty years from 750 inhabitants to some 50,000, and which since 1825 had supplanted Lexington as the principal seat of western culture. Cincinnati had, indeed, become one of the great publishing centres of the country, "a glorious place," Harriet Martineau called it in 1837.

Professor Rusk enables us to see the troubled beginnings of this

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cultural grandeur,—the difficultes of frontier journalism, for example, when the supply of paper was so uncertain that one's newspaper might at any time have suddenly to reduce its size, or temporarily to suspend publication, and when payment for subscriptions was accepted in almost any commodity, if only clients could be induced to pay at all.

The literary periodicals, we find, led an even more precarious existence than the newspapers. In spite of the efforts of cultivated and public-spirited men like Judge James Hall, Timothy Flint, and D. W. Gallagher, the years from about 1824 on are strewn with the wreckage of short-lived *Reviews, Mirrors, Gazettes, Journals,* and *Monthly Magazines* that were always merging with one another, collapsing, and recombining. Very few of them could keep afloat for more than two or three years, in spite of earnest appeals to sectional pride. The most creditable of these publications seems to have been the well-known *Western Messenger,* edited for a time by James Freeman Clarke, which managed to survive for six years, and which printed original articles not only from western contributors, but from Emerson, Holmes, and other New England authors.

The output of fiction by western writers before 1840 was surprisingly scanty considering the abundance of material at hand and the example set by Cooper in the East. Only half a dozen names are of much importance, notably those of James Hall and Timothy Flint, who labored incessantly in their magazines, novels, tales, sketches, and poems, to open the eyes of western readers to the romantic aspects of the life around them, and with some attempt, in which they were not completely successful, at an accurate picture of that life.

Writers of verse were more numerous, but not more successful. Professor Rusk prints some specimens of river and camp-meeting songs, he recalls from oblivion the monstrous epics of Richard Emmons and Thomas H. Genin, and he commemorates the mostly mediocre and imitative verse of Gallagher, Whiting, Schoolcraft, the satirical Peirce, and a few others.

A painstaking chapter on the drama, the result of much searching of forgotten newspapers, magazines, city directories, and municipal records, makes a rather minute study of the theatres and theatrical companies of the larger towns. Professional actors began to appear in Lexington as early as 1810, and before 1840 western audiences had the opportunity of seeing players of the calibre of Junius Brutus Booth, Edwin Forrest, Charles Kean, and Ellen Tree. Western plays on western subjects were not numerous, but a few, among them Emmons's grotesque *Tecumseh* and Mrs. Hentz's melodramatic *Lemorah,* are described.

Professor Rusk's task suggested itself to him, he says, after

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reading W. T. Coggleshall's *Poets and Poetry of the West* and W. H. Venable's entertaining *Beginnings of Literary Culture in the Ohio Valley*. The scope of Professor Rusk's undertaking is too comprehensive to permit a leisurely, gossiping narrative such as Venable's, but he contrives, nevertheless, to touch rapidly upon a considerable number of picturesque personages and enterprises. We catch glimpses of George Rapp, the eccentric director of the communistic colony at Harmonie, Indiana; Mike Fink, king of river outlaws; Billy Earthquake and the ring-tail roarers from Salt River; Lorenzo Dow, the patriarchal evangelist; the imposter, John Dunn Hunter; that learned and turbulent egotist, Constantine Rafinesque, of Transylvania University; the pedantic founders of the "Catholepistemiad, or University of Michigania"; Captain John Cleves Symmes, who was obsessed by the curious notion that the earth is open at the poles, hollow, and filled with a series of habitable concentric spheres, and who sought in vain for "one hundred brave companions" to join him in exploring this interior mechanism; Professor William Holmes McGuffey, of Miami University, who began in 1836 to publish his amazingly popular Eclectic Readers, which aimed, he wrote, "to combine simplicity with sense, elegance with simplicity, and piety with both." Circuit riders, "spitting, gouging, and dirking" desperadoes, Indian traders, French explorers, German settlers, and sneering British tourists all play their part in the cultural or anti-cultural influences which the book studies.

Professor Rusk's scholarly, well organized, and very readable work is indispensable to the student of American literary history, for no other single publication covers anything like the field he surveys. The greater part of the second volume is taken up with a bibliography, supplementing the numerous bibliographical references in foot-notes, of "works published before 1841 either by citizens of the Middle West or by travellers who described the Middle West from their own observation." There is an excellent index. The first imprint has been corrected and the book is now in its second printing.

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Some New Light on Chaucer. Lectures Delivered at the Lowell Institute. [1924]. By John Matthews Manly. Henry Holt, 1926.

Thanks to the fullness with which *The* (Boston) *Evening Transcript* (January 28 to February 9, 1924) reported the Lowell Lectures of three years ago, many of us who did not hear the lec-

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tures had learned enough of their content to have our interest keenly stirred in their promised publication. With the exception of two of the lectures ("Chaucer's Purpose in Writing Sir Thopas" and "The Origin and Nature of the Griselda Story"), the whole text is now before us in *Some New Light on Chaucer*. The printed version, quite happily, preserves the pleasantly familiar style and tone of spoken discourse; and, despite the mass of personal and historical detail with which the book is illustrated, it still is not to be regarded, the author prays, as "a formal treatise for experts and . . . most assuredly not a text-book setting forth views that are to be taught students as established facts." The reader who is not a special Chaucer student will, without doubt, find the book interesting and instructive; while the expert student of Chaucer will find in it a fuller exposition of the direction which Professor Manly's Chaucer studies have for some time followed than in any previously published work of his or in that of any of his pupils.

Professor Manly is concerned, above all, to combat the long held conception of Chaucer which rests primarily upon three dominant assumptions: (1) that Chaucer, being the son of a vintner, must have been quite poor and only by "hap or cas" first became the favourite of a ducal household; (2) that the offices he held and the employments he obtained were bestowed upon him by princely or royal favor as a reward for his poetical skill; (3) that because he is no day-book chronicler of the large social and political events of his time, he is an impersonal writer who in his poetry stood aloof from references to persons or conditions of his age and drew in the "Prologue" to the *Canterbury Tales* a series of characters to represent typically the passing show of a year somewhere about 1390.[1] This interpretation of Chaucer Professor Manly strongly opposes. He holds it to be a fairer and more reasonable view, in the light of the meaning he finds in the facts of Chaucer's life as we have for some time known them and of the new evidence which he and his skillful collaborator Professor Rickert have unearthed, to assume that Chaucer's employments came to him primarily on account of "his possession of special qualifications for the work" which he undertook, that his family was not so mean as we have been inclined to rate it, and that behind "his most vital and successful sketches lay the observation of living men and women."

In regard to the unsufficiency of the poetical patronage motive to

[1] Expressed, it may be added, as early as Speght: "Under the Pilgrimes, being a certaine number, and all of differing trades, he comprehendeth all the people of the land, and the nature and disposition of them in those days; namely, giuen to deuotion rather of custome than of zeale. In the Tales is shewed the state of the Church, the Court, and the Countrey." (*The Argument to the Prologue.*)

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explain Chaucer's advancement, it may be ventured to remark that we have precious little evidence to show that his eminence as a poet was recognized in the period of his greatest worldly activity.[2] The "worship" of the next century is another matter. References to Chaucer in his day come from personal, business, legal records, the sort of evidence that the world considers it important to preserve. Lack of reference to his poetical reputation does not, of course, indicate at all that Chaucer was not highly regarded as a poet and perhaps rewarded, quite justly, for his achievement. But we have been, perhaps, too eager to assume that because his high accomplishment should have been recognized it must have been appreciated; and since we know that Chaucer was a man of some consequence in the practical world, we have been eager also to explain away his position by assuming that his offices were largely sinecures which he had to beg for as crumbs from his patrons. Professor Hulbert has long ago made it unsafe longer to depend very greatly upon John of Gaunt's favor as an explanation of Chaucer's successful career.[3]

Professor Manly's interpretation of Chaucer's career raises, but does not unduly exalt, the financial and social position of Chaucer's family, and increases the importance of his employments. Though proof of Speght's report that the poet had been a student of law in the Inner Temple can perhaps never be had, Professor Manly removes the two arguments most frequently brought against accepting the tradition: the inability of Chaucer's father to provide the means for an education so costly and the unfitness as a witness of Master Buckley who gave the information to Speght. Chaucer held office and associated with men of position upon the right of his own practical ability and of his training and skill in handling affairs. His business carried him of necessity, not only to France

[2] Deschamps' *Ballad Addressed to Geoffrey Chaucer;* Usk's (c. 1387) "the noble philosophical poete . . . ;" Gower's reference in the first version of his *Confessio Amantis.*

The eighteenth century especially liked to believe that the poet in former times was highly rewarded for his devotion to the Muses. An emphatic but out-of-the-way expression of this view of Chaucer may be found in John Entick's *Proposal for Printing by Subscription the Works of That Most Learned, Facetious, and Ancient English Poet, Sir Geoffrey Chaucer, Knt., Poet Laureat,* London, 1736: "Tho' it is a very uncommon Example to see the World brought to take a true Idea and just Praise of a Writer in his Life time; our Author gain'd so much the affections of his Contemporaries that, besides the wearing the Laurel in three different Reigns (Hen. IV, V, VI), and the Honour of Knighthood, he was solicited to, and favour'd with a Marriage in Alliance to the great Duke of Lancaster John of Gaunt, *as a Reward of his Works.*" Though the chronology has been corrected in modern expression, the underlying conception in the lines quoted from the despised Entick has actively persisted.

[3] Chaucer's *Official Life,* University of Chicago Press, 1912.

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and Italy, where we have tried to track him, but to many parts of England, where before we have not greatly sought to follow him; much to Kent (if he did not for a time live there); to Bath in the west; to Norfolk in the east; to Holderness in Yorkshire. In his journeys about England he had the opportunity of learning local conditions and of becoming acquainted with local characters. Details of the place and personal information which he gained in this way he used as a background for some of his tales and for many of his characters in such a way that in the small group for which Professor Manly assumes Chaucer primarily wrote the real persons and actual places would be readily recognized. Thus he holds that Chaucer in many instances "had living models for his portraits," with many of whom he can "be shown to have had definite personal contacts."

It can not lie within the plan of this review to present in detail and to examine fully the evidence which Professor Manly offers for the suggested identifications with actual persons and places of many of the characters and scenes of the *Canterbury Tales*. This may be done adequately in no fewer words than the book itself employs. To present a mere catalogue of the possible identifications would, in its detachment, be quite unfair, since it would throw the emphasis just where Professor Manly warns us not to place it and where a reader with pre-formed opinions may, despite the warning, still wrongly put it; it would be to stake all upon the turn of an argument whether it had been "proved," to take one case, whether the Man of Law's portrait was drawn out of the qualities and activities of Thomas Pynchbek, Sergeant of the Law. The aim of the investigation as a whole cannot be so narrowly confined by a demand for completeness of proof in any single suggested personal identification (though some of them can scarcely be avoided); it is rather to collect out of the records and to interpret all the information which can be obtained as to such persons and places as Chaucer in his natural associations would likely know and his intimate audience recognize. So much of this sort of information Professor Manly has collected that his general thesis is put beyond the explanation of coincidence, which might be invoked if the question concerned only one or two of the characters.

But that he has placed beyond doubt all the personal relations which he suggests between Chaucer and his contemporaries and his characters is a conclusion which Professor Manly does not ask us to accept. He is more than honest in the carefulness of his statement to admit the limitations of his method and the incompleteness of his investigations. Some of the suggestions surely are, as he contends, "well supported by the evidence, others more doubtful, but . . . not uninteresting or unprofitable." The im-

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portance of the following words from Professor Manly's Preface goes so far beyond their use as an explanation of his method in the present volume that they deserve quotation and careful consideration: "We shall never succeed in the interpretation of the past without the constructive imagination. Facts are dead and useless until we try to ascertain what they mean, and I do not see why those most familiar with the facts should leave the interpretation of them to others. Undoubtedly all of us do, privately and with our intimate friends, form and try out hypotheses of interpretation for which we have often scanty evidence. The main value of such hypotheses is that they make us alert to see the significance of facts which previously had passed unobserved or uninterrupted." Use of "the constructive imagination" does not, of course, necessarily imply that we shall chase the phantom of a personal allusion in a poet's every verse; but even the timid and the literal cannot rightly deny the possibilities of hidden meaning and covert allusion until the circumstances to which the poet's words may refer have been thoroughly canvassed.

A sane and reserved use of such an oblique method of approach to the facts of Chaucer's life and their possible relation to some of his poetry Professor Manly gives us in his Lowell Lectures. His method is capable of further development by investigators of sound judgment and deep experience, but it should be strictly avoided by the intrepid special advocate with a lawyer's method of making the very best case possible for his client, though the lawyer's client be guilty—the scholar's thesis feeble.

The conviction that Chaucer used material of his own experience in his poetry more fully than we have suspected can not be easily put aside. Will it be altogether unprofitable or quite contrary to the warning I have just offered the overzealous special pleader if I should add here a speculation as to whether Chaucer had certain aspects of his own career in mind when he caused Placebo in *The Merchant's Tale* to expound in personal terms the courtier's secret of success? In that tale, it will be recalled sixty-year old Januarius, in search of a wife "not passe twenty yeer, certayn," seeks advice from his friends Justinus and Placebo in regard to his marriage. Placebo is too wise a servitor to offer any counsel contrary to his lord's known will; for, says Placebo:

> For brother myn, of me tak this motyf,
> I have now been a *court-man* al my lyf.
> And god it woot, though I unworthy be,
> I have stonden in ful greet degree
> Abouten lordes of ful heigh estaat;
> Yet hadde I never with noon of hem debaat.
> I never hem contraried, trewely;
> I woot wel that my lord can more than I.
> What that he seith, I holde it ferme and stable;

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I seye the same, or elles thing semblable.
A ful gret fool is any conseillour,
That serveth any lord of heigh honour,
That dar presume, or elles thenken it,
That his conseil sholde passe his lordes wit.

—*Merchant's Tale*, 247-260.

The speech is dramatically appropriate to the occasion; in no sense is it forced into the situation; but the form in which a fiction-character's thought is expressed may be summoned from or colored by the author's own experiences even when it is not dragged into the narrative. The matter is, moreover, a commonplace piece of advice for social conduct. The form of the expression, however, is directly personal. Contrast with it the cold, formal manner in which Dame Prudence gives an earlier (in Chaucer chronology) version of the same bit of wisdom:

But, nathelees, if thou wene sikerly that the biwreying of thy conseil to a persone wol make thy condicioun to stonden in the bettre plyt, thanne shaltou tellen him thy conseil in this wyse./ First, thou shalt make no semblant whether thee were lever pees or werre, or this or that, ne shewe him nat thy wille and thyne entente; / for trust wel, that comunly thise conseillours been flatteres, / namely the conseillours of grete lordes; / for they enforcen hem alwey rather to speken plesante wordes, enclyninge to the lordes lust, than wordes that been trewe or profitable.

—*Tale of Melibeus*, 2338-2342.

The conventional material of Dame Prudence's speech Chaucer may be interpreting in Placebo's by a reflection of it upon the mirror of his own experiences. Realistically true as biographical detail or not, the text of the fifteen lines quoted from Placebo's speech may well describe the line of conduct which Chaucer followed successfully in his business and social relations with men of high office and great family.

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The Prelude by William Wordsworth. Edited from the Manuscripts with Introduction, Textual and Critical Notes, by ERNEST DE SELINCOURT. New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch, 1926, pp. lxii + 614. $8.50.

The importance of this volume needs no emphasis; the facts speak for themselves. It contains hundreds of hitherto unpublished lines by Wordsworth; it sheds much light on his development and his methods of composition; and it offers a wealth of material for the study of one of the greatest of long English poems.

The new edition is based upon five almost complete and eight

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fragmentary manuscripts of *The Prelude* which came into the possession of Mr. Gordon Wordsworth, the poet's grandson, some five years ago. The task of editing has been long and extremely difficult principally because the manuscripts (eight pages of which are reproduced in photograph) have been not only crossed out and pasted over but interlined and rewritten in a hand that is often almost illegible. Furthermore, one notebook has been thoroughly soaked in the rain. But the difficulties have been overcome and a rare opportunity has been grasped with rare skill, accuracy, insight, judgment, and taste. It is seldom that a scholarly work demands such varied abilities and still more seldom are the demands so fully met. The two main texts (those of 1805-6 and of 1850) are given on opposite pages with the additions and variants from the other manuscripts printed below. The terse, meaty introduction describes the manuscripts and explains their relation to one another, disentangles the chronology of the composition of the work, discusses the revisions from the standpoints of style and of ideas, and considers to what extent they are improvement. The one hundred and ten pages of notes not only comment on the text, explain its meaning, and point out many borrowings, but throw new light on "the topography . . . on the sources of the poet's inspiration, and . . . on the history of his mind in that obscure but highly important period of its development,—the years 1793-7." The student will find them "soul-animating strains—alas too few." It seems absurd to wish for more notes and at the same time to complain of the weight and bulk of the volume but might not these have been reduced by the use of lighter, though still opaque, paper? And should not some means, such as a line in the margin, have been used to indicate passages that are practically identical in the two chief texts?

Mr. De Selincourt has not, of course, seen everything that is to be found in his material—a rich mine in which many others are already at work and which is bound to yield further important results—but he has seen a great deal. One of the most important matters to which he calls attention is that the early versions of *The Prelude* are more reticent and less revolutionary than has been surmised, that there is, for example, little light on the Vallon episode,[1] or on the London period. He also shows that the 1850 text is in the main a great improvement over that of 1805, less awkward and wordy, more exact and vivid, and usually more poetic. Some good things are very late, the great lines on Newton, for example, being

[1] In this connection he attempts (p. 573) what seems to me the impossible task of proving that Wordsworth was not guilty of "a reticence amounting to insincerity" in omitting from the account of his development an experience which must have borne a larger part in that development than many of the things he told.

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written when their author was over sixty years old. As an instance of what was gained by revision, the earliest text has,

> And yet the morning gladness is not gone

which, some thirty-five years later, became,

> Yet for me
> Life's morning radiance hath not left the hills,
> Her dew is on the flowers (VI, 50-52).

Among the few notable additions of which no special mention is made is the following passage inserted in *Vaudracour and Julia* about 1819:

> Through all her courts
> The vacant City slept; the busy winds,
> That keep no certain intervals of rest,
> Mov'd not; meanwhile the galaxy display'd
> Her fires, that like mysterious pulses beat
> Aloft;—momentous but uneasy bliss!
> To their full hearts the universe seemed hung
> On that brief meeting's slender filament! (94-101).

Mr. De Selincourt gives the early versions rather less than their due for, though diffuse and prosaic, they are often more direct, more natural, and easier to follow than the later. The lover of Wordsworth will cherish many passages in the earlier texts and all who care for poetry will be glad to have lines like these:

> Nor less in springtime when on southern banks
> The shining sun had from his knot of leaves
> Decoy'd the primrose flower, and when the Vales
> And woods were warm.[2]

But such extracts give little idea of one unexpected aspect of the book, its fascination, the spell it casts upon any one who wishes to follow the workings of a great poet's mind and learn something of how literature is produced.

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[2] In the final text this passage was reduced to the one inferior line,

> Nor less when spring had warmed the cultured Vale (I, 326).

Mr. De Selincourt does not call attention to this change.

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English Place-Name Society, vol. I, *Introduction to the Survey of English Place-Names;* vol. II, *The Place-Names of Buckinghamshire.* Cambridge, 1924 and 1925. At the University Press.

The *English Place-Name Society* was founded to carry out "the survey of English place-names undertaken with the approval and encouragement of the British Academy." The secretary of the *Society* and the director of the survey is Professor Allen Mawer of the University of Liverpool. He is supported in his work by a number of eminent grammarians. With such able direction and support the scientific character of the enterprise is given effectual guaranty. Anglicists everywhere ought to join forces with the promotors of this important work, so far as they are able; an enlarged membership (at the very moderate annual subscription of 15s) would strengthen the finances of the *Society* and allow the survey to go forward at a pace faster than is now possible.

The first volume of the *Society* appears in two parts. Part I is "a series of chapters by scholars expert in the various fields of place-name study." It begins with an essay on methods, by W. J. Sedgefield. There follow essays on the Celtic element (E. Ekwall), the English element (F. M. Stenton), the Scandinavian element (E. Ekwall), the French element (R. E. Zachrisson), the feudal element (J. Tait), and the relations of place-name studies to English linguistics (H. C. Wyld and Mary S. Serjeantson), to archaeology (O. G. S. Crawford), and to studies of personal names (F. M. Stenton). These essays, in the nature of the case, lay down elementary general principles and give an introduction to the subject in hand; they are meant primarily for the layman and the student, but the expert will read them with interest and profit. The names of the authors suffice to ensure the competence of the presentation. Part II, by Professor Mawer himself, is an alphabetical list of the "chief elements used in English place-names." The list is not meant to be exhaustive, but "an attempt has been made to deal with all those elements, English and Scandinavian, which are of anything like common occurrence. No attempt has been made to deal with the Celtic or the French elements, chiefly because they are of comparatively rare occurrence and can be satisfactorily dealt with as they occur in the different counties." The list is provided at the beginning of the survey in order to serve as a "useful companion to the successive county volumes . . ., by presenting in concise and summary form a good deal of the matter which, as it is in the nature of 'common form,' would otherwise have to be repeated in each successive volume." Against each element listed is entered its etymology, and a few examples of its

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use, together with a discussion of problems if problems there be. The list will admirably fulfil the purpose for which it was drawn up.

The second volume of the *Society* is the first "county volume" of the survey. Mr. Mawer and Mr. Stenton, its editors, have not failed to live up to the great expectations aroused by the formation of the *Society* and the first volume of its series. We have in the volume on Buckinghamshire a careful, competent piece of work, which reflects credit on English scholarship, and abundantly illustrates the value of place-names for philologist and historian. Although there is more work to be done on Buckinghamshire place-names, the present volume gives us all we have a right to expect in the present stage of research into English place-names in general. When the survey now launched has been made, and many other "county volumes" are at hand for comparison, the time will have come for exhaustive and definitive investigations of matters now perforce laid by as uncertain or obscure. In the meantime we can turn to the Mawer-Stenton volume in the confidence that we shall get exact information where such is to be had, and a frank statement of whatever there may be of uncertainty or obscurity.

KEMP MALONE.

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Die folkloristische Arbeitsmethode, begründet von Julius Krohn und weitergeführt von nordischen Forschern hrsg. von KAARLE KROHN. (Instituttet for sammenlignende Kulturforskning, Serie B, V), Oslo: H. Aschehoug and Co. [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press], 1926. Pp. ii, 168.

The Finnish method of folklore study, or as Finnish scholars modestly prefer to call it, the historico-geographical method, finds full and authoritative expression in this book. The contents were first presented in 1924 as lectures before the Institute for the Comparative Study of Culture and appear now in revised form with an added chapter on the life of Julius Krohn, the method's inventor.

The Finnish method rests on the fact that the changes in traditional material are geographically limited. If a considerable number of versions of a theme (märchen, ballad, riddle, proverb, or custom) are before the student, he will readily discover that certain elements or details are found only in particular areas. The fact, of which one gets no hint in such a book as Bédier, *Les fabliaux,* is not open to dispute: Julius Krohn noticed it in the vari-

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ants of the *Kalevala,* Menéndez Pidal in the Spanish *romances,*[1] a student pointed it out to me in his collection of 30 or 40 instances of the superstition that a body lying in water can be located by permitting a loaf of bread laden with quicksilver to float until it comes to rest over the body, and any careful folkloristic study will yield abundant additional instances. Apparently the same thing is true of folklore materials examined historically, a chronological restriction inheres in the variations. It is more difficult to discern such a stratification of the variations, because of the insufficiency of the evidence. Yet Professor Walter Anderson showed it to be true in his admirable study (*Kaiser und Abt, FF Communications* 42).

If the variations are arranged geographically—and historically, too, if that is feasible—significant questions arise at once: What relations exist among the variations? Can a development be made out? The second step in the study consists accordingly in the employment of the careful analysis (pp. 59-125) of the general laws to which the variations conform. It will ordinarily be possible to recognize one trait as original and the others as derivative. The procedure compels a systematic attack on the questions and in answering one question, it confirms or corrects the answers to the preceding ones.

The remainder of the book (pp. 126-167) deals with the logical consequences of the procedure, with the dispersion and the place of origin.

Some assertions which have been the subject of dispute call for particular comment. A bitter attack has converged on the idea expressed in the remark: "Das am nächsten liegende Kriterium für den Vorrang einer Fassung ist ihre Verbreitung in zahlreichen Aufzeichnungen (p. 92)." The attack is unjustified, for Professor Krohn points out an instance,—which may stand for many others,—in which a single text proved more important than the whole mass of contradictory testimony. Another much disputed matter[2] concerns the older (usually "literary") versions, which the historico-geographical method is accused of rejecting as worthless. Here again the evidence must be weighed: "Es gibt Fälle, wo spätere Umbildungen derart überhand genommen haben, dass die Urform bloss durch ein uns bewahrtes literarisches Dokument ermittelt werden kann (p. 94)." Although these two matters have been storm centers, there is no real basis for hostile criticism. The method presents the evidence in systematic form,

[1] "Sobre geografía folklórica," *Revista de filología española,* VII (1920), 229-338.

[2] See e. g. the criticism in A. Wesselski, *Märchen des Mittelalters,* pp. xi ff., "Märchen des Volkes und der Literatur" and Professor Krohn's review (*Neuphilologische Mitteilungen,* May 1925).

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provides general principles (which must be used with discretion and judgment) for determining the development, and calls for a decision. Professor Krohn could have said emphatically that no decision can be acceptable which does not have regard for all the discarded forms of the trait. Since some non-conformist text may preserve the original form, a sufficient reason must be forthcoming for every act of rejection. Also disputed is the assertion (p. 126) that the invention of the individual märchen is an act accomplished but a single time, that the polygenesis of tales is unimaginable. The extent to which the independent invention of incidents exists is entirely unknown.[3] It does appear to exist to some degree. The märchen, however, which are the chief objects of study, are composed of an involved series of incidents in a relatively fixed order. Chance cannot be reasonably invoked to explain the appearance of the "Three Oranges," which is known along the shores of the Mediterranean, in Norway; transmission is the only possible explanation. We may expect some very instructive remarks from Professor Walter Anderson on this point when he is able to complete his study of the story of Midas's ears, for this story is one which lies on the narrow boundary between independent invention and transmission.

Noteworthy are Professor Krohn's remarks on the subject of the distribution of the various types of traditional materials. It cannot be a negligible fact that many peoples do not know types which are familiar to us: the märchen, the proverb, the riddle, and the charm are not worldwide in their distribution. In particular Professor Krohn remarks (p. 129) that an investigation of the question whether the area within which the riddle is known coincides with the area of the märchen's distribution would prove interesting. Such an undertaking is much facilitated by C. W. v. Sydow's recent brilliant paper on the distribution of the märchen as a literary type.[4]

In a book intended as manual and introduction certain things might be expected which are perhaps not fully accomplished. The fault lies, to be sure, in circumstances largely beyond Professor Krohn's control. One looks for exemplifications of the method in every possible field of its application, and the examples are indeed abundant and well chosen. Only the proverb appears to be almost wholly neglected. The fact is that there do not exist as yet studies of this sort in the field of proverbs.[5] The riddle is also scantily

[3] The most informative essay is in Hans Naumann's *Primitive Gemeinschaftskultur*, pp. 61 ff., "Märchenparallelen."

[4] "Folksagan såsom indoeuropeisk tradition," *Arkiv for nordisk filologi*, XLII (1925), 1-19.

[5] Some excellent work has been done, I am told, in Finnish by Koskinen. But it is unfortunately quite inaccessible to most of us. My article,

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represented; but here again Aarne's studies (*FF Communications* 27-29) are the only existing examples. And for the same reason the charm and the superstitious practise yield little illustrative material. The märchen and the Finnish epic lays provide the lion's share of the illustrations, and it would have been more helpful to the non-Finnish reader if the emphasis had been laid more on the märchen and less on the Finnish epic lays. In the lays the argumentation necessarily involves questions of metrics, style, and language to a degree which may prove slightly embarrasing. Furthermore, the general interest at present in the Finnish method turns on its application to märchen. Not all the obvious and easily available studies of märchen have been utilized.[6] Professor Krohn's analysis (pp. 133-35) of Mackensen, *Der singende Knochen* (*FF Communications* 49) is so instructive that one wishes for more. Such a utilization of the already existing studies would have culminated in an appraisal of what the Finnish method has already accomplished, and such an appraisal is the most satisfactory demonstration of its value. The proof of the pudding is in the eating.

ARCHER TAYLOR.

University of Chicago.

The Classical Age of German Literature, 1748-1805. By L. A. WILLOUGHBY. Oxford University Press, American Branch. New York, 1926. Pp. 136.

In justice to the author of this book, who holds the position of head of the German Department in the University of Sheffield, England, it should be said that the work is written not for the specialist, but for the general reader and the "young student of German literature." At a time when even many young Germans are for various reasons turning away from the classical age of German letters, its purpose is to furnish a background for the serious study of that age, which more mature students continue to

"Sunt tria damna domus" (*Hessische Blätter f. Volkskunde*, XXIV [1925], 130-46), shows historical and geographical subdivisions in a proverb's distribution.

[6] E. g. C. W. von Sydow, *Två spinnsagor*, Stockholm, 1909; and his "Jätten Hymes bägare," *Folkminnen och Folktankar*, I (1914), 113-50; H. Holmström, *Studier över svanjungfrumotivet i Volundarkvida och annorstades*, Malmö, 1919; W. Liungman, *Två Folkminnesundersökningar* (1925, perhaps too late for inclusion); R. T. Christiansen, "Kjætten paa Dovre," *Videnskapsselskapets Skrifter*, 2. Kl., 1922, No. 6. I list here by way of illustration the Swedish and Norwegian articles which have come to my attention without any thought of completeness.

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recognize as the fountainhead of all German culture of genuine promise.

The author divides his brief survey into seven sections. In "The Premises" he finds the reasons for the late fruition of German literature as lying in the lack 1) of uniform ideals, 2) of nationalism, 3) of a literary language; and in the ravages of the Thirty Years' War, the disunity of the Empire, the tyranny of the rulers coupled with the servility of their subjects, and finally in the slavish aping of French extravagance. "The Awakening" carries us through the dictatorship of Gottsched, his bankruptcy caused by the opposition of the Swiss school and the defection of his own students, the wave of interest in English literature, the work of Klopstock, of Gellert, and of Wieland. Lessing, Herder and the Göttinger Bund, Goethe and Sturm und Drang, the Return to Classicism, and Goethe and Schiller form the subject of the remaining five chapters.

Great credit is due the author for having condensed in 120 pages of actual text the vast amount of material with which he was confronted. In spite of the small compass of the work, the distribution of light and shade is really excellent. Nor is the book devoid of interesting side-lights and personal touches even for the specialist, since Professor Willoughby writes not as a slave to other critics, but as an original thinker, choosing the high spots as he sees them out of the fulness of knowledge. Thus he characterizes the tyranny of some of the German princelings briefly but well when he recalls the Elector of Saxony "who shot a slater from the roof of his palace merely to gratify a whim of his mistress" (p. 12). Thus too he describes the political import of *Die Räuber* in a telling phrase, saying that the play "furnished admirable political propaganda for the French Jacobins, as it does still today for the Russian Bolsheviks" (p. 83). He does not mince words when he calls Goethe's student life in Leipzig "dissolute" (p. 67), and he can not refrain from poking a little harmless fun at the German mania for organization (p. 16, bottom) and love for titles (p. 14, top). Kortum's *Jobsiade,* he says, was in its time "as often quoted as Wilhelm Busch in our own day" (p. 29). Apparently he rates Grillparzer's *Weh dem, der lügt* as high as, or higher than, Lessing's *Minna* (p. 41). In short, all through the little book we note the happy faculty of expressing tersely but in graceful, dignified English opinions which are always well considered.

In the treatment of Goethe and Schiller particularly the reviewer welcomes the sober attitude taken toward such problems as the effect of Italy upon Goethe, the significance of Schiller's historical writings, and the import of the Goethe-Schiller relations. These latter chapters are especially marked by a good deal of

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independent thinking and sane judgment, often to be read more between the lines than in the text. Whether they do, or could in view of their compactness, give the novice an adequate conception of Goethe's significance is another matter.

That we are not always able to subscribe entirely to the judgments of the author is natural. It might be questioned, for instance, whether as a play *Stella* is actually superior to *Clavigo*, as the author seems to imply (p. 78). It might even be asked whether in the light of the important conclusions of Sommerfeld (*Nicolai und der Sturm und Drang*, Halle 1921) Nicolai is accorded full justice, in spite of the rather fair treatment (p. 35). It might be asked also whether there is not after all too much talk of "influences" and too little of the workings of sociological forces. This may account in part for the somewhat exaggerated picture of Lessing's backward-looking influence.

It seems a minor inconsistency to write "Leipzig" (*e. g.* p. 19) but "Wirtemberg" (p. 12) and "Nuremberg" (p. 17), and it is certainly poor practise, in a manual intended for students, to quote Goethe's *Faust* apparently from memory (p. 53: Wenn ihr's nicht fühlt, ihr werdet's nie—*read* nicht—erjagen). But so far as the press-work is concerned the book is well nigh perfect.

No notes of any kind encumber the volume, and the "select bibliography" (pp. 130-131) of fifty titles is obviously very brief. But it lists such recent works as that of Franz Schneider (1924), Köster (1925) and Korff's *Geist der Goethezeit* (1923). Four American works are honored by being included in the choice company, two of Calvin Thomas, one by Kuno Francke, and the *English-German Literary Influences* of L. M. Price.

As a work for required reading in an introductory course on the German classics Professor Willoughby's little book can be recommended. That as such it would have to be supplemented judiciously by a wise and experienced teacher no one, not even its author, would deny.

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Handleiding bij het Noord- en Zuid-Nederlandsch Dialectonderzoek. Door Dr. L. GROOTAERS en Dr. G. G. KLOEKE. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1926.

This handbook is the first volume of a series of publications to be edited by Dr. Grootaers and Dr. Kloeke, both leaders in the field of dialectology, the former an authority on the Dutch dialects of Belgium, the other on those of Holland, especially of her eastern

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provinces. The dialect geography of Holland and the Dutch-speaking provinces of Belgium is still in its initial stage. Collectors of glossaries in the past century have done useful pioneer work, but their main interest was in the local folklore as it reflected itself in the idiom rather than in the relation of the dialect itself to the speech of contiguous areas. They were after lexical curiosa, it was no concern of theirs to find out how certain characteristic phenomena of pronunciation and vocabulary were distributed geographically. During the past three decades, however, systematic research by competent scholars has taken the place of mere word collecting by amateurs, thanks to the part that the universities, that of Louvain especially, have begun to take in this long neglected branch of linguistics. But the work is lacking in coördination. A dialect central bureau is needed, an institute like the bureau of Wenker's Atlas at Marburg, which will organize the collecting and recording of dialect data according to a uniform plan. This central bureau will supply the investigators with a standard map on which the communities are not indicated by their names but by numbers. With the map goes a register of place names which indicates their location on the map by reference to square A, B, C, etc., and to the number within the square, the squares being formed by the meridians and parallels. The use of this standard map (a copy of which is enclosed with the book), by all the investigators and collectors of data will enable the directors of the dialect central bureau to conceive a reliable geographic picture of the distribution of linguistic phenomena. The present volume, consequently, contains no fresh contributions to our knowledge of the Dutch dialects. It is merely intended as a groundwork for the systematic collaboration of all who are interested in this field of research.

A. J. Barnouw.

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The Authorship of the Vengement Alixandre and of the Venjance Alixandre. By Edward C. Armstrong. Princeton University Press, 1926. Elliott Monographs 19.

A Classification of the Manuscripts of Gui de Cambrai's Vengement Alixandre. By Bateman Edwards. Princeton University Press, 1926. Elliott Monographs 20.

Professor Armstrong's hypotheses regarding the authorship of the *Vengement Alixandre* and the *Venjance Alixandre,* two different continuations of the *Roman d'Alexandre,* are that the former was written by the Gui de Cambrai who is responsible for one of our

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three versions of *Barlaam and Josaphat,* and that the latter is by a certain Johannes Nevelonis who soon afterwards occupied the post of archdeacon in the cathedral chapter of Arras. A. does not claim to have "arrived at a mathematical demonstration" (p. 50) of his suggestions, but he hopes that they may be considered tenable.

It must be confessed, however, that in the case of Johannes Nevelonis the possibilities he has assembled never quite become probabilities. In the best manuscript of the *Venjance* the author's name appears as Jehans li Nevelons and A. has investigated at great length every contemporary by that name who might be in question. He decides that the Johannes Nevelonis who became archdeacon in 1181 is the most likely person and tests out this assumption in various ways. The poem is addressed to a "conte Henri" whom A. identifies with Henry I of Champagne. The next step is to posit a potential connection between the future archdeacon and this count of Champagne. Here unfortunately the tissue of possibilities wears very thin. Johannes *might* have left Arras to study at Paris or Rheims and he *might* at one place or the other have met Henri I or his brother, the archbishop of Rheims (for whom the Latin *Alexandreis* was composed). But all our records are silent about any connections between these men. Nor have we any evidence that this particular Johannes Nevelonis ever wrote a *Venjance Alixandre* or, for that matter, a single line of either prose or verse. The impression remains therefore that despite much valiant searching the problem is still unsolved. Without more evidence it seems impossible adequately to balance the few persons named Johannes Nevelonis whom our records happen to mention against the unknown minstrels possibly bearing that name who have left no trace of themselves in our archives. Nor can we be sure that Henri I, known as the Liberal, is the "conte Henri" of the poem. The generosity for which he is praised in the dedication is too commonly ascribed by hungry mediaeval minstrels to every potential donor to serve as a satisfactory identification mark.

Whether the Gui de Cambrai who wrote the *Vengement Alixandre* is identical with the author of the same name who signs one version of *Barlaam and Josaphat* is of course an old problem. Both Paul Meyer and Appel discussed it and they as well as Gaston Paris were inclined to believe that identity of name did not necessarily involve identity of authorship. A. now seeks to prove that both poems are by the same man. Before comparing the two works in detail he revises several statements made in his previous study of *Barlaam and Josaphat* (Elliott Monographs 10). He has recently discovered new material which leads him to conclude that the patron addressed in that poem was not Gilles II, as he had thought before, but Gilles I. The poem therefore is no longer dated as "probably soon after 1214" but is given the new *terminus*

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ad quem of 1202. Accordingly it would seem that the *Vengement* and *Barlaam* may have been more nearly contemporaneous than has hitherto been supposed. The former is still dated between 1156 and 1191 but the latter is now placed between 1186 and 1202. A. also makes an intensive study of the language of the two poems and reaches the conclusion that their linguistic traits do not preclude identity of authorship. Unfortunately no strikingly peculiar traits are present in either and, even if we should assume different authors for them, we should hardly expect that these men, both by origin *de Cambrai* and more or less contemporaneous, would exhibit many divergences of speech. The further arguments that both poems are addressed to Picard vavasors in somewhat similar phraseology and that both show a "predilection for the mediaeval stores of ancient history and mythology" (p. 25) are hardly decisive. The new investigation of the question therefore does not appreciably modify P. Meyer's final conclusion on the subject: "l'identité est probable, mais non certaine." It does, however, probe deeper than any of its predecessors and it shifts the burden of proof to its opponents.

Dr. Edward's study is in the nature of a preparatory clearing of the ground for the publication of his text of Gui de Cambrai's *Vengement*. It is not as dull as its title might lead one to expect and it presents certain general observations about the habits of scribes that editors of mediaeval texts will enjoy seeing in print. Especially fruitful is the conclusion that coincidences between different manuscripts may arise from independent scribal vagaries or from the fact that scribes occasionally used more than one manuscript in making their copies. E. says (p. 24), "wherever there is possibility of independent accord, there we must avoid any argument as to the filiation of the manuscripts; and in determining accidental coincidences common sense is the surest guide." The theory is excellent. It is, however, very difficult to apply impartially. On pages 16 to 23 the author prints a long, classified list of the words which he considers likely to occur to different scribes independently and therefore to be useless in determining relationships between different manuscripts. But when he assumes as apt to arise from accidental scribal vagaries such variants as *lance-ensegne, commant-talant, nombre-monstre-ombre* (p. 17), *prové-mortel, tout nu-molu, fier-grief-cruel* (p. 18), etc., and on the other hand considers as not accidental and therefore usable for his evidence of filiation between manuscripts such variants as *s'aperçoit-perçoit il* (p. 28), *enragera-en esragera, li fait el cerviel-li a fait el cief* (p. 34), etc., it is evident that the personal equation enters too largely into the practice of this theory to make it entirely safe in application.

E.'s study of the eight manuscripts of the poem leads him to

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plant the inevitable genealogical tree with two branches and numerous intermingling twigs. Unfortunately he is obliged to rule out a great many potentially pertinent variants and to posit a goodly amount of contamination of the individual manuscripts in one group by those in the other in order to keep his two branches from becoming entangled. For the making of his critical text, he has doubtless chosen the best manuscript (H)—though one misses a discussion of dates and dialectal traits in this connection—and the text itself will probably justify the rules which he lays down for its establishment. As E. so well says, however, "we are not dealing with works whose slightest word must be respected, but with narratives supposedly historical yet where in the details the individual fancy of the author or redactor [he might have added: or copyist] is allowed great scope" (p. 13). And he proceeds to analyze competently the causes which tend to produce the curious coincidences and the widely divergent variants in our manuscripts. In the circumstances, can he really hope to arrive at the "author's original conception" by the method he advocates? And, instead of offering us a modern editor's patchwork of inferences—with the orthographical and dialectal confusion they can so readily and unknowingly introduce—would it not be preferable to give us scribe H's more nearly contemporaneous "original conception," rejecting his readings only when they represent obvious slips or errors?

GRACE FRANK.

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The Genesis and Sources of Pierre Corneille's Tragedies from Médée to Pertharite. Par L. M. RIDDLE. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1926. Johns Hopkins Studies in Romance Literatures and Languages, III. xii + 222 pp.

Ce livre comble la première partie d'une lacune qui existait dans l'histoire de la littérature française. L'étude d'ensemble des origines des tragédies de Corneille n'avait pas été faite. Les notices de l'édition Marty-Laveaux étaient anciennes (1862-8). D'autres études ont paru, mais chacune ne portait que sur une pièce et quelques-unes étaient difficilement accessibles. M. R. a groupé ces études et les a appréciées avec une grande impartialité, mais sans se départir d'une méthode assez ferme pour écarter ce qui lui semblait venir plutôt de l'imagination que de raisons solides. De plus, il a fait une ample contribution personnelle en précisant les emprunts de C. aux passages des écrivains que l'on connaissait déjà et en signalant les œuvres anciennes qui semblent bien avoir inspiré soit un détail qu'on ne trouvait pas ailleurs, soit une modi-

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fication, restée mystérieuse, aux évènements qu'il avait empruntés à son modèle principal. Il a fait, en particulier, un usage très ingénieux de la lettre qu' Ovide fait écrire à Jason par Hypsipile (*Héroïdes,* VI) pour expliquer certaines particularités de l'action de *Médée,* des œuvres de Denys d'Halicarnasse pour montrer la provenance de certains détails d'*Horace,* de la *Vie de Sainte-Agnès* écrite par Saint-Ambroise pour montrer d'où venaient certaines adjonctions au *Martyre de Sainte-Théodore,* du même auteur, que C. avait fidèlement suivi dans *Théodore.*

Il a fait aussi d'abondants rapprochements entre les tragédies de C. et les œuvres dramatiques de leur époque. Il faut particulièrement indiquer l'importance et l'intérêt de ceux qu'il a signalés entre l'*Alcméon* de Hardy et *Médée,* entre la *Sophonisbe* de Mairet et *Horace,* entre la *Mort de César* de Scudéry et *Cinna,* entre la *Bérénice* de Du Ryer et *Héraclius.* Il existe des rapports évidents, soulignés par de nombreux exemples, entre ces pièces et celles de C.; ce sont faits des incontestables et de véritables documents apportés aux études cornéliennes. Mais, si l'existence de ces rapprochements est sûrement établie, leur interprétation ne pouvait guère se faire avec la même certitude. Il faudrait se garder de conclure de tous ces rapprochements à un nombre égal d'imitations. Ceux qui ont fréquenté les innombrables pièces de théâtre de cette période savent que la plupart de celles qui ont été composées à peu près au même moment présentent un air de parenté souvent surprenant. Il est dû soit aux préférences des comédiens dont les troupes, trés rares, étaient à même d'imposer leurs goûts aux auteurs, soit à certaines modes littéraires qui s'étendaient aux sujets des pièces, à leur forme, et aux idées exprimées dans leurs vers. Il en résultait des ressemblances, souvent très grandes et cependant fortuites, augmentées parfois de réminiscences involontaires.

Il semble difficile d'attribuer, comme le voudrait M. R., aux piéces qu'il a signalées une influence dominante sur la composition des tragédies de C. correspondantes. Sans doute, il doit y avoir une influence d'*Alcméon* sur *Médée* et de *Bérénice* sur *Héraclius,* mais elle se réduit à l'introduction d'un épisode dans le premier cas, et, dans le second, d'un élément important de l'intrigue, la substitution des enfants et l'incertitude qui en résulte, mais bien minime, s'il est comparé à tout ce que C. avait emprunté à Baronius. L'influence de la *Sophonisbe* de Mairet sur *Horace* et de la *Mort de César* de Scudéry sur *Cinna,* qui serait en effet, si elle existait, beaucoup plus étendue et presque générale, paraît improbable. Que C., à l'issue de la querelle du *Cid* où il a été accusé de plagiat, fasse ouvertement des emprunts aux adversaires et ceci quelques années après l'apparition de ces pièces, est-ce vraisemblable? Aurait-il fourni ces armes contre lui et contredit toutes ses déclarations antérieures? Il avait déjà écrit en 1632:

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Si l'on remarque des concurrences dans mes vers, qu'on ne les prenne pas pour des larcins. Je n'y en ai point laissé que j'aye connus et j'ai toujours cru que, pour belle que fût une pensée, tomber en soupçon de la tenir d'un autre, c'est l'acheter plus qu'elle ne vaut.[1]

D'ailleurs si C. avait pris son inspiration dans ces pièces, d'où viendrait-il que l'on retrouve la plupart des éléments de l'action d'*Horace* et de celle de *Cinna* dans les écrits d'historiens anciens, dont lui-même a signalé une partie, ou que l'on retrouve aussi dans ces pièces un grand nombre de situations et de scènes qu'il avait utilisées dans ses pièces antérieures? Dans ces deux cas particuliers, le parallélisme ne viendrait-il pas plutôt d'une intention, de la part de C., de provoquer une comparaison entre ses pièces et celles de ses adversaires, de répondre aux critiques qui lui avaient été adressées à sa manière, en battant ses adversaires avec les armes qu'ils avaient choisies? M. R. a fait allusion à cette possibilité en deux endroits (p. 200 et 201), mais sans s'y arrêter et sans en tirer de conséquence. Pourtant, un pareil acte de rivalité lui avait été reproché par Claveret à propos de sa *Place Royale* (repr. 1633-4) et cette manière de répliquer à son adversaire en le surpassant semble avoir été chère à C. Dans son fameux *Rondeau* ne conseille-t-il pas à un adversaire la tactique qu'il va employer:

S'il veut ternir un ouvrage immortel,
Qu'il fasse mieux.[2]

Il est donc probable qu'il n'y a pas eu dans *Horace* et *Cinna*, d'imitation de *Sophonisbe* ni de la *Mort de César* et qu'il n'existe entre ces pièces qu'une ressemblance voulue par C. pour entrer en concurrence avec ses adversaires et faire pâlir leurs œuvres. D'ailleurs ces rapprochements n'en demeurent pas moins intéressants; non plus points de départ d'*Horace* et de *Cinna*, ces pièces de Mairet et de Scudéry auraient fourni à C. un point d'arrivée qu'il se serait proposé d'atteindre par ses propres moyens, et même de dépasser et la comparaison de ces œuvres rivales apprendrait beaucoup sur l'idée que se formait C. de la perfection dans son art.

D'ailleurs n'y a-t-il pas quelque exagération dans la thèse soutenue par M. R. (voy. p. 1, 199), qui consiste à attribuer une place prépondérante dans la formation de toutes les tragédies de C. de *Médée* à *Pertharite* à l'imitation d'œuvres dramatiques contemporaines? En particulier il y a peut-être quelque abus à le supposer de *Rodogune* et de *Pertharite*, bien qu'il n'ait pu rapprocher de la première aucune œuvre de ce genre (p. 102) et qu'il n'ait

[1] Ed. Marty-Laveaux, I, 264, préface de *Clitandre*.
[2] *Ibid.*, II, 218.
[3] *Ibid.*, X, 79. Cf. aussi son *Excusatio*, v. 69 et 71, éd. Marty-Laveaux, X, 71.

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pu établir qu'un rapprochement épisodique et de peu d'importance avec la seconde (p. 198). Adopter cette thèse serait méconnaître la part de l'inspiration personnelle dans la formation des œuvres de C. A peine, en effet M. R. l'a-t-il signalée (p. 200) et il semble lui attribuer peu d'importance, bien qu'il en ait constaté les résultats dans l'étude de chacune de ces tragédies: analogies dans les sujets, les situations, les scènes les plus importantes, les caractères des personnages.[4] Ce rôle prépondérant de l'inspiration personnelle est cependant démontré par sa continuité dans toutes les œuvres de C; ses six premières pièces en fourniraient un exemple éclatant. Et, à ce propos M. R. n'eût-il pas pu signaler dans ces pièces ce qui eût expliqué certains caractères des œuvres qu'il a étudiés? Pourquoi attribuer à *Sophonisbe* l'origine d'un "motif favori" de C: faire conseiller à un personnage malheureux en amour de chercher un autre objet à son affection (p. 202), tandis qu'il aurait trouvé ce "motif" dans presque toutes ces premières pièces et qu'il l'aurait même vu mettre en action dans la *Galerie du Palais*, et que, du reste, c'était un lieu commun sur la scène française vers 1630?

Une catégorie de l'inspiration personnelle, negligée par M. R., est le goût de C. pour les allusions aux évènements contemporains. Il n'en a guère été parlé que pour écarter brièvement les essais qui ont été tentés de rattacher *Cinna* aux évènements de son temps (p. 42). Sans doute, si l'on voulait affirmer que *Cinna* est un récit déguisé de la "Conspiration des Dames," ce serait une invraisemblance insoutenable; mais il est loin d'être démontré que les troubles de cette époque n'ont pas engagé C. à présenter à ses spectateurs telle situation ou telle circonstance particulière, de préférence à d'autres qui auraient éveillé en eux un moindre intérêt. N'y a-t-il pas quelque corrélation entre les émeutes de la Fronde et le soulèvement de l'acte IV de *Nicomède*? Que penser des rapports qui ont été indiqués entre le combat contre les Maures dans le *Cid* et la bataille de Corbie, question qui, récemment soulevée,[5] a suscité une polémique assez vive? Il eût été opportun d'examiner, au moins de signaler ces problèmes. Dans les œuvres de C. écrites après *Pertharite* ou avant *Médée*,—ne serait-ce que le très intéressant rapprochement entre *Clitandre* et le procès du maréchal de Marillac, tenté par M. Charlier[6]—de nombreux indices attestent une certaine influence des évènements contemporains

[4] Voy. les liens signalés entre *Rodogune* et *Médée*, p. 96-99, et les rapports de *Pertharite* avec les œuvres précédentes, p. 183-4.

[5] Cf. le *Figaro* 26 déc. 1921; le *Temps*, 27 déc. 1921, 24 jan. 1922; le *Gaulois*, 27 déc. 1921, 8 fév. 1922; les *Débats*, 26 fév. 1922; l'*Avenir*, 16 jan. 1922; résumé d'Abel Lefranc dans l'*Annuaire du Collège de France*, 1923.

[6] *La Clef de Clitandre*, 1924.

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sur les pièces de C., qui reste à déterminer dans les tragédies étudiées par M. R.

En tous cas, si l'on veut rechercher l'origine des tragédies de C., il est probable que la part de vérité est plus grande dans la théorie traditionnelle. C. trouve en lui-même, dans les préférences de son esprit, le vrai sujet de sa pièce, quelque grand conflit moral. Alors seulement il cherchera au dehors les circonstances particulières dont il faudra le vêtir pour le porter à la scène. Par exception il aura devant les yeux quelque pièce contemporaine à laquelle il désire que son œuvre ressemble assez pour qu'elle lui soit comparée et en triomphe. Puis, selon sa coutume, il s'adressera aux écrivains anciens pour trouver le cadre historique que la tradition réclame, à son époque. Mais, loin de s'asservir à ce qu'il aura trouvé dans son auteur, il n'y prendra que l'occasion, ou peut-être même le prétexte, de son œuvre, car il n'en conserve que ce qui convient à son dessein, laisse ce qui s'y trouve inutile, modifie ce qui le contrarierait, et y ajoute ce dont il croit avoir besoin. M. R. a été amené à constater, pour chacune de ces onze tragédies, ces changements que C. apporte aux éléments que lui fournit son auteur pour les accommoder à ses propres intentions, mais il n'y a pas assez vu les mille moyens de notre Normand pour paraître suivre l'histoire, en conservant toute son indépendance.

Ces quelques réserves ne diminuent pas l'estime que l'on doit faire du livre de M. R. Elles ne portent que sur l'interprétation, d'ailleurs à peine esquissée, des données positives qui s'y trouvent. Ces données elles-mêmes demeurent intactes, et ce sont elles qui font l'intérêt, la nouveauté et la valeur de cet ouvrage. Par l'ampleur de son information, par la rigueur de son choix, M. R. a assemblé des matériaux très solides et appelés à rendre de grands services aux études cornéliennes de l'avenir. Les rapprochements qu'il a groupés—sources des ouvrages de C., ou ressemblances d'œuvres contemporaines—permettront d'approfondir les rapports qui ont existé entre le grande dramaturge et les autres écrivains, ceux qu'il a lus et ceux à côté desquels il a vécu. Son livre favorisera une étude plus approfondie que celles qui ont été faites jusqu' à présent des tragédies de Corneille, de *Médée* à *Pertharite;* par là même, il servira à faire mieux comprendre quelles furent les tendances de l'esprit de C., sa méthode de création et la nature de son talent.

L. Rivailles.

Saint-Omer, Pas de Calais.

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Folk Songs of French Canada, by MARIUS BARBEAU and EDWARD SAPIR. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1925. xxii + 216 pp.

Students of Romance philology will welcome this valuable addition to the bibliography of French-Canadian folk-lore, a most neglected field of research. Larue's sketchy articles in *Le Foyer canadien* of Quebec, about 1860, Gagnon's collection, *Chansons populaires du Canada,* published in 1865, and recent contributions to *Le Monde Nouveau,*[1] by Léo-Pol Morin, and to the *Journal of American Folk-lore,*[2] by M. Barbeau, E.-Z. Massicotte and Loraine Wyman, constitute all the literature on the subject. Larue and Gagnon did pioneering work and labored under serious handicaps as they did not possess the proper scientific training. The explanatory notes in Gagnon's book are too general and contain only vague references to the French versions and parallels. Barbeau and Sapir's collection comprises the text and musical transcription of forty-one songs, which, with the exception of five, are not to be found among the hundred and five published by Gagnon. An English translation by Dr. Sapir and a study of the French and the Canadian versions by the two authors accompany every selection. In the introduction Mr. Barbeau has discussed the problems of the origins and history of the French-Canadian folk song. Of the five thousand versions collected by the author and his assistants, practically all were brought to America by the French settlers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and belong to the ancient stratum of northern French literature and never underwent any Southern influence. The greater number of the songs were obtained in Northeastern Quebec and in the Montreal and Three Rivers districts. With the original home of the settlers in France are to be associated definite genres in Canada. Ballads and "complaintes" are especially numerous in Eastern Quebec, which was settled largely by Norman stock; the repertory of the Montreal and Three Rivers regions, where the immigrants came mainly from the Loire River provinces, is fertile in lyrics. The selections contained in the book present a considerable variety of types: dance, drinking, working, play-party, farewell, religious and love songs are included. There is, of course, a great range in their relative popularity. *Les trois roses empoisonnées, Le méchant guillon, Blanche comme neige, Le retour du mari soldat* exist in fifteen or twenty versions, while others such as *La princesse et le bourreau, La fille vendue au diable, Le blasphémateur châtié, Je n'veux pas me marier* are met in one or

[1] Aug. 1923, pp. 23-29.
[2] Jan.-Mar. 1919, pp. 1-89; Oct.-Dec. 1920, pp. 300-342.

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two versions only. Furthermore, a few can hardly be considered genuine or characteristic folk songs. *Le couvre-feu* seems to be of quite recent origin and is sung mostly by college students. About *La petite souris grise,* of which he gave a shorter version, Weckerlin wrote in his *Chansons et rondes enfantines de la France,* 1889, p. 67: "Encore une chanson de père de famille, qui, dans ses moments perdus, cultive la poésie, car ce n'est ni le peuple ni les enfants qui ont composé cette pièce." The authors of *Folk Songs of French Canada,* themselves state that this song does not seem "to have strayed far from the convent schools." The index is quite unsatisfactory since it lists only the English titles of the selections. One might also regret that the bibliographical material has been spread through the explanatory notes and is not within easy reach. In this connection, no mention whatever is made of Scheffler's important *Französische Volksdichtung und Sage,* 2 vols., Leipzig, 1884-85. On page 92 of his book, Scheffler quotes from Marelle, Herrig's *Archiv,* vol. 56, p. 195, a version from Champagne of *L'Hirondelle, messagère de l'amour,* which the authors of the Canadian collection may not have taken into account. These are very small flaws, however, and the work is most commendable for its sound scholarship. It opens broad vistas upon a field the importance of which has been almost entirely overlooked until now.

J. M. Carrière.

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El pensamiento de Cervantes. Por Americo Castro. Madrid: Revista de Filología, 1925. 408 pp.

Cegada la crítica por los mismos prejuicios que le impiden juzgar desapasionadamente nuestro humanismo, ha venido considerando a Cervantes como un irresponsable que escribió el *Quijote* poco menos que por casualidad. Cervantes es aun hoy para muchos el "ingenio lego" de aquella España del siglo XVI, tan fantástica, tan devota y tan incomprendida, literato genial sin duda, pero vacío de ideas y escaso de cultura. Un artista inconsciente, nada menos pero nada más que un artista. Como pensador no hay que tomarlo en serio. Esta es la opinión tradicional, tan lejos de todo sentido común, aceptada y sostenida por el cervantismo. Claro que el cervantismo lo forman cervantófilos y cervantófobos, pero en negar lo innegable, la cultura de Cervantes, parecen estar conformes unos y otros. Menéndez Pelayo no contradecía la opinión de Valera, el cual pensaba que las máximas cervantinas sobre moral, política y retórica no salieron nunca de la vulgaridad, y autores más recientes, el cervantófobo De Lollis

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por ejemplo, nos quieren hacer tragar que Cervantes no fué sino un improvisador genial, un pobre diablo atemorizado por el jesuitismo y la inquisición.

Castro piensa lo contrario y en su nuevo libro demuestra que Cervantes es un artista consciente y muy consciente, de ideología complejísima y de cultura más que mediana. Su pensamiento es el corriente entre los españoles cultos del siglo XVI. El temperamento crítico de Erasmo, que tanto influyó en los humanistas europeos, se infiltró hasta en los que más aferrados estaban a la tradición. Pruébalo el caso de Cervantes cuya actitud equívoca en materia de religión ha sido discutidísima. Mientras unos tomando al pie de la letra su sospechoso alarde de ortodoxia, lo tienen por un santurrón de oficio, otros interpretando torcidamente ciertos pasajes, lo creen un librepensador progresista. Don Américo pone las cosas en su punto. Cervantes, más cristiano que católico, disimuló sus opiniones frecuentemente contrarias a las usuales. No se atrevió a criticar los dogmas pero sí los rezos, los santos, los milagros, es decir todo aquello que ha creado el sentimiento católico sin permiso de la humana razón. Su moral es "de carácter esencialmente filosófico, puramente natural y humana, sin ingerencia activa de principios religiosos." Cervantes moraliza sin preocuparse de la teología y su sistema es el naturalismo basado en la razón y en el análisis. La influencia de Erasmo es notoria.

Estas ideas y otras las adquirió Cervantes en la fecunda Italia de la Contrarreforma. En sus obras están todas las fórmulas literarias del Renacimiento italiano, y de ello nos convence el señor Castro cotejando honradamente—no digo hábilmente—los temas cervantinos con los de otros altos espíritus de su época, y en este minucioso cotejo estriba en parte la importancia del nuevo libro. Ahora empezamos a ver claro nuestro siglo XVI.

Motivos literarios tan interesantes como el error y la armonía, la naturaleza, lo picaresco, lo pastoril, el concepto del honor, son los tratados por el ilustre profesor de la Universidad de Madrid que con gran perspicacia los estruja, los agota y los desentraña, llegando a conclusiones insospechadas pero irrebatibles. Cervantes emplea siempre la misma técnica del contraste, un paso adelante y otro atrás. A la afirmación audaz sigue la ironía cauta, al delirio quijotesco la prosaica sensatez de Sancho, y viceversa. Personajes y pensamientos van expuestos por el mismo método contradictorio. Quizá una de las características más salientes del arte de Cervantes sea su facilidad para desplegarse y replegarse cuando le conviene. Y esto no solo en cuanto a las ideas sino en cuanto al estilo. Yo dudo que Cervantes sea un escritor de estilo, de un estilo. Su lenguaje es tan maleable que se adapta fácilmente a cada carácter y a cada situación. . Pero estas afirmaciones concluyentes no deben hacerse sin demostrarlas con la compara-

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ción de textos que en todo caso aplica el señor Castro. La técnica filológica podrá tener sus quiebras, pero siempre es más fructífera que el ensayo al margen, la reconstrucción esotérica o la anotación pedestre. Y hasta la fecha casi exclusivamente de estas tres cosas se compone el cervantismo. El libro que reseñamos señala un nuevo rumbo. A pesar de las copiosas citas se lee con delectación porque su autor no es solo un erudito sino un psicólogo y un artista que sabe cubrir con un lenguaje rico en imágenes y giros sugestivos el esqueleto de las papeletas.

José Robles.

The Johns Hopkins University.

Francesco Petrarcha, The First Modern Man of Letters. A Study of the Early Fourteenth Century (1304-1347). Vol. I, Early Years and Lyric Poems; vol. II, Life and Correspondence (Secluded Study and Public Fame); by Edward H. R. Tatham, M. A., F. S. A., Canon and Prebendary of Lincoln Cathedral. The Macmillan Company, 1926.

These two volumes are arranged in four books, covering the period from 1300 to 1347. More than a fourth of the text is given to exposition of history, Church, the universities, classical studies, in all of which Petrarch is occasionally involved. The rest is devoted to a careful narrative of Petrarch's life and labors, all his works being thus first coördinated in English, and constantly used for documentation. Translations of his letters and other writings fit into place. Where the writer takes issue with his predecessors the discussion does not mar the text, but is given in footnote, or in special essay at the end of the chapter. One must admire the art with which Canon Tatham has adapted his confused and unorganized material. As major problems will appear later than 1350 one awaits with the liveliest interest a fuller treatment, urgently needed, of such questions as Petrarch's attitude and indebtedness to Dante, the story of Boccaccio's friendship, and Petrarch's offices and ideas relative to the Jubilee of 1350, and of the return of the Papacy to Rome. The Introduction announces two more volumes in preparation, and a footnote, II, p. 376, anticipates chapter XXXIII of Book VI, the publication of which will depend upon the reception of the first two volumes. It would be unfortunate if support were not forthcoming for the completion of the work. Interest in Petrarch is certainly alive in our universities.

It is no invidious comparison to contrast this method of study

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with that of the Oxford scholars who have put us in their debt for our knowledge of Dante. There the plan was first to establish and print a reliable text; having that such blessings follow as could not otherwise be possible. In the study of Petrarch such righteousness is not possible for one man. Much was gained when Fracassetti printed some, not all, of the Letters. He omitted from the edition of 1859-63 the *Epistolae sine Titulo* as "adding nothing to the good of the reader or to the reputation of Petrarch, id nec catholico nec cordato viro dignum putans, omnem de illarum litterarum editione curanda, vel integritate restituenda cogitationem reieci," I, p. v. The Basle folio of 1554 Mr. Tatham has chosen for a working copy, with Fracassetti's editions of the Letters and translations; and his generalisations about the other folios are occasionally uncritical. A reference to the Venetian folio of 1503 would have restored the text, or resolved doubts. The medieval phonology and contractions of this edition strongly indicate that it was printed direct from MSS., and the errors in Basle are misreadings of Venice. But in the present state of the text, and of its availability, the plan of the present work was inevitable: to use some text for illustration and documentation, and correct a reading where possible.

At the outset the question of date beclouds Petrarch's writings. Tatham first shows in English how Petrarch re-edited and made additions long afterwards, and endeavors to date every document discussed. This labor must have been enormous, and is by no means so thankless as it seems. It must precede any canon of Petrarch text, and would of itself justify the two volumes. Yet the evidence is modestly explained in footnotes, and is merely part of the machinery required for a coherent account of Petrarch's life. It is in such unobtrusive research that the book is a gratifying achievement in the best tradition of British scholarship.

Besides an analysis of the *Secretum,* of the *Africa,* and a new translation of the "Letter to Posterity," the book offers 133 translations in whole or part of Latin letters, poems, "essays." The English is flowing and idiomatic, and long sentences are cleverly managed. The verse translations are a bit dainty, and less robust than the original. This is especially felt in the translation of the letter in rhymed hexameters to Petrarch's intimate friend, the bishop of the diocese. A playful sally, like the other verse epistles, the letter reveals a very human and engaging Petrarch. But surely Petrarch's accomplished pen has in these letters mastered the art of expression: Latin is for him by no means the artificial medium that Mr. Tatham seems rather deprecatingly to allude to, now and then. To urge the factitious character of Latin at that time is to befog the question of Dante's and of Petrarch's influence upon Italian. It was precisely because both men wrote Latin so

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easily and well that neither could write Italian without giving it form, artfully and deliberately, in contrast with the casual and discursive mode of the vernacular. Nor is the question of Petrarch's deviations from classical models especially fruitful. Petrarch bent his medium to his own purpose, and that purpose was by no means scholastic or academic, however it may seem to be to-day. In these letters Petrarch shows how cultivated gentlemen indulged the fine art of friendship. If that be a lost art, along with the medium, comment attaches rather to those who have lost it: we view with interest Petrarch and his friends, who were many, as Mr. Tatham abundantly shows. In his avoidance of superlatives there is danger of understatement for those who do not know; one feels that the reader should somehow be urged to share a very pardonable enthusiasm.

Bearing upon this contention is the allusion to "the chilly scholastic debates" (in the *De Remediis Utriusque Fortunæ*) between personified 'Reason' and 'Joy,' 'Hope,' 'Grief,' and 'Fear.' *Gaudium* and *Spes* are indeed mere names for men of straw, appearing in Book I as various complacent, self-satisfied asses put down by the learning and common-sense of *Ratio*. In Book II are pusillanimous types, often carefully balanced against those of Book I. Topics are things in general, from toothache to the announcement of *Gaudium* that he has just been made Pope! This little skit, one ventures to think, could hardly have been thought "chilly and scholastic" when it was published: it joins with the "Babylon" sonnets, and the *Epistolae sine Titulo* to warn the student against the reactionary assertion that Petrarch was no conscious reformer, and is not to be connected with subsequent changes in church and state. In the natural reaction to the use made of both Petrarch and Dante by the Reformers it is sometimes forgotten that Dante was condemned by the Curia, and it is hard to find a folio of Petrarch in which passages have not been crossed out or pasted over by some zealous expurgator. The last Dialogue in Book I of the *Remediis* is defaced in all folios examined,—that in which *Spes* begins by saying that he has hope of eternal life. The restored text indicates that Petrarch refers to "theologians" with his tongue in his cheek. He gave distinction to his minor orders, and declined high place in the Church. More or less connected with changing administrations, Petrarch saw that Italy would be lost to the Papacy if the Avignon regime continued. No modern, stereotyped and romantic notion of the "medieval church" helps one to understand Petrarch or his works, or other outstanding writer of the Fourteenth Century. "Reformer" is a protean term for critical purposes, and Canon Tatham has done much in directing a student to a point of view in harmony with the increasing body of evidence.

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The few misprints should read: I, p. 26, poor; p. 177, Baiter-Keyser's; p. 358, Demeter; p. 465, device; II, p. 76, bottom, summo; p. 227, Curius Dentatus; p. 253, middle, should he; p. 352, types dropped at bottom for 'free'; p. 362, n. 3, obruta.

Gambier, Ohio. W. P. REEVES.

Chateaubriand: Selections, with an introduction and notes by GEORGES ROGER. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1926. Pp. 138.

Un petit livre, d'ailleurs assez bien fait, dont le besoin ne se faisait pas absolument sentir. L'introduction biographique n'ajoute rien à ce que l'on savait déjà de la vie de Chateaubriand. Sous le titre *Appreciations and Criticisms* M. Roger a rassemblé des extraits d'Augustin Thierry, de Flaubert, de Vinet, de Sainte-Beuve, de Nisard, de Faguet, de Brunetière et de Jules Lemaître. Certains des passages cités contiennent des assertions qui auraient dû être accompagnées d'un commentaire rectificatif. En affirmant que Chateaubriand nous a délivrés "de la fausse pudeur, du mauvais respect humain qu'on éprouvait, depuis Voltaire, je ne dis pas à exprimer, mais à ressentir seulement ces sentiments," Brunetière révèle une ignorance du dix-huitième siècle qui étonne chez lui. On peut se demander à quoi ont servi tous les travaux faits depuis vingt ans par Mornet, Masson et tous les historiens du dix-huitième siècle si de telles affirmations sont encore reproduites et acceptées. Les extraits de Chateaubriand qui sont choisis avec beaucoup de goût et de discernement ne vont malheureusement que de la page 46 à la page 116. Les notes sont en général exactes. Je relèverai cependant, entre autres, les erreurs suivantes: Guinguené au lieu de Ginguené (p. 125); Saint-Denis a celebrated abbey . . . in which most of the French kings *lie* buried (p. 126), voilà un présent bien malheureux! C'est donc en vain que Chateubriand a consacré tant de pages à protester contre la profanation des tombeaux des rois de France; au milieu de *ces* proportions barbares, n'est pas "a lapse for ses" (p. 126); des cardinaux *de feu* est étrangement traduit par "*fiery* cardinal birds" (p. 128); un carcajou n'est certainement pas un "badger" même si on lui accole l'épithète de "American"; ne perdez-vous jamais vos douceurs n'est pas "a misprint for vous ne perdez jamais,"—plus simplement encore c'est une exclamation; enfin M. Roger nous dit bien qui est Henry IV (p. 114), mais Henry V (p. 116) ne fait l'objet d'aucune note, sans doute parce que l'éditeur lui-même n'a pu se procurer aussi facilement des renseignements sur ce "roi" qui n'a jamais régné.

The Johns Hopkins University. GILBERT CHINARD.

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GUSTAV GRUENBAUM W. KURRELMEYER

H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER

CONTENTS

PAGE

BERNBAUM, E.—Recent Works on Prose Fiction before 1800, - - 281

TILLEY, M. P.—The Comedy 'Lingua' and Du Bartas' 'La Sepmaine,' - 293

STEVENSON, L.—A French Text-book by Robert Browning, - - 299

AUSTIN, H. D.—Dante Notes, IX, - - - - - - - - 305

NYKL, A. R.—Old Spanish Terms of Small Value, - - - - 311

BUSH, D.—Some Allusions to Spenser, - - - - - - - 314

LEMMI, C. W.—Leopardi's 'Passero solitario,' - - - - - 316

COFFMAN, G. R.—A Note on Shakespeare and Nash, - - - - 317

DALE, G. I.—Spanish 'Fondo en' once more, - - - - - 319

CASKEY, J. H.—Two Notes on Uncle Toby, - - - - - - 321

CASKEY, J. H.—Tracing an Epigram, - - - - - - - 323

SEHRT, E. H.—Goethe's 'Faust,' Line 1520, - - - - - - 323

COOPER, L.—A Note on Legouis and Cazamian, 'Histoire de la Littérature Anglaise,' - - - - - - - - - - - 325

SCHWARTZ, W. L.—The Significance of D'Annunzio's "Outa Occidentale," 325

REVIEWS:—

LOUIS CONS, L'Auteur de la farce de *Pathelin*. [*R. H. Holbrook.*] - 327

JOSÉ F. MONTESINOS, Lope de Vega, *El Marqués de las Navas*. [*W. L. Fichter.*] - - - - - - - - - - - 331

BENJAMIN BISSELL, The American Indian in English Literature of the Eighteenth Century. [*F. E. Farley.*] - - - - - - 335

OTTO JESPERSEN, The Philosophy of Grammar. [*Mildred E. Lambert.*] 339

DAVID D. GRIFFITH, A Bibliography of Chaucer, 1908-1924. [*M. B. Ruud.*] - - - - - - - - - - - - - 343

CAMILLO VON KLENZE, From Goethe to Hauptmann. [*E. Feise.*] - - 345

EDNA GÖRTE, Der junge Tieck und die Aufklärung. [*E. Zeydel.*] - 347

P. MERKER und W. STAMMLER, Vom Werden des deutschen Geistes. Festgabe Gustav Ehrismann. [*A. L. Andrews.*] - - - 349

MARY HOWITT, Hans Christian Andersen, by Himself. The True Story of My Life. Translated. [*A. B. Benson.*] - - - - 351

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Modern Language Notes

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RECENT WORKS ON PROSE FICTION BEFORE 1800

I have been examining and comparing whatever has been published during 1925 and 1926 that would attract a student of prose fiction from its beginnings to the year 1800. The interest in this subject, as prose fiction is the leading type of literature in modern times, is fast growing. According to my records, doubtless not quite complete, there have been 88 new editions of old prose fictions, 181 "learned" articles on subjects within the field, and 61 books,—a total of 330 items. In other words, to over three hundred writers the study of prose fiction prior to 1800, and the publication of something concerning it, has recently been an important occupation; and the interest of the reading public has been judged sufficiently great to support production at this rate,—exceeding that of any previous biennium. There can be no doubt that the twentieth century strongly feels that the older stories have something to give it of peculiar value; for more and more it reads and discusses them. I rejoice in this general craving; but I feel impelled to question whether the publications that pretend to satisfy it are as good as they ought to be, and whether, before the state of scholarship in this field is sound, propaganda and reformation may not be needed.

Some of the recent work is of genuine value.[1] This is particularly true of studies on the prose fiction of the Dark Ages, the Middle Ages, and the Renaissance. On prehistoric prose fiction,

[1] Full bibliographical references would triple the length of this survey. Most of the works mentioned may readily be found listed in the bibliographies for 1925-26 of (a) *M. L. N.*, (b) *Mod. Hum. Res. Ass.*, (c) *P. M. L. A.* References are given only for items difficult to locate. I invite inquiries.

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i. e., folklore, experts have produced general studies such as Malinowski's *Myth in Primitive Psychology* and Kaarle Krohn's *Die Folkloristische Arbeitsmethode,* as well as special studies on the folklore of Armenia, Africa, Greece, Greenland, and Siberia.[2] J. K. Wright's well documented survey, *The Geographical Lore of the Time of the Crusades* should not be overlooked, as it furnishes a new means of ascertaining what is fabulous in medieval tales like *Prester John.* In that curious and sometimes beautiful branch of the historical romance, the legends of the saints, scholarly work has been done on Barlaam and Josaphat, the Hairy Anchorite, St. George, St. Anthony of Padua, Sts. Marcellinus and Peter, St. Guthlac, St. Martin, St. Edmund, St. Anna, and St. Patrick.[3] Especially valuable among these is Professor Irene McKeehan's *St. Edmund,* combined with her Chicago doctoral dissertation on *Some Relationships between the Legends of British Saints and Medieval Romance.*[4] Scholarly too are the studies of other legends, like those of The Four Daughters of God, Adam and Eve, Glastonbury, the Sparrows of Cirencester, William Rufus, and Henry Plantagenet.[5] The new edition of Alban Butler's *Lives of the Saints,* drastically corrected by Father Thurston, will be very useful for the discovery of fiction in the original legends.[6]

[2] Rasmussen, Knud, *Myter fra Grönland.*—Bodding, P. O., *Santal Folk Tales.*—Coxwell, C. F., *Siberian Folk Tales.*—Nilsson, M. P., *History of Greek Religion.*

[3] Harris, Rendel, *Barlaam and Joasaph, Bull. Rylands Libr.* (1925).—Williams, C. A., *Hairy Anchorite, Univ. Ill. Studies* (1925).—Padelford, F. M., *St. George,* S. P. (1926).—Gilliat-Smith, E., ed. *St. Anthony of Padua.*—Wendell, B., transl., *Marcellinus and Peter.*—Kurtz, B. P., *St. Anthony to St. Guthlac, Univ. Cal. Publ.* (1926).—Gerould, G. H., *Aelfric's St. Martin, J. E. G. P.* (1925).—Foerster, M., *St. Anna, Festschrift J. Hoops* (1925).—Slover, C. H., *William of Malmesbury's Life of St. Patrick, Mod. Phil.* (1926).

[4] *Univ. Col. Studies* (1925); and *Abstracts of Theses, Chicago, Humanistic Series* (1926).

[5] Traver, Hope, *The Four Daughters of God, P. M. L. A.* (1925).—Baldwin, E. C., *Paradise Lost and the Apocalypse of Moses, J. E. G. P.* (1925).—Robinson, J. A., *Two Glastonbury Legends* (1926).—Krappe, A. H.—*The Sparrows of Cirencester, Mod. Phil.* (1925).—Krappe, A. H., *William Rufus, Neophilologus* (1926).—Moore, O. H., *Henry Plantagenet, Ohio State Studies* (1925).

[6] Cf. Father Thurston's *Fact and Legend in Hagiography,* in *Studies: an Irish Quarterly* (Sept. 1925).

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Even in the older field, however, there are signs of danger. Take three of the *Broadway Translations*. Here is a series which the publishers advertise as "complete and definite" editions. By providing introductions and notes they try to give the volumes a scholarly and up-to-date appearance. Their circulars and their salesmen press them upon the college public. The ordinary New York, Chicago, and London weekly reviewer speaks of them in terms like these,—"outstanding examples of what can be produced by scholarly editors finding pleasure in their work and encouraged by publishers of a scholarly mind." In three of the editions, these pretensions are more or less false. The *Tibetan Tales* is a reprint, including the preface, of Ralston's edition of 1871. In the footnote on the tale of Griselde, Reinhold Köhler is given as if the latest authority. He was,—fifty years ago. The second, a translation of Don Juan Manuel's *Lucanor,* is confessedly a reissue of the edition of 1868, retaining the old notes, and making only slight additions. And the edition of the *Gesta Romanorum* is a reprint, without warning, of Dr. E. A. Baker's edition of 1905, the only change being that the words "May, 1905" have been deleted. It would have been honest to let them stand. To realize what such editions should be, turn to *Märchen des Mittelalters,* edited by Albert Wesselski, one of the leading experts in medieval lore; with its preface and notes abreast of the latest scholarship, an honest and learned book—and inexpensive withal. Compare his annotations on stories which occur in the *Lucanor* and the *Gesta* with the poor notes in the Broadway editions. Or contrast with them even the less pretentious *Sagen und Geschichten aus dem alten Frankreich und England,* by the Schwartzkopfs, with its thoroughly sound text and instructive illustrations. In Germany and in France, the leading publishers know who the scholars in special fields are, and do not foist yark't-up works upon the public.

1475-1600.—For the first of the modern periods, good new bibliographies have appeared, including check lists from the Newberry and the New York Public Libraries, as well as valuable surveys by Hardin Craig and Paul Van Tieghem.[7] In our field as in its titular one, Sugden's *Topographical Dictionary to Shakespeare* will be use-

[7] Craig, Hardin, *Recent Literature of the English Renaissance, S. P.* (1926).—Van Tieghem, P., *Précis d'histoire littéraire* (1925).

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ful. The same may be said of H. L. Plomer's books on Caxton and Wynken de Worde, despite his tendency to avoid difficulties. The best book on Caxton as a man of letters, however, is now Professor Nellie Aurner's. She accurately describes his works, reprints all the important passages in which he sets forth his aims as translator and editor, and reveals him as one of the most beneficent and enduringly influential literary dictators. Concerning Tiptoft's version of Bonaccorso's *De Vera Nobilitate,* which Caxton published, there is new information in A. W. Reed's *Early Tudor Drama. Guillaume de Palerme,* of which there was a prose version c. 1500, extant only in a fragment, is studied by Professor McKeehan as a typical "best seller."[8]

Father Pompen has discovered that the prose translation of the *Ship of Fools* was made from the French. N. H. Clement's study of the influence of the Arthurian romances on Rabelais shows that one of Rabelais' chief intentions was to ridicule romances,—a point which, in view of *Don Quixote* and *Joseph Andrews,* suggests that parody is a very important motif of great fiction. There have been valuable disclosures concerning the translators Anthony Munday and Bartholomew Yong.[9] Those interested in Sir Thomas North's *Philosophy of Doni,* will appreciate the value of the ingenious reconstruction of the oldest form of the *Panchatantra* by Professor Egerton. Van Doren's edition of *Lazarillo* is superfluous, and the *Broadway* Bandello is, without saying so, a reissue of the Tudor edition. Good new editions have, however, been made of Caxton's *Order of Chivalry* (the framework of which is fiction), the early *Arcadia,* the *Amorous Fiametta, Faustus,* and Middleton's *Chignon of England,* though the introduction to the last may be charged with neglecting the folklore sources. Sir Israel Gollancz's *Hamlet* is especially admirable. A curious phenomenon is the sudden enthusiasm in France for Thomas Deloney,[10] but there the old error in the *D. N. B.* that he was from Norwich persists. The *Broadway* text of Heliodorus, a modernization of Underdowne, may be justifiable; but I prefer

[8] *P. M. L. A.* (1926).

[9] Hayes, G. R., *Munday, Library* (1925).—Harrison, T. P., *Yong, M. L. R.* (1926).

[10] Chevalley, Abel, *Thomas Deloney* (Paris, 1926). Also translations, *Jack de Newbury,* and *Thomas de Reading,* by the same hand.

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Saintsbury's inexpensive and unaltered reprint. The *Seven Champions of Christendom* has been revamped for the nursery.

The main instance of amateurishness in this period, is an edition of the *Fifteen Joys of Matrimony* by the litterateur Richard Aldington. His pleasant disclaimers of sufficient knowledge to discuss the problem are modest, but publishers should not commit such work to untrained hands; and reviewers should not condone incompetence by twaddling about "Mr. Aldington's scholarly introduction." The "List of Books Consulted" omits the most important article on La Sale,—Allison Peers's. Mr. Aldington earnestly desired to produce a translation which should recapture the spirit of the original by being "archaic, quaint, racy, outspoken, inelegant, occasionally involved, and occasionally a little illogical and wandering, but amusing by these very divergencies from modern standards"; but he did not know that just such a translation, a better one than his self-conscious archaizing could create, already existed in Dekker's "Bachelor's Banquet," which is what he should have edited.

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.—The study of seventeenth century prose fiction has been facilitated by lists of the libraries of Robert Burton and Samuel Pepys, by Gwendolyn Murray's *Bibliography of Character Books,* and by R. S. Crane's admirable critical list of recent publications.[11] Some articles on continental novelists have important bearings upon the history of English fiction. Jean Cazenave's *Le Roman hispano-mauresque en France* shows the influence of Hita on Scudéry, La Fayette, Villedieu, and other authors much translated into English.[12] Two of the studies of Cervantes are especially praiseworthy,—G. T. Northup's "Cervantes' Attitude towards Honor," which shows him loyal to the code at its best, but rejecting its silliness and cruelty; and H. B. Lathrop's "In Praise of Cervantes," which skillfully discloses the mellowing influence of "Don Quixote" upon the English masters.[13]

Of *The Humorous and Satirical Works* of Quevedo, which were widely read in England in the seventeenth century, there has

[11] Crane, R. S., *English Literature* (c. 1660-1800), *a Current Bibliography, Phil. Quart.* (1926).

[12] *Rev. Litt. Comp.* (1925).

[13] Northup, *Mod. Phil.* (1924).—Lathrop, in *Essays Barrett Wendell.*

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appeared an excellent edition by Charles Duff in the *Broadway Translations*. The contrast between Mr. Duff's edition, commanding the latest knowledge and that subsequently issued in Knopf's *Blue Jade Library* should prove instructive to young scholars. The Knopf edition is given every appearance of newness, but is really nothing but a reissue of the edition published in 1892. If any one doubts whether there is very much harm in this sort of quackery, let him observe that the introduction retains Henry Edward Watts's old argument, which no scholar now regards as tenable, that Hurtado de Mendoza was the author of *Lazarillo*.

The reissue of the first complete translation (1620) of *The Decameron* is useful, and H. Ashton's edition of the *Princess of Cleves* (*Broadway Translations*) is excellent. Attention should be called to the reissue in French of a contemporaneous criticism of this masterpiece, by Valincour, which makes accessible an important document in the history of criticism of prose fiction.

Various genial traits of John Bunyan have recently been disclosed, to the surprise of those who have not seen the old British Museum drawing of his cavalier-like person, and of those who think all Puritans unhappy. Another copy of his rare *Book for Boys and Girls* has appeared. Harold Golder, in a scholarly article with what seems to me a slightly misleading title, *John Bunyan's Hypocrisy*, demonstrates his apparently inconsistent interest in chivalric fiction and in fairy tales.[14]

C. A. Moore has established the facts concerning John Dunton's *Second Spira*, and in England a pamphlet of extracts from his work has been published, entitled *Exploits and Wonders*. F. C. Green in a cautious and convincing article persuades us to believe that Lavergne de Guilleraques fabricated the *Letters of a Portuguese Nun*.[15] A fabricator on a large scale, whose works are of great importance to the student of Defoe, is authoritatively studied in Benjamin M. Woodbridge's book, *Gatien de Courtilz*. English translations of various works by Courtilz appeared in 1686, 1695, 1696, and 1700. His possible influence upon Defoe seems to me a most interesting and promising subject for investigation.

[14] *No. Amer. Rev.* (1926).

[15] Moore, in *S. P.* (1925).—Green, in *M. L. R.* (1926).

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EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.—There has been rescued from oblivion what was a powerful influence,—i. e., certain now forgotten French novels. Translations in sumptuous editions have been issued of Crébillon, Prévost, Bibbiena, La Morlière, Fromaget, Boufflers, Diderot, La Clos, and Cazotte. Although the incentive to publication of these boudoir novels is probably to pander to the Satanism of Belgravia and the Phallicism of Greenwich Village, the accessibility of such novels, and the appearance of a work of popularization like Palache's book on Crébillon, La Clos, etc., will help those who are seriously trying to understand the taste in fiction of an age which delighted in them and, I believe, widely imitated them. Even more helpful is the progress towards the writing of a sound history of French fiction which is being made in the articles of F. C. Green, Van Roosbroeck, and Schinz.[16] The English social background has been studied in competing and complementary articles by Mr. A. S. Collins, Miss Helen Hughes, and Professor Schücking, on the nature of the middle-class reading public.[17] Of wide importance to students of comparative literature are the published lectures of Professor Prinsen of Amsterdam, *De Roman in de Achtiende Eeuw in West-Europa.* A third of this survey sketches the intellectual literary background of the century; the rest, about 375 pages, discusses the chief French, English, German, and Dutch novels, to the number of over 100, and especially their international relationship. It is valuable as a descriptive compendium, with extensive quotations in the original tongues in other words, as a competent introductory survey. It should be translated. Until it is, we shall have the preposterous situation that most of those who can read Dutch do not greatly need the survey, whereas those who require it cannot read it.

In English, the Shakespeare Head edition of Fielding provides inexpensively a scholarly text of the great novels. Certain novels of other authors, which were out of print and therefore neglected, have been reissued, in some cases for the first time in more than

[16] Green, in *M. L. N.* and *M. L. R.* (1925).—Van Roosbroeck, *M. L. N.* (1925).—Schinz, *M. L. N.* (1926).

[17] Collins, *Rev. Engl. Stud.* (1926).—Hughes, *J. E. G. P.* (1926).—Schücking, L. L., *Deutsche Vierteljahrschrift für Literaturwissenschaft* (1926).

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a century. We now have again *Peter Wilkins* and *Pompey the Little* and *The Spiritual Quixote* and Walpole's *Hieroglyphic Tales;* and though they have usually no editorial matter worth mentioning, the texts themselves are welcome. We also have an edition, curtailed, of the love letters of the sentimental Mary Hays, who became the revolutionary author of that noteworthy novel *Emma Courtney* (1796). We have Holcroft's *Memoirs,* edited by Capt. Elbridge Colby, who sometimes gives what Hazlitt had omitted,—autobiographical passages from Holcroft's novels. I wish that Capt. Colby did not think so contemptuously of those novels, which are so rare and historically so significant; for he is the specialist best equipped to give us the editions of *Anna St. Ives* and *Hugh Trevor* that we need. To conclude the roll of the important reissues, I must mention the editions of those criminal biographies which latterly have come forth as it were in a general jail delivery,—Alexander Smith's *History of the Most Notorious Highwaymen,* Charles Johnson's *History of the Pirates,* and the *Complete Newgate Calendar,*—works rich in fiction and much pilfered from by novelists.

The best of the meritorious special studies is *Swift: les Années de Jeunesse, et le 'Conte du Tonneau'* by Dr. Emile Pons of Strasbourg, a brilliant disciple of Professor Cazamian. It is the first volume of three which are likely to constitute the authoritative work on Swift for our time. Of course it is not faultless. R. F. Jones's investigations on *The Battle of the Books* should have been used; and Gueckel and Guenther's new study of Swift's reading will supply omissions; but the deficiencies in Dr. Pons's first volume may readily be made up for in his second. In general this work is an honor to our profession and a model. Here is what we strive toward,—the erudition which ascertains the many complicated facts bearing on a subject, and the scholarship which perceives what are the important objects for inquiry, which analyzes the meaning of the evidence, and which soundly judges its relative and absolute value. Particularly noteworthy is the foundation of Dr. Pons's study,—a one hundred page critical history of the previous biographies and criticisms of Swift, which are shown to be shallow and partial. I feel that I may also praise highly, though not quite so highly, Frederic T. Blanchard's *Fielding the Novelist,* a study of his fame from his day to our own. This work

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of over 600 pages is a weighty contribution to the history of the criticism of prose fiction, one of the most neglected branches of our subject, and it is to be hoped that its publication will encourage research in the history of the criticism of the other great novelists; for the life of a masterpiece after its creation is no less interesting than its conception, and is perhaps even more important to our understanding of its value to us. Professor Blanchard has industriously gathered all the hundreds of criticisms of Fielding, and has arranged them perspicuously with plentiful quotations and bibliographical data. The defect of the book is hero-worship of Fielding; to Professor Blanchard, it seems, a critic is a good critic in proportion to the degree of his praise of Fielding, and one who says a good word for Richardson is thereby self-condemned. But, despite this bias, the volume is admirably useful as a careful historical record.

Some works of smaller ambition and scope than those of Pons and Blanchard deserve honorable mention because of their sound method and real service,—Teerinck's edition of *The History of John Bull* with its ascription of the authorship to Swift, who now appears to be possibly entitled at least to share the authorship with Arbuthnot; H. C. Hutchins' painstaking and costly investigation of the first editions of *Robinson Crusoe;* Noyes's annotated collection of Smollett's letters, the first worthy of the name; H. S. Buck's *Study in Smollett, chiefly 'Peregrine Pickle';* Miss Balderston's revelation of the unreliable fashion in which Goldsmith's biography was huddled together, Anton Kippenberg's solution of the problem of the first English translation of Goethe's *Werther;*[18] and finally two new editions—Follet's edition of Fielding's *Jonathan Wild,* and especially Pattee's of Brown's *Wieland,* of which more presently.

The rest of the eighteenth century items are, it seems to me, mostly so unpretentious and mediocre that they can do no harm. Some, however, are so bad as to be deleterious to our standard of scholarship if passed over in silence. It seems to me damaging to scholarly standards that a great university, which has moreover contributed unusually much to research in eighteenth century prose fiction, should now set the poor example of publishing a

[18] *Jahrbuch der Sammlung Kippenberg* (Leipzig, 1925).

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thesis like Benjamin Bissell's *The American Indian in the English Literature of the Eighteenth Century.* Here we have the sort of thing that the leaders among our scientific colleagues are beginning to protest against,—the mere collecting and describing of phenomena without eliciting therefrom a new law or new meaning. It ought to be unnecessary to say that to do what Mr. Bissell did in composing his chapter on novels, viz., to find the novels which have Indians in them, and to describe their contents, or, in other words, to play a game of Hide and Go Seek, is not to be engaged in scholarly research.

Bored and depressed by such work, because it lacks ideas, I am almost ready to prefer treatises which have any kind of ideas, even mad ones. To this class, where there is a strong interest in values, though apparently little capacity in judging them, belong such writings as Mr. George Parker's *Allegory of 'Robinson Crusoe,'* which with maniacal earnestness would persuade you that the cannibal feast symbolized the party struggles around Queen Anne's death bed, and that Crusoe's goats were meant to signify Defoe's works. Here too belong all the Freudian ebullitions, particularly Dr. A. De Froe's, of Amsterdam, *Laurence Sterne and his Novels, studied in the Light of Modern Psychology.* "Instead of being squeamish," Dr. de Froe ingratiatingly explains, "and trying to pass by obscene passages as much as possible, I shall have to emphasize them. I shall have to give, name, define, and explain bawdy words and ribald thoughts . . . . I shall have to hunt up the passages, not only where Sterne is obviously but also where he is covertly lascivious; and shall have to prove that descriptions that look innocent, are downright lewd." Upon Elinor Glyn's *Philosophy of Love* he leans as an authority,—which strikes me as strange as the inclusion of Webster's Dictionary in his bibliography. The line, "I can't get out, I can't get out," is the betrayal of "a human soul that is fettered by his sexual cravings." Thus passages which to no healthy mind would suggest the pornographic are often perverted by this modernist of old Amsterdam.

A large number of the articles and books suffer from lack of knowledge of what has previously been done on the subject; in some cases this ignorance is simply ruinous, as in the case of Dr. Andreae's *The Dawn of Juvenile Literature in England.* It is pitiable to think of the patient work done in 1925 in this study

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which would have been spared if the author had known Miss Florence V. Barry's *A Century of Children's Books,* and of how much further, on the basis of Miss Barry's pioneer work, the investigation might have been pushed. As it is, Dr. Andreae's work is almost entirely superfluous.

Another amazing disregard of predecessors is shown by Dr. Ford K. Brown in his handsome volume, *The Life of William Godwin.* Incredible as it may seem, Dr. Brown totally ignores all the modern scholarly studies of Godwin,—the two French works, by Gourg and by Roussin, the German work on Godwin's novels by Meyer, and the studies by the American scholar B. S. Allen, each of which would have supplied serious deficiencies in his knowledge. It is a bitterly disappointing performance, as the work done on the subject during the last two decades had prepared the way for a fully satisfactory treatment. Dr. Brown neglects the inner life of Godwin, and neglects the novels, although the fact that Godwin wrote *Caleb Williams* is one of the two principal reasons why anybody should write a biography of him. Even the editing of the letters is careless; for example, where Godwin writes "woman stands in need of man's science and information to furnish to her resources," Dr. Brown prints "of calmness and information to furnish her with resources."

A really shocking example of amateurishness is Lewis Melville's *Life and Letters of Tobias Smollett,* which, besides dealing only with the externalities of its subject, is swarming with textual errors, and which omits the most important letter that Smollett ever wrote. If such a book had been written about anyone as eminent as a dramatist or poet as Smollett is as a novelist, it would not have been accepted. It is another illustration that among readers for publishers, as elsewhere, the standards in the field of prose fiction are much lower than in any other important branch of literary knowledge.

A shrewd New York publisher has put forth a series called *The Rogue's Bookshelf.* In the usual catchpenny way he has committed the writing of the introduction not to scholars who know something about the books, but to literati whose names on a title page are believed to have a selling value. Accordingly *Caleb Williams* falls into the hands of Van Wyck Brooks, who has nothing of value to say concerning it, and who omits Godwin's own

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prefaces, which are the best possible introduction to an understanding of the novel. *Ferdinand, Count Fathom* is given in charge of Ernest Boyd, who has no information concerning Smollett's purposes in writing it, but harps upon its coarseness and indecency, and opines, of course without the slightest documentation, that the early Victorians must have tried to suppress it, which happens to be untrue. Fielding's *Jonathan Wild* is delivered over to John Macy, who guesses that Fielding wrote it because we all adore scoundrels, but who cannot tell us the real circumstances under which Fielding was moved to create it. His amateurish edition should be contrasted with Wilson Follett's, which really furnishes a reader the information needed nowadays for intelligent enjoyment. Ernest Brenecke, Jr., tries to introduce Brackenridge's *Modern Chivalry,* but again without the proper professional equipment. The series thus amateurishly edited includes one work which promises well,—*Moll Flanders,* edited by Dr. G. H. Maynadier; but this, though announced in such a fashion as to lead the public to believe it a new work, I discover to be merely a reprint, introduction and all, from the old plates of an edition of 1903,—in other words a piece of quackery.

Another outrage was the pretentious publication by Constable of a three guinea edition of *Robinson Crusoe* which professed to be printed from the first edition, but which really is from the third edition of volume one and the second edition of volume two. What a contrast to turn to a genuinely professional and expert piece of work like Profesor Pattee's edition of Brockden Brown's *Wieland,* with its carefully selected and proof-read text, command of the literature of the subject, and an introductory account of the creation of the work which enables one to read it with sympathy and understanding! But such editing is a rare exception. Most publishers do not yet know how to obtain it.

It seems to me that I am not an alarmist in maintaining that scholars in prose fiction are in danger of missing a great opportunity. The public has never been so eager to become acquainted with the masterpieces and the history of prose fiction as now, and it is being fubbed off with quackery and amateurishness. We should seek every opportunity to denounce pitilessly the charlatanry which is ruining the subject. We should press forward the publishing of topical bibliographies, so that research may pro-

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gress without the waste of futile repetition. We should issue authentic texts, attractive to the general public, but edited by professional scholars. And instead of being content with biographies dealing with mere externalities, we should try to recreate also the inner life of the masters of prose fiction. In such matters, as usual, the interests of the true scholar and the cultured public are identical.

University of Illinois. ERNEST BERNBAUM.

THE COMEDY *LINGUA* AND DU BARTAS' *LA SEPMAINE*

It has not been pointed out that Thomas Tomkis' comedy *Lingua* (pr. 1607) contains a number of passages borrowed from several famous poems of his day. In another place I have shown the influence of the *Faerie Queene* on *Lingua*.[1] Here I wish to indicate Tomkis' indebtedness in *Lingua* to Du Bartas' *La Sepmaine;* and, in the light of this, to suggest a different interpretation for the obscure, topical and personal allusions that Professor G. C. Moore Smith has noted in this play.

First as to Tomkis' indebtedness to *La Sepmaine.* At times he borrows from this poem extensively; at other times he confines his borrowings to single lines or phrases. The most extensive instance of his borrowing from Du Bartas is in the long soliloquy, a free translation, in changed order, of thirty lines in Du Bartas, that Somnus addresses to the Senses lying about him bound by "cords of sleep" (V, XVI):[2]

1 Loe here the Senses late outragious,	1 O douce Nuict, sans toy, sans toy l'humaine vie
All in a round together sleepe like friends,	Ne seroit qu'vn enfer, où le chagrin, l'enuie,
For there's no difference twixt the King and Clowne,	La peine, l'auarice, & cent façons de morts
The poore and rich, the beautious and deformed,	Sans fin bourelleroyent & nos coeurs & nos corps.

[1] See *The Comedy 'Lingua' and the 'Faerie Queene,'* in *MLN*, March, 1927.

[2] This and other passages quoted from *Lingua* are from the Farmer facsimile edition of the 1607 quarto.

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Wrapt in the vaile of night, and bonds of sleepe;
Without whose powre, and sweete dominion,
Our life were Hell, and pleasure painfulnesse,
The sting of enuie, and the dart of loue,
Auarice talons, and the fire of hate,
Would poison, wound, distract, and soone consume,
The heart, the liuer, life and minde of man.
The sturdie Mower, that with brawnie armes,
Wieldeth the crooked sithe, in many a swathe,
Cutting the flowrie pride on the veluet plaine,
Lies downe at night, and in the weary folds
Of his wiues armes, forgets his labour past;
The painfull Marriner, and carefull Smith,
The toyling Plowman, all Artificers,
Most humbly yeeld to my dominion;
Without due rest, nothing is durable.
Loe thus doth *Somnus* conquer all the world
With his most awfull wand, and halfe the yeare
Raignes ouer the best and proudest Emperours.
Onely the nurslings of the Sisters nine,
Rebels against me, scorne my great command:
And when darke night from her bedewy wings,
Drops sleepie silence to the eyes of all,

O Nuict, tu vas ostant le masque & la feintise,
Dont sur l'humain theatre en vain on se desguise
Tandis que le iour luit: ô Nuict alme par toy
Sont faits du tout esgaux le bouuier & le Roy,
Le pauure & l'opulent, le Grec, & le Barbare,
Le Iuge & l'accusé, le sçauant & l'ignare,
Le maistre & le valet, le difforme & le beau.
Car, Nuict, tu couures tout de ton obscur manteau.
Celui qui condamné pour quelque enorme vice
Recherche sous les monts l'amorce d'auarice,
Et qui dans les fourneaux, noirci, cuit & recuit
Le soulfre de nos coeurs, se repose la nuict.
Celui qui tout courbé le long des riues, tire
Contre le fil du fleuue vn trafiqueur nauire,
Et fondant tout en eau, remplit les bords de bruit,
Sur la paille estendu, se repose la nuict.
Celui qui d'vne faulx maintefois esmoulue
Tond l'honneur bigarré de la plaine velue,
Se repose la nuict: & dans les bras lassez
De sa compagne perd tous les trauaux passez.
Seuls, seuls les nourrissons des neuf doctes pucelles,
Cependant que la nuict de ses humides ailes
Embrasse l'Vniuers, d'vn trauail gracieux

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They onely wake, and with vnwearied toile,
Labour to finde the *Via lactea*,
That leads to the heauen of immortallitie;
And by the loftie towring of their minde,
Fledgd with the feathers of a learned muse,
They raise themselues vnto the highest pitch,
Marrying base earth, and heauen in a thought;
But thus I punish their rebellion,
Their industrie was neuer yet rewarded;
Better to sleepe, then wake and toile for nothing.[3]

Se tracent vn chemin pour s'enuoler aux cieux.
Et plus haut que le ciel d'vn vol docte conduisent
Sur l'aile de leurs vers les humains qui les lisent.[4]

In his borrowing from Du Bartas' apostrophe to night, Tomkis follows his source more closely than is his normal practice.[5] His usual method of borrowing in the verse passages of *Lingua,* as illustrated in Lumen's description of light (III, vi) from Du Bartas' account " de l'excellente vtilité de la lumiere," [6] is, also, to restrict his verbal borrowings to a much smaller compass.

In contrast with his practice of introducing verbal borrowings in the verse passages of *Lingua,* in the prose passages of the play Tomkis introduces borrowed material with the greatest freedom of expression and of arrangement. A prose passage in *Lingua* of considerable length, that borrows from Du Bartas' account " de l'excellence de la parole," illustrates this. This passage (III, v) is

[3] The lines of the soliloquy in *Lingua*, 1-11, 12-19 and 24-35, correspond in *La Sepmaine* to lines 1-12, 13-24 and 25-30, with omissions, additions and rearrangement of material.

[4] *La Sepmaine*, 1581, p. 19, line 24, to p. 20, line 25.

[5] A comparison of Tomkis' rendering of this passage with J. Sylvester's translation of the same passage reveals Tomkis' translation to be an independent rendering of the French text.

[6] *La Sepmaine*, 1581, p. 18, line 26, to p. 19, line 7. See also *ibid.*, p. 195, lines 1-24, and p. 198, line 29, to p. 199, line 5, for other passages in Du Bartas that influenced to a less degree parts of Visus' description of his "house and instrument" (III, vi), and Tactus' description of his "instrument of instruments, the hand" (IV, vi).

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made up of two speeches by Lingua, in which we learn of the "profitable services" that she has undertaken for Queen Psyche, together with interjected comments by Memory and Anamnestes. These comments by Memory and Anamnestes are included in the following passage because of their bearing upon the topical allusion in Lingua's first speech:

> *Com. Sen.* But what profitable seruice, do you vndertake for our dread *Queene Psyche*?
>
> *Ling.* O how I am rauisht to thinke how infinitely she hath graced mee with her most acceptable seruice. But aboue all (which you Maister Register may well remember) *when her highnesse taking my mouth for her instrument, with the Bowe of my tongue strooke so heauenly a touch vpon my teeth*, that shee charmed the very Tigers a sleepe, the lystning Beares and Lions, to couch at her feete, while the Hills leaped, and the woodes daunced, to the sweete harmony of her most Angelicall accents.
>
> *Mem.* I remember it very well. *Orpheus* plaied vpon the Harpe, while she sange about some foure yeares after the Contention betwixt *Apollo* and *Pan*, and a little before the excoriation of *Marsyas*.
>
> *An.* By the same token the Riuer *Alpheus*, at that time pursuing his beloued *Arethusa*, dischanel'd himselfe of his former course to bee partaker of their admirable consort, and the musicke beeing ended, thrust himselfe head-long into earth, the next way to followe his amorous Chase; if you goe to *Arcadia* you shall see his comming vp againe.
>
> *Com. Sen.* Forward *Lingua* with your reason.
>
> *Ling. How oft hath her Excellencie imployed mee as Imbassador in her most vrgent affaires* to forreigne Kings and Emperours, I may say *to the Godds themselues. How many bloudlesse Battailes haue my perswasions attained, when the senses forces haue beene vanquished.* Howe many Rebells haue I reclaymed when her sacred authority was little regarded, her Lawes (without exprobation be it spoken) had beene altogither vnpublished, her will vnperformed, her illustrious deedes vnrenoumed, had not the siluer sound of my trumpet filled the whole circuit of the Vniuerse with her deserued fame. *Her Cities would dissolue, traffique would decay, friendshippes be broken, were not my speech the knot, Meroury, and Mastique, to binde, defende, and glewe them togither.* What should I say more; I can neuer speake inough of the vnspeakeable praise of speech, wherein I can find no other imperfection at all, but that the most exquisite power & excellency of speech cannot sufficiently expresse the exquisite power, and excellency of speaking.

The source of the italicised lines in the two speeches by Lingua

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in the passage just quoted is found in the italicised lines in the following passage from Du Bartas, reciting, in the form of an apostrophe to the mouth, "l'excellence de la parole":[1]

O bouche! c'est par toy que nos ayeuls sauuages,
Qui, vagabons, viuoyent durant les premiers aages
Sous les cambrez rochers, ou sous les fueilleux bois,
Sans regle, sans amour, sans commerce, sans loix,
S'vnissans en vn corps ont habité les villes,
Et porté, non-forcez, le ioug des loix ciuiles.
O bouche! c'est par toy que les rudes esprits
Ont des esprits scauans tant de beaux arts apris.
Par toy nous allumons mille ardeurs genereuses
Dans les trẽblans glaçõs des ames plus peureuses.
Par toy nous essuyons des plus tristes les yeux.
Par toy nous rembarrons l'effort seditieux
De la bouillante chair, qui nuict & iour se peine
D'oster & throne & sceptre à la raison humaine.
Nos esprits ont par toy commerce dans les cieux.
Par toy nous appaisons l'ire du Dieu des Dieux,
Enuoyant d'ici bas sur la voute estoilee,
Les fideles souspirs d'vne oraison zelee.
Par toy nous fredonnõs du Tout-puissant l'hõneur:
Nostre langue est l'archet, nostre esprit le sonneur,
Nos dents les nerfs batus, le creux de nos narines
Le creux de l'instrument, *d'où ces odes diuines*
Prenent leur plus bel air, & d'vn piteux accent
Desrobent peu à peu la foudre au Tout-puissant.

The words underscored above in the first speech of Lingua's, which repeat substantially the line and a half underscored near the end of the passage just quoted from Du Bartas, throw new light on the topical and personal allusions in this speech of Lingua's and in the two following speeches, by Memory and Anamnestes.

Professor G. C. Moore Smith has suggested that the occasion, when Queen Psyche "'infinitely . . . graced me [Lingua] with her most acceptable service," was "when the University officially visited the Queen's Court at Audley End on Sunday, July 27, 1578, and 'when the Oracion [of the Public Orator] was ended, she rendryed and gave most hartie thanks, promiseing to be mindful of the Universitie and so . . . departed out of the

[1] *La Sepmaine*, 1581, p. 197, line 8, to p. 198, line 3.

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chambre.'"[8] This identification of Queen Psyche as Queen Elizabeth, however, although it agrees with the identification of Alpheus as Sir Philip Sidney, offers a difficulty, that Professor Moore Smith has recognized, in his tentative suggestion of Orpheus as Spenser.

Queen Psyche, however, is probably not to be identified here or elsewhere in the play with an historical character. She has, as has each of the characters in the play, an allegorical interpretation, and is not to be confused with Orpheus, Alpheus and the other figures of classic myths whose names are employed in the play only in this passage, as a means of concealing the identity of the persons referred to in the allusions. Rather, as her name suggests, Queen Psyche is the personification of man's Soul, a character that Tomkis borrowed, together with the other characters of his allegory of the body, from Canto IX of Book II of the *Faerie Queene*.[9]

A comparison with their source of the words quoted from Du Bartas in the former of Lingua's two speeches confirms the personification of Psyche, "le sonneur," as man's Soul, who, on a certain occasion, "taking my [Lingua's] mouth for her instrument, with the bow of my tongue struck so heavenly a touch upon my teeth, that . . . the woods danced, to the sweet harmony of her most angelical accents." The occurrence in this passage of the quotation from Du Bartas' poem, the personification of Psyche as the Soul, and the description of Psyche's song as "heavenly" and as "most angelical," befitting the spirit and contents of Du Bartas' religious epic, point directly to the identification of Orpheus as Du Bartas, who "played upon the harp" while Psyche, his soul, with the assistance of Lingua, speech, sang the "sweet harmony" of *La Sepmaine*.

The identification of Orpheus as the 'divine' Du Bartas who poured out his soul in the "most angelical accents" of *La Sepmaine* adds greater probability to Professor Moore Smith's identification of Alpheus as Sir Philip Sidney, by giving a more definite significance to the words that describe Sidney as a "partaker of

[8] *MLR*, III, 146-148.

[9] Queen Psyche corresponds to Alma in Spenser's allegory of the body (*MLN*, March, 1927.)

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their admirable consort." When Alpheus-Sidney "dischaneled himself of his former course to be partaker of their admirable consort," he turned aside from his pursuit of Arethusa-Stella to devote himself to the translation of "the first septmane of that arch-poet Du Bartas"; [10] and "the music being ended, thrust himself headlong into earth, the next way to follow his amorous chase."

Further, the date of Du Bartas' poem, 1578, presents no difficulty in the identification of Alpheus as Sidney, since Professor Moore Smith has shown that this date, which coincides with the year of Elizabeth's presence at Audley End, agrees with Alpheus' activities before and after he was a "partaker of their admirable consort," as recalled by Anamnestes. The event referred to by Memory's words, "about some four years after the contention betwixt Apollo and Pan," may be the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, 1572; and "the excoriation of Marsyas," mentioned by the same character, may refer to Sidney's *Apology for Poetrie,* which was probably written in 1582, in reply to Gosson's *Schoole of Abuse.*

Finally, Tomkis' debt in *Lingua* to *La Sepmaine* is less than his debt to the *Faerie Queene,* for although he borrows from, and alludes to,[11] both poems in his play, he is not indebted to Du Bartas' poem, as he is to Spenser's, for certain of his characters and for important features of his plot and allegory.

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A FRENCH TEXT-BOOK BY ROBERT BROWNING

In a letter of September 17, 1845, to Elizabeth Barrett, Robert Browning wrote, with reference to his capacity of doing lucrative work:

> In more than one of the reviews and newspapers that laughed my "Paracelsus" to scorn ten years ago—in the same column, often, of these reviews, would follow a most laudatory notice of an Elementary French

[10] See for an account of this lost work of Sidney's the next to the last paragraph on Sir Philip Sidney in the *DNB.*

[11] The allusion to the *Faerie Queene* is through names of characters borrowed from that poem, and not through names of characters borrowed from classic myths, as in the allusion to *La Sepmaine.*

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book, on a new plan, which I "*did*" for my old French Master, and he published—*that* was really "an useful work."[1]

This clue, obvious though it appears, does not seem to have been followed up by any biographer of Browning. His words make it clear that he was largely, if not wholly, responsible for the book; and since Forster's *Strafford* has been attributed to Browning on rather flimsy evidence, there seems no reason to hesitate in taking Browning's own testimony that he wrote this French text-book. It will be remembered that as early as 1832 he had used French in the long note appended to *Pauline,* with considerable dexterity, and in 1835 one of his closest friends was the French Count Amédée de Ripert Monclar, so there need be little doubt as to his ability to perform such an undertaking.

The identity of the tutor is to be found in Griffin and Minchin's *Life of Browning:* "Browning, therefore, for two years after leaving Mr. Ready, studied under a French tutor, Loradoux by name."[2] A search for this name in the British Museum catalogue immediately revealed a book which seems in every way to fulfil the specifications; at my request, the book was examined at the British Museum by Miss Sibyl Hardwick, and further investigations have been made at the Bodleian Library, Oxford, by Mr. Arthur Joyce Cary. From them I gather the following particulars. The complete title page reads thus:

LE
GIL BLAS
DE LA
JEUNESSE
à l'usage des Écoles.
Dans lequel on a fait avec le soin le plus scrupuleux,
tous les rétranchemens nécessaires, pour en rendre la lecture
convenable, amusante et instructive aux jeunes gens; par
Charles LeRoy
Professeur de Langue Française au Collège de Camberwell,
et
A. Loradoux
Professeur de Langues, Walworth.
(device,
a stained glass window,

[1] *The Letters of Robert Browning and Elizabeth Barrett,* I, p. 208.
[2] W. H. Griffin & H. C. Minchin: *Life of Robert Browning,* p. 47.

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apparently representing
St. Anthony.)
London.
Whittaker & Co.
&
Wm. Pickering.
1835.

The book is a small one (duodecimo) bound in brown imitation leather. The printer's name is given as A. Vogel, High Street, Camberwell. The text occupies 319 pages in rather small newspaper type with meagre margins; it is preceded by a three-page preface in English, not signed, but dated Camberwell, August 12th, 1835.

The preface states that the book has been prepared "to supply a want in elementary french literature." (The small "f" is used whenever "French" occurs as an adjective.) It gives the Editors' reasons for choosing the *Adventures of Gil Blas de Santillane,* a part of which reasons may be quoted as typical of the diction:

> The high reputation of this work and the estimation in which it is held by the learned of all Countries, supersede the necessity of any particular encomium upon its merits. The classical purity of style and the rich current of vernacular phraseology, by which it is distinguished, recommend it to the study of all persons who covet a thorough knowledge of the language in which it is written.

The original *Gil Blas,* it is explained, has been abridged in order to exclude passages which, the Editors think, are not suitable "to be placed in the hands of youth." Another abridgement of *Gil Blas,* so says the preface, has been produced but it has the same objections to its use as a school book as the original work.

The remainder of the preface is devoted to explaining how the book is to be used. It provides a good description of the text:

> Six preliminary chapters are devoted to an interlinear translation. When the student shall have mastered this portion of the work, consisting of twenty-five pages, he will find a dozen pages in which a faithful but not merely literal translation is given, separating the English from the French, so as to exercise the learner in discovering the corresponding words and phrases in both languages. The whole is then recommenced and continued to the end, with the assistance only of notes at the foot of each page, giving a translation of idiomatic expressions.

The interlinear translation of chapters I to VI is literal, the

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English words being numbered, where necessary, to indicate their order in idiomatic English. There are no notes in this part except where the literal rendering of the French idiom into English conveys no idea whatever of its meaning, in which case a footnote is added.

The second part consists of fourteen pages, comprising chapters VII and VIII. Original text and translation are printed on opposite pages, about 370 words to the page. There are no notes whatever. The translation is very true to the French text but the English words and phrases are so well chosen that their literalness does not impair the style of the English. An example may be appended:

En achevant ces paroles, elle me donna la lampe, et retourna dans sa cuisine. Je posai la lampe à terre, et me jetai sur le grabat, moins pour prendre du repos que pour me livrer tout entier à mes réflexions. O ciel! m'écriai-je, est-il une destinée aussi affreuse que la mienne? On veut que je renonce à la vue du soleil, et, comme si ce n'était pas assez d'être enterré tout vif, à dix-huit ans, il faut encore que je sois réduit à servir des voleurs, à passer le jour avec des brigands, et la nuit avec les morts!

So saying, she gave me the lamp, and returned to her kitchen. I set the lamp on the ground, and threw myself on the pallet, not so much for the sake of resting as of abandoning myself to my reflections. O heaven, cried I, is there a destiny so terrible as mine. They compel me to renounce the sight of the sun, and as if it were not enough to be buried alive at the age of eighteen, I must moreover be condemned to serve thieves, to spend the day with highwaymen and the night among the dead.

The footnotes appended to the all-French text of the remaining 280 pages are very short, merely renderings of French idioms and occupying only about half an inch at the foot of each page.

Examples have now been given of every occurrence of English in the book. The only outstanding tricks of style are a tendency to lengthen the sentences in the English translation by substituting semi-colons for periods in the French text, and, in the preface, the use of capital letters for common nouns—e. g., Editors, Instructors of Youth, Pupil, Schools and Families, Countries, Author.

So much for the book itself. Remembering that Browning speaks only of his "old French master" and affirms that he himself "did" the book, one is tempted to infer that "Charles LeRoy,"

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the name standing first on the title page, is a pseudonym for the young poet. It would be more likely that an Englishman should collaborate in a text-book of this sort than that two Frenchmen should produce it, and there seems little reason why a third participant should have been required in so simple an undertaking. Camberwell, of course, was Browning's own place of residence, so "le Collège de Camberwell" would be a natural address for him to choose if he were seeking to dramatize himself as a mythical French expert. The only institution with which it might be identified, so far as I can trace, is the Camberwell Collegiate School, which was opened in this same year, 1835;[3] the earliest data on this institution in the Bodleian Library is *The Camberwell Collegiate Magazine* of 1841, in which no mention of LeRoy is to be found.

But such a hypothesis is seriously confounded by the discovery that Charles LeRoy is represented in the British Museum by two other books, a *Synoptical Table of French Verbs* (1833) and *A Grammar of the French Language* (1836). In view of this fact, it seems more reasonable to infer that LeRoy attended to the French portions of *Le Gil Blas de la Jeunesse,* chiefly the matter of abridgement, and that Browning was responsible for the English, allowing Loradoux to take the credit. Such an assumption is equally compatible with Browning's words in the letter.

A further clue to identification remains in Browning's reference to the notices of his French book appearing in the same journals which ridiculed *Paracelsus.* Professor Lounsbury[4] has discovered that Browning acquired a certain hallucination regarding the reception of *Paracelsus* during the ten years which elapsed between its publication and the correspondence with Elizabeth Barrett. Browning refers several times in the letters to the large number of contemptuous reviews which the poem provoked. He implies that the editors vied with one another in abusing it. As a matter of fact, Professor Lounsbury could find only three unappreciative reviews, those in the *Athenaeum,* the *Spectator,* and the *Atlas;* but none of these contained anything abusive, and indeed they all

[3] Walford & Thornbury: *Old and New London,* (1887-93), VI, p. 282.

[4] T. R. Lounsbury: *The Early Literary Career of Robert Browning,* pp. 31-34.

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"acknowledged the ability of the author." A fourth review, in the *Metropolitan Magazine,* mingled blame and praise. Professor Lounsbury concludes that "Browning's assertion receives no support from the reviews found in the then most authoritative guides of public opinion."

Of these four periodicals, it was the partially favorable *Metropolitan Magazine* which also reviewed *Le Gil Blas de la Jeunesse.* The notice of *Paracelsus* appears on page 39 of the supplement to the 1835 volume, and that of the French book on page 43. The latter notice, which does not mention the authors, praises the book, but condemns the paper and typography, suggesting that it was printed abroad, despite the imprimatur of Vogel, Camberwell. So we have a favorable, if not "most laudatory," notice of the French book within four pages of a review saying of *Paracelsus:* "There are many touches of beauty almost Shakespearian, but its general tone is homely and its contents crude. It is a poem ambitiously unpopular." If one had access to files of the more ephemeral newspapers of the period, one might find *Paracelsus* being "laughed to scorn" in the same column with "most laudatory notices" of the French book; but on the strength of Professor Lounsbury's researches—which he describes as "most diligent"—it seems more plausible to assume that Browning's dramatic imagination, which indubitably intensified the unpopularity of *Paracelsus,* produced also the picturesque contrast obtainable by suppressing the three-page interval in the *Metropolitan Magazine* and adding the brief word "often" to the report. So satisfactory a piece of dramatic irony would be hard to resist, and moreover one might defend it as a universal truth if not a matter of fact, since it is in keeping with the usual habits of the critics whom Browning despised.

The method of instruction which the book sought to introduce —the 'new plan' to which he referred with a trace of pride in his letter to Elizabeth Barrett—is of some interest. The rapid progression from word-for-word translation to unaided reading might be practical in the case of a student of Browning's quick wit and linguistic aptitude; but the average beginner would need a thorough grounding in grammar and vocabulary before he could progress so swiftly, and for one so equipped the opening interlinear translation would be rather too elementary.

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I feel convinced that the evidence is sufficiently conclusive to identify *Le Gil Blas de la Jeunesse* with the book which Browning mentions in his letter, and his words seem to imply clearly that he had a major share in the work, but so long as Charles LeRoy remains a mysterious *tertium quid* it is impossible to determine the exact relationship of the collaborators.[5]

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DANTE NOTES, IX

"IO SONO AMORE ANGELICO" (*Par.*, XXIII, 103)

In the Eighth, or Starry, Sphere Dante was granted a symbolic prevision of the Triumph of Christ; and from the numberless glowing lights of the blessed host, which he saw like sunlit flowers in a meadow, he singled out eagerly that brightest one which was Mary, Rose of the World, chiefest Flower of the merely Human. And then, as he looked,

> per entro il cielo scese una facella,
> formata in cerchio a guisa di corona,
> e cinsela e girossi intorno ad ella.

And, as it whirled, the radiant ring sang; and earth's sweetest melody, Dante says, compared to the music of that lyre would be harsh as the thunderclap that rips a cloud; and the first words of the song were these: "Io sono amore angelico."

Part of the older commentators understood this singer to represent in the abstract, as the words should mean in their literal sense, or to be an individual representative of, the loving homage

[5] In *The Saturday Review of Literature*, III, p. 518 (January 15, 1927), Lady Adams states that twenty-four years ago she observed the reference in Browning's letter, and called it to the attention of Dr. Richard Garnett, who made vain attempts to identify the mysterious book in the British Museum; and that "other searchers" have since sought clues to its identity with equally little success. Lady Adams also says that she mentioned these facts in an article on Garnett in the English *Bookman*. Although these revelations modify my claim to be the first to publish the mystery, they make it the more surprising that I should be the first to suggest a solution.

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of all the angelic host to Mary; but the rest of them, and in their wake the recent commentators, with practical unanimity, assume that it is the Archangel Gabriel who, revolving about her head, crowns her with this melodious halo.[1]

The chief reason for this identification is not contained in the remainder of this song, which might be said by any angel or choir of angels,[2] but because of an alleged parallel in *Paradiso*, XXXII, 94 ff. There, Dante was shown "the face which most resembles Christ" (vv. 85-6), Mary's, and hosts of happy angels were "raining" down above her:

> E quello amor che primo lì discese,
> cantando "*Ave Maria, gratia plena*,"
> dinanzi a lei le sue ali distese. (vv. 94-6)

There is no doubt that this is indeed Gabriel; for upon Dante's questioning him as to this point Saint Bernard tells him that

> . . . elli è quelli che portò la palma
> giuso a Maria, quando 'l Figliuol di Dio
> carcar si volse de la nostra salma. (vv. 112-4)

It is not only highly debatable that the words "quello amor che primo lì discese" refer to the whirling halo of Canto XXIII, rather than to the original occasion of the Annunciation in Nazareth, but when the evidence is carefully considered it will prove to be a well-nigh indefensible contention.

For, first of all, the word "primo," which is the reading given by apparently all the printed texts, and for which none of them suggests that any variant reading is found in the manuscripts, should normally mean not "before" (the adverb, which would be "prima"), as the prevalent interpretation would require, but "first" (really an adjective, the Latin "primus," in apposition

[1] An occasional one, *e. g.*, Casini, has the grace to follow the natural sense of Dante's wording and to understand that the angelic halo was already in the form of a circle when it descended; the rest would have us visualize a speed so great as to give a single point of light the appearance of a ring.

[2] The complete song is: "Io sono amore angelico che giro / l'alta letizia che spira del ventre / che fu albergo del nostro disiro; / e girerommi, donna del ciel, mentre / che seguirai tuo figlio, e farai dia / più la spera suprema perchè gli entre."

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with the noun "amor"); and this would be the logical and natural way of stating the fact that this angel, Gabriel, who is now one of many angels that "rain" down above Mary, was the *first* one of them in the course of her earthly and her heavenly existence who ever descended to her. An examination of the sixty-eight other passages in the *Divine Comedy* in which "primo" occurs shows that in every case it unmistakably means "first," as it does in modern Italian; while the adverb "before" is rendered by "prima" in some thirty cases and by "pria" in some forty.[8]

The fact that Dante asks Saint Bernard "who that angel is who so jocund looks into the eyes of our Queen," in the second passage (XXXII, 103-4), cannot be cited with profit on either side of the argument; for if he did not know that it was the angel of the Annunciation he could not identify it with the whirling ring of the former vision, even granting that he had understood that revolving halo to represent Gabriel.

A definite and telling point is scored against the currently accepted identification of the radiant ring with Gabriel when investigation shows that Dante never represents *individual angels* as points or spheres, or other merely geometrical figures, of light, as he so often does the Blessed in the revolving heavens outside of Mercury; the envoy from Heaven who opens the gates of Dis for Dante and Vergil in *Inf.*, IX, has hands and feet and face at least, though no wings are mentioned, and he may not be intended as a "regular" angel; the angels who guard the entrances and passageways of Purgatory are dazzling indeed, but glimpses of faces or at least wings or sensations of wing-strokes removing the sin-brands from Dante's brow regularly picture to us the angels in the standard forms of pictorial art; and the angel pilot of *Purg.*, II, and the angel guardians of *Purg.*, VIII, are in the same general class; as are also apparently the "hundred . . . ministers and messengers of life eternal" who in *Purg.*, XXX, scatter flowers over Beatrice with "hands" which are called "angelic" (v. 29), though no wings are mentioned here, and they may belong to a special category closely related to the heavenly envoy in

[8] These latter figures do not include the many instances in which by the addition of "che" the adverbs "pria" and "prima" function as parts of subordinating conjunctions.

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Hell. That is, in general, individual angels are pictured to us as Dante specifically states in *Par.* [illegible], 46-8, where he is speaking of the necessity of appealing to human comprehension by the use of anthropomorphic representations of God and the angels—and here, too, it happens that he cites Gabriel as an example among others:

> Per questo la Scrittura condescende
> a vostra facultate, e piedi e mano
> attribuisce a Dio, ed altro intende;
> e Santa Chiesa con aspetto umano
> Gabriel e Michel vi rappresenta,
> e l'altro che Tobia rifece sano. (vv. 43-48)

Besides the scene of *Par.*, XXXII, Dante pictures Gabriel to us in the lovely sculptured relief of *Purg.*, X, 34-45, where he evidently wishes us to recall the familiar group of the Annunciation as canonized by Italian art; and in *Par.*, IX, 138, a reference to Nazareth evokes the same picture, with the words: "là dove Gabriello aperse l'ali."

Even in the case of the many lights which represent souls of the Blessed there is no instance where revolution of a point about a center is described of such speed as would make upon the beholder the impression of a continuous ring of light. In *Par.*, XXIV, 22, the light which represented Saint Peter revolved three times about Beatrice, in sign of happy greeting when he approached her from the host of lights in the Triumph of Christ with which this paper commences; and at the end of the same Canto (vv. 151-3) he did likewise about Dante, to express his satisfaction at the latter's answers to his examination in faith; but three times only in each case, and without suggestion of speed.

Taking up now the constructive side of the present argument, we find that revolving rings of light *are* used to represent the angelic host as a whole; and most notably in the very next, the Ninth, Heaven, after that in which appears the halo which circles about Mary's head, are seen those nine concentric rings of the Heavenly Motors, whose rotation about the Divine Point of Light symbolizes, in inverse order, to Dante's still un-spiritualized vision,[4]

[4] See *MLN*, XXXIII, 146-47. During the few moments while his power of vision was in process of refashioning, Dante saw the angelic host *as a whole*, in the guise of ruby-like and lively sparks (*Par.*, XXX, 64 and

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their loving urge Godward as ceaselessly they serve Him in the Universal Order.

Why, then, should not the whirling halo of *Par.*, XXIII, present the unanimous homage of all the angelic host to Mary, in a magnificent and dignified apotheosis comparable to that which the painters tried to depict with their choirs of cherubs orbing in gold about her sacred head? The words of the song are: "I am Love Angelic," not "Loving Angel," and I think that a few parallels, which are not far to seek in Dante's poem, will remove the last hesitancy to acceptance of this literal rendering. They are as follows:

I. The use of the first personal singular pronoun by the collective speakers is exactly paralleled in the heavens of Jupiter where Dante sees the spirits as bright lights assembled in the form of a great eagle and hears them speak their unanimous sentiments in this way; in *Par.*, XIX, 10-12, he says of them:

> . . . io vidi e anche udi' parlar lo rostro,
> e sonar ne la voce e "io" e "mio,"
> quand'era nel concetto "noi" e "nostro."

II. In the passage introducing our topic, the angelic song is commented upon as follows:

> Qualunque melodia più dolce sona
> qua giù, e più a sè l'anima tira,
> parrebbe nube che squarciata tona,
> comparata al sonar di quella lira
> onde si coronava il bel zaffiro
> del quale il ciel più chiaro s'inzaffira.
> (*Par.*, XXIII, 97-102)

Now, the word "lira" occurs only once elsewhere in all Dante's works; and that is in *Par.*, XV, 4, referring to the hymn sung by all the souls which he saw forming with their lights the great Cross

66); but this appearance was only a transitional "adumbration of the truth," as Beatrice admonished him, in v. 78; and when he became at last able to see things in their true and spiritual aspect, in the Empyrean, the traditional figures of anthropomorphic angels again reappear as they are depicted in medieval art: "Le facce tutte avean di fiamma viva, / e l'ali d'oro, e l'altro tanto bianco, / che nulla neve a quel termine arriva" (*Par.*, XXXI, 13-15).

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in the heaven of Mars; and there the song is called a "melody" (*Par.*, XIV, 122), as it is here (XXIII, 97; also 109), but the metaphor of the lyre appears to have been purposely chosen to suggest the harmonious blending of *many* notes. For the cessation of that martial hymn is referred to thus:

> Benigna voluntade in che si liqua
> sempre l'amor che drittamente spira,
> come cupidità fa ne la iniqua,
> silenzio puose a quella dolce lira,
> e fece quietar le sante corde
> che la destra del cielo allenta e tira.
>
> (*Par.*, XV, 1-6)

A confirmation of the suspicion that the lyre was chosen expressly to denote the blending of many notes in one, is found in the fact that the first mention of the hymn in the heaven of Mars is introduced by the words:

> E come giga e arpa, in tempra tesa
> di molte corde, fa dolce tintinno
> a tal da cui la nota non è intesa,
> così da' lumi che lì m'apparinno
> s'accogliea per la croce una melode
> che mi rapiva, sanza intender l'inno.
>
> (*Par.*, XIV, 118-23)

To conclude, therefore, the direct verbal evidence strongly indicates, and the collateral evidence satisfactorily confirms, an understanding of the passage in question which has an *a priori* claim to recognition upon aesthetic grounds: the "circulata melodia" (v. 109) is no single archangel in dizzy orbit; but is the glorious symbol of the unanimous homage of all the angelic host to Mary, brightest light of all the Human Galaxy—in a prevision which pairs with that vouchsafed to Dante, in the next and last revolving sphere, where whirling in nine concentric circles about the Divine Point of Light they show forth their ceaseless service to God.

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OLD SPANISH TERMS OF SMALL VALUE

It is interesting to note that a considerable proportion of terms which in Old Spanish correspond to our "it is not worth a continental," "red penny," or, "he has sold it for a song," are taken from the fruit and vegetable vocabulary, especially in the *mester de clerecía* of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. None of these rustic similes occurs in the *Poema de Mio Cid,* and I could find no instance in the *Rimado de Palacio.*[1] There is but one case in the *Poema de José* and one in the *Poema de Alfonso Onceno.* The predilection of the ecclesiastical men (Berceo, Juan Ruiz, the author of the *Libro de Alexandre,* and of *Fernán González*) for these similes may be due to their environment in the days when fruit and vegetables were articles of barter, and were also used for the payment of the *diezmo.*

To the fruit and vegetable group belong: *aio, arueia, chirivia, faua, figo, figa, grano, grano de mijo, nuez, prisco, puerro assado.*[2]

Less frequent is the coin group: *dinero, marauedi, meaja, mencal, pepion.*[3]

Names of insects: *lagosta, moxquito,* occur but once each; likewise, *tiesto* (an earthen flower-pot with a hole in the bottom), *bodigo, gallara*[4] and *pico.*

[1] The strongest term Pero de Ayala uses is *cosa baldía,* 985d.

[2] Rufino Lanchetas, *Gramática y vocabulario de las obras de Gonzalo de Berceo,* Madrid, 1900, p. 268, says: "Berceo las prodiga muchísimo, especialmente con voces que designan objetos de poco valor." I could only find nine cases, hence *muchísimo* is somewhat exaggerated.

[3] H. Keniston, *Fuero de Guadalajara,* p. 25, gives *meaja* as the smallest unit; 2 *meajas* = 1 *pepión;* 6 *meajas* = 1 *dinero;* 64 *meajas* = *mencal;* 180 or 192 *meajas* = 3 mencales = 1 *maravedí antiguo.*—*BAE,* LVII, p. 577: "En la crónica de don Alfonso el Sabio, capítulo I, mencal se llama *metal* y servía para compras pequeñas: 18 pepiones era un metal, 10 metales un maravedí . . . . En el señorío de Molina, añade Sánchez, se usa la voz mencades por los frutos menores." Marden in his edition of *Fernán González* defines *pepión* thus: "moneda del siglo XIII, equivalente a la centésima octogésima parte de un maravedí burgalés," and *meaja* thus: "moneda antigua de Castilla que valía la sexta parte de un maravedí, cosa de poquísimo valor."

[4] The definition given in the vocabulary of *BAE,* LVII, and repeated in Zerolo's *Dicc. Encíclop.,* is "cosa despreciable." Professor A. G. Solalinde calls my attention to Menéndez Pidal's remark on this word in the *Home-*

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GROUP I

arueia, erueia, arveja, arbella

Esto, dixo el rey, non ual una arueia, Alex, 205a.
Non daré por el malo una mala erueia, *ib.*, 925d.
Non ualien a Poro tres erueias podridas, *ib.*, 1896d.
Maguer que muchos son non valen tres arvejas, FnGz, 222a.
Tiene por noble cosa lo que non vale una arveja, JRuiz, 152c.
Por ende los sus dichos non valen dos arvejas, *ib.*, 328b.
Yo por tales como aquesos non daria una arbella, José, 42d.

aio

Non daua por el lazerio quanto ual un aio, Alex, 1563d.

chirivia

Non lo preçiaba todo quanto tres chirivias, SDom, 70d.
Mas rancar non podieron puerro nin chirivia, *ib.*, 378c.
Que non valen a tanto cueno dos chirivias, Loor Berceo, 42b.

faua

A todos, e agora non vale una fava, JRuiz, 349c.
Que ya la mi guarda non vale una faua, Danza de la Muerte, *BAE*, LVII, p. 384.

figo, figa

Controbando cantares que non valian tres figas, Duelo, 176c.
Sy yo daqui non salgo nunca valdre un fygo, FnGz, 181d.
Non preçiauan un figo los lazerios passados, Alex, 670c.
Si non, por toda tu fazienda non daria hun figo, Apol, 230d.
Si ffiz mal ha alguno quanto val huna figa, *ib.*, 599c.
Desecharán tu demanda, su dicho non val un figo, JRuiz, 349c.
Non do por ellos vn figo, Alf. Onceno, 798b.

grano, grano de mijo

Todos yaçien en Avila, non vos miento un grano, SDom, 70d.
Non me val tu vana gloria un vil grano de mijo, JRuiz, 380d.

nuez

Mas non li valió todo una nuez foradada, SMillán, 118d.
Des aqui por morir vna nuez non daria, Alex, 169d.
Non gelo preció Don Gimio quanto vale una nues, JRuiz, 358d.
Por papas y por reyes non das una vil nues, *ib.*, 1495d.

prisco

Con ella el tamborete, sin él non vale un prisco, JRuiz, 1204d.

puerro, puerro assado

Mas rancar non podieron puerro nin chirivia, SDom, 378c.
Non dió el rey por ello un mal puerro assado, Alex, 1778c.

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naje a Menéndez y Pelayo, I, 434. The meaning seems to be "crumb," "chicken feed."

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GROUP II

dinero

Non preçio tus menazas un dinero valor, SLaurençio, 40d.
Valía dun dinero non le lexa levar, Alex, 1646b.

marauedi

Quien a monjas non ama, non vale un maravedi, JRuiz, 1313d.

meaja

Non le mejorare valia de vna meaja, FnGz, 291d.
A do mas puja el vino quel seso dos meajas, JRuiz, 521a.

mencal

Periuranse ayna por ganar dos mencales, Alex, 1656c.
mencales? Apol, 59c.

pepion, pipion

Non preçiaba lo al todo un pipion, Alex, 1230d.
Nunca pierde faronia, nin vale un pepion, JRuiz, 615b.

GROUP III

lagosta

Non valió su emperio todo una lagosta, Alex, 1650c.

moxquito

Y mas que vn moxquito
El tu cuerpo non vale, Sem Tob, 286ab.

bodigo

Qui ansí non lo face, non meresçe un bodigo, Loor Berceo, 7d.

gallara

Non daba una gallara por omne losengero, SLaurençio, 22d.

pico

Nin de los tus tesoros non le quieres dar un pico, JRuiz, 237d.

tiesto

Non vale contra Dios un tiesto foradado, Duelo, 198b.

The above list does not lay the claim to being exhaustive, and the author would be grateful if further examples were called to his attention.[5]

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[5] With the exception of FnGz and Apol (where I used Marden's editions), the quotations are from *BAE*, LVII, 1925.

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SOME ALLUSIONS TO SPENSER

The following allusions, though not of much significance, may be worth noting as they are not mentioned in Carpenter's *Reference Guide.*

1592.—Abraham Fraunce, *Third Part of the Countess of Pembrokes Yuychurch*, p. 47v. After discussing the story of Achilles' heel in relation to the wound caused by the love of Polyxena (explained by E. K. in the gloss to *March*), Fraunce says:

"In imitation wherof, the good Thomalin in the new Shepheards Kalender, singeth thus of the winged boy.

Therewith afrayd I ran away:
. . . . . .
ne wot I how to cease it."

Fraunce's earlier allusions are well known (*Lawiers Logike*, written 1581, published 1588; *Arcadian Rhetoricke*, 1588).

1599.—Anthony Gibson, *A Womans Woorth, defended against all the men in the world.* Among addresses to various Maids of Honor is one to Margaret Ratcliffe which ends thus:

"Had I a Spencers spirit, a Daniels powers:
Th' extracted quintessence were only yours."

1606.—*The Plough-mans Tale . . . with a short exposition of the words and matters. . .* This edition of the pseudo-Chaucerian piece has copious marginal notes like E. K.'s, and a line in the text is explained thus (p. 4):

"2. *They haue the corne*, of such shepheards speakes maister *Spencer* in his Kalender."

Spenser's ecclesiastical eclogues have been thought to show the influence of this Tale (E. Greenlaw, in *P. M. L. A.*, XXVI, 441 ff.), and Dr. Long pointed out that the phrase "sterne strife" (*February*, 149) was quoted from the first line of the Ploughman (*M. L. N.*, XXVIII, 262). E. K.'s gloss is "Sterne strife, said Chaucer."

1709 (?).—W. King, *The Art of Love: In Imitation of Ovid De Arte Amandi*, p. 176:

"Learn Prior's Lines; for they can teach you more
Than sacred *Ben*, or *Spencer* did before."

1726.—"*The Liffy: A Fable. In Imitation of the Metamorphosis of Ovid.* . . . By xxxxx xxx, Esq. . . . London."

If King's sniff is thoroughly Augustan, equally Augustan is the admiration expressed for Spenser by the author of this piece, although, as the first of the following quotations shows, some small part of it is based on

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Phineas Fletcher's *Britain's Ida* (*Venus and Anchises*). The prefatory essay on Ovid's fables discusses epic rules, the unities, 'machines' quoting Garth and Addison, Bossu and Rapin.

"As to what regards the Stile, the Delicacy of *Ovid*, consists in nothing more than in his Repetitions; which are always natural and easy. None of our *English* Poets enjoy this excellence in so high a Degree, as the greatest of our *English* Poets, I had almost said, *Spencer;* out of whose *Ida*, the following Stanza, compos'd of the two Epithets *soft* and *smooth*, is as beautiful as remarkable an Instance.

Lower two Breasts stand, all their Beauties bearing. . ."

(The quotation is canto III, stanza 9, of Fletcher's poem).

Speaking of the river Liffy the author quotes, remarkably enough, "our old Poet *Necham*," who had written "Istum Dublini suscepit unda Maris." [1]

"Thus *Spenser* has built a Fable upon the *Mulla*, a River running through his Grounds at *Kilcolman*, in the County of *Cork*, where Queen *Elizabeth* gave him three thousand Acres of Land for the Services he did the Crown, when Secretary to *Arthur* Lord *Gray* of *Wilton*, in those Days Deputy of Ireland."

The author quotes "Old Father Mole. . . ." Though modestly deprecating comparisons he says: "You will easily agree that there could not be found a better Example for the foregoing Rules, than this incomparable Fable of *Spenser*."

1753.—Works of Drayton, 4 vols., preface:

"For in this single Poem [*Nymphidia*] we may discern the Liveliness of *Spenser*, the happy Power of *Shakespear*, and all the Skill of *Johnson*" (I, 17).

Concerning the *Quest of Cynthia* and *Shepherd's Sirena:* "There is indeed a little Sprinkling of antiquated Words, but the Choice is so judiciously made that it does not obscure the Sense, as in *Spenser* often, and sometimes even in *Shakespear*, but gives it that natural Rudeness, that pleasing Rusticity, which makes the *Doric* Dialect so charming in the Works of *Theocritus*, and is indeed essentially necessary to Pastoral" (I, 18).

"His Body lies . . . near those two eminent Poets *Geoffrey Chaucer* and *Edmund Spenser*" (I, 25).

1801.—Gilbert Thompson, *Select Translations from Homer and Horace, with original Poems*, preface, pp. 6-7:

[1] In his article "Spenser and Alexander Neckam," (*Studies in Philology*, XXII, 222-25) Professor F. F. Covington suggests that Spenser may have known the passage on the Irish rivers in Neckam's *De Laudibus Divinae Sapientiae*. It is from this passage that the line quoted by our author is taken.

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"As Spencer and Milton have with great felicity imitated Homer's manner in their similies, it is to be wondered they did not pay more attention to this elegant figure [Epiphonema] . . . The similies of Homer and Spencer are the most easy and natural, and those of Virgil and Milton, which are borrowed from Homer, the most ingeniously artificial."

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LEOPARDI'S *PASSERO SOLITARIO*

English translations of Leopardi's *Passero solitario* are invariably entitled *The Solitary Sparrow:* an error, for the bird in question is the blue rock-thrush (Monticola cyanos). The mistranslation is due to the fact that *passero*[1] does mean sparrow. *Passero solitario* is therefore a misnomer. It is not, however, an entirely fanciful one. "Passer solitarius," says Albertus Magnus,[2] "est avis nigra, merula minor, et est avis musica, et dicitur solitarius quia cum nullo sui generis umquam congregatur nisi tempore generationis. Habitat autem in parietibus et cum aliis passeribus se jungit et cum eis volat ad pastum, eos qui de sua sunt generatione omnino despiciens." The blue rock-thrush (and it is not black, but dark blue) is chiefly a frequenter of crags; but often it does nest, in solitary couples, among the sparrows that dwell upon the housetops.[3]

It does not seem to have occurred to Albertus that the Biblical "passer solitarius in tecto"[4] might have something to do with the matter also; but about three hundred years later we find this view entertained by naturalists of importance. Thus Aldrovandus:[5] "Ego a recentioribus hanc aviculam Passeris solitarii nomen accepisse puto a Psalmista, apud quem Latine legitur: 'Sicut passer solitarius in tecto.' Neque enim apud veteres id invenire est." And Pierre Belon:[6] "Avis quam Cyanon Aristoteles Plinius Caeruleum vocat . . . vulgus Passerem Solitarium

[1] More commonly *passera*, but both forms are current.
[2] Albertus Magnus, *De animalibus*, Lib. XXIII.
[3] Cf. Willoughby, *Ornithology*, II, 18.
[4] Psalm 102, 7.
[5] Ulysses Aldrovandus, *Ornithologia*, Lib. XVI.
[6] Petrus Bellonius, *Observ.*, Lib. I, cap. II. Quoted from Aldrovandus.

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noncupat, quod in rupibus solitariis, ut similium locorum, incolae observarunt, nidificet, tum etiam propter locum psalmographi ubi dicitur: 'Passer solitarius in tecto.'" I must confess that I can discover no mention of the *caeruleus* either in Pliny or anywhere else in Latin literature. In any case, however, such a Christianizing of names as is here suggested has at least the corroboration of analogy. The crow was, in the Middle Ages, baptized *Avis Sancti Martini,* "quod circa festum Sancti Martini hiemalis videri demum incipiat."[7] The king-fisher also, still credited with the prevalence of halcyon weather about Martinmas, received this name; and in the modern form of *Martin pescatore* it bears it to this day in Italy—where, also, because it is blue like the robes of the Madonna, it is called *uccello di Maria.* That the blue rock-thrush was associated with *Psalm* 102 as early, at least, as the fourteenth century may, I think, be inferred from Petrarch's beautiful sonnet,[8] which, while, obviously of Biblical inspiration, alludes not to the "passer solitarius" of the Psalmist but to such as may be found on any roof. The Scriptural passage occurs verbatim in a curious *laude*[9] of about the same date; striking as it is, it must, indeed, have impressed itself on many minds, and may very well have contributed to the re-naming of the familiar bird.

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A NOTE ON SHAKESPEARE AND NASH

Recently while reading Thomas Nash's *The Unfortunate Traveller or the Life of Jack Wilton* I came upon a description from which it seemed to me that Shakespeare had caught the suggestion for two figures of speech in a well known passage in the *First Part of Henry IV.* To my knowledge, no reference has been made to the possible connection. The Shakespearian passage is the one in which Vernon, in a report to Hotspur concerning the assembling of the royal forces against the rebels, describes the appearance of Prince Hal and his comrades:

[7] Du Cange, *Glossarium med. et inf. Lat.*, sub *avis.*
[8] Petrarch, *Canzoniere*, Sonnet 171.
[9] E. Levi, *Lirica italiana antica*, p. 260.

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All furnish'd, all in arms;
All plum'd like estridges that with the wind
Bated, like eagles having lately bath'd;
Glittering in golden coats, like images;
As full of spirit as the month of May,
And gorgeous as the sun at midsummer;
Wanton as youthful goats, wild as young bulls.
I saw young Harry, with his beaver on,
His cuisses on his thighs, gallantly arm'd,
Rise from the ground, like feathered Mercury,
And vaulted with such ease into his seat,
As if an angel dropp'd down from the clouds
To turn and wind a fiery Pegasus
And witch the world with noble horsemanship.

(A. IV, sc. i, ll. 97-110)

The two figures to which I refer are those of estridges flapping their wings and of Prince Hal's steed as Pegasus, the winged horse of classical mythology.

The passage in *Jack Wilton* occurs in connection with the episode of the tournament which the Earl of Surrey held at Florence in defence of his Geraldine's beauty. Most of the episode is devoted to detailed descriptions of the elaborate and fantastic conceits and trappings of the various contestants. The first and longest passage concerns the Earl of Surrey. Our point of interest is the part describing the steed, decked out so as to appear like an *Estrich* and to remind one of Pegasus:

The trappings of his horse were pounced and bolstered out with rough plumed silver plush, in full proportion and shape of an Estrich. On the breast of the horse were the fore-parts of this greedie bird aduanced, whence as his manner is, hee reacht out his long necke to the raines of the bridle, thinking they had been yron, & styll seemed to gape after the golden bit, and euer as the courser did raise or coruet, to haue swallowed it halfe in. His wings, which he neuer useth but running, beeing spread full saile, made his lustie stead as proud vnder him as he had bin some other *Pegasus*, & so quiveringly and tenderly were these his broad winges bounde to either side of him, that as he paced vp and downe the tilt-yard in his majesty ere the knights were entered, they seemed wantonly to fan in his face, and make a flickering sound, such as Eagles doe, swiftly pursuing their praie in the ayre. On either of his wings, as the Estrich hath a sharpe goad or pricke wherewith he spurreth himselfe forward in his saile-assisted race, so this arteficiall Estrich on the inbent knuckle of the pinion of either wing had embossed christall eyes affixed, wherein

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wheelewise were circularly ingrafted sharpe pointed diamonds, as rayes from those eyes deriued, that like the rowell of a spur ran deep into his horse sides, and made him more eager in his course.

(*The Unfortunate Traveller or The Life of Jacke Wilton*, by Thomas Nashe, ed. by H. F. B. Brett-Smith, 1920. The Percy Reprints, pp. 68-9.)

Pertinent facts here relative to these literary productions are that *Jack Wilton* appeared in 1594 and passed through only two editions, both of that year; that it was dedicated to the Earl of Southampton, Shakespeare's early patron; that the *First Part of Henry IV* was entered on the Stationer's Register on the 25th of February, 1597-8; that a quarto edition was printed the same year; but that evidence appears to date its composition in 1596 or 1597.

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SPANISH *FONDO EN* ONCE MORE

The last article on the Spanish idiom *fondo en* (*MLN*, XL, 220-223) attempted to bring the discussion down to date by including several new examples and offering an interpretation of the meaning. None of the investigators who seek to explain its origin or meaning has called attention to the note of F. Ruiz Morcuende in the Clásicos Castellanos edition of two plays by Rojas Zorrilla. In *Entre bobos anda el juego* occurs the line *primillo, fondo en cuñado* (l. 893), in explanation of which the editor quotes: *Fondo:* "En las telas es el campo sobre que están tejidas, bordadas o pintadas las labores que la hermosean. Se llama regularmente el terciopelo labrado con el campo de raso."—*Dicc. de Aut.*

I should like to cite the two following definitions by Covarrubias. 1. *Fondo:* "En las telas que se labran con altos y baxos de labores, llaman fondo lo inferior, que es como el campo. Suelense labrar brocados de tres altos, y el de menos cuerpo se llama fondo; y en los terciopelos ay lo mesmo." 2. *Terciopelado:* "el tercio pelo labrado, q̃ tiene el fondo de raso, o rizo. Terciopelo rizo, el que no está cortado." The meaning of *fondo* is therefore clear in

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the above contexts, and it is this same word which has received an extended meaning in the idiom *fondo en.* The following lines from Rojas' *Lo que son mujeres* make it quite obvious that such is the case. The gracioso Gibaja who claims to be a *casamentero,* has been preparing Rafaela for a meeting with Don Pablo telling her that he mixes so much Latin with his Spanish that it is almost impossible to understand him, thereby implying that Don Pablo is a stupid person. When Don Pablo does meet Rafaela his first remarks are sane and discreet, whereupon Rafaela turns to Gibaja with the words:

> Mientes, Gibaja, que este hombre
> Es muy prudente y discreto.

And Gibaja replies:

> Vese ahora la labor,
> Lo fondo es en majadero.[1]

There can be no doubt but that the word *fondo* in this idiom is based on the word defined above by Covarrubias and the *Diccionario de Autoridades.* Its significance will naturally vary somewhat, but with an understanding of the literal, primary meaning one should have little difficulty in interpreting the idiom in its various contexts.

The following examples of *fondo en* all show a closer relationship with the primary meaning than any which have been listed in previous articles. In the picaresque novel *Guzmán de Alfarache* occurs the following in the *Arancel de Necedades:* "Los que llevando zapatos negros o blancos, ya sean de terciopelo de color, para quitarles el polvo que llevan o darles lustre, lo hicieren con la capa, como si no fuese más noble y de mejor condición y costosa, y por limpiarlos a ellos la dejan a ella sucia y polvorosa; los condenamos por necios de baqueta; y siendo nobles, por de terciopelo de dos pelos fondo en tonto."[2]

El licenciado Cetina in Rojas' *Lo que quería ver el Marqués de Villena* speaks of a doctor Madrid "con su cara fondo en raso."[3]

[1] *BAE,* LIV, 196.
[2] Parte II, Libro III, Cap. I (*BAE,* III, 324).
[3] *BAE,* LIV, 319.

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García in *El Gran Capitán,* attributed to Lope de Vega, says in an aside:

> ¡Caso extraño!
> ¡Que por más que huyo de serlo
> siempre he de ser alcahuete!
> Ya que me vistan merezco
> de terciopelo de plumas
> fondo en miel.[4]

Moclín, in Moreto's *El poder de la amistad,* draws a word picture of Irene in which he says:

> Tu pelo, aun es más que pelo,
> Que es terciopelo, y acaso
> Por postizo,
> Con ser ello fondo en raso,
> A costa de tu desvelo
> Lo haces rizo.[5]

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TWO NOTES ON UNCLE TOBY

Parallel passages and identical motifs are, when unsupported by other evidence, a very doubtful sort of proof. In considering, however, the work of so incurable a borrower as Laurence Sterne, the passages cited below may not be without significance. In *The World* for September 18, 1755 (No. 142), Edward Moore related the story of a woman who had suffered greatly from noise. In her orphaned girlhood she had been sent from one kinsman to another:

> At last I was sent to board with a distant relation, who had been captain of a man of war, but who, having married a rich widow, had given up his commission and retired into the country. Unfortunately for poor me, the captain still retained a passion for firing a great gun; and had mounted on a little fortification, that was thrown up against the front of his house, eleven nine-pounders, which were constantly discharged ten or a dozen times over, on the arrival of visitors, and on all holidays and rejoicings.

[4] *Obras de Lope de Vega,* ed. Cotarelo, II, 240.
[5] *BAE,* XXXIX, 29.

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Did the story of the eccentric captain suggest to Sterne the character of an old soldier who should spend his time in building fortifications?

Moore's well-known tragedy, *The Gamester,* acted and published in 1753, contains a passage which may have inspired one of the most famous of the incidents by which Sterne has immortalized Uncle Toby. In the first scene of the first act Jarvis, the faithful servant, says of his master, Beverley.

Jar. Is he indeed so poor then?——Oh! he was the Joy of my old Heart——But must his creditors have all?——And they have sold his House too? His Father built it when he was but a prating Boy. The Times I have carry'd him in these Arms! And, *Jarvis,* says he, when a Beggar has ask'd Charity of me, why should he be poor? You shan't be poor, *Jarvis;* if I were a King, no-body should be poor. Yet he is poor. And then he was so brave!——O he was a brave little Boy! And yet so merciful he'd not have kill'd the Gnat that stung him.[1]

Sterne has developed the incident elaborately by speech and gesture but the basis of the contrast between courage and sensibility is the same.

My uncle *Toby* was a man patient of injuries;——not from want of courage,——I have told you in a former chapter, "that he was a man of courage:"—And will add here, that where just occasion presented, or called it forth,——I know no man under whose arm I would have sooner taken shelter;——nor did this arise from any insensibility or obtuseness of his intellectual parts;——for he felt this insult of my father's as feelingly as a man could do;—but he was of a peaceful, placid nature,——no jarring element in it,——all was mixed up so kindly within him; my uncle *Toby* had scarce a heart to retaliate upon a fly.

——Go——says he, one day at dinner, to an over-grown one which had buzzed about his nose, and tormented him cruelly all dinner-time,——and which after infinite attempts, he had caught at last, as it flew by him;—I'll not hurt thee, says my uncle *Toby* rising from his chair and going across the room, with the fly in his hand,——I'll not hurt a hair of thy head:——Go, says he, lifting up the sash, and opening his hand as he spoke, to let it escape;——go, poor devil, get thee gone, why should I hurt thee?——This world surely is wide enough to hold both thee and me.[2]

It seems reasonable to suppose that *The Gamester* had been played at York or that Sterne had at least read it. Perhaps he

[1] *The Gamester,* London, 1753, p. 5.

[2] *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy,* W. L. Cross, ed., 1904, 1. 185-186.

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had seen some clever actor make stage business of catching and freeing the gnat. It was the very kind of incident upon which his retentive memory was wont to seize.

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TRACING AN EPIGRAM

Upon reading the passages from Hartley Coleridge's Album and Byron's *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers* to which Professor Pierce called attention in *MLN* for January, 1927 (p. 28), I recalled some verses written by Edward Moore in a beautifully bound copy of his *Fables for the Female Sex* which was presented to Mrs. Garrick in the summer of 1749.

To Mrs. Garrick

Fine Binding! and but little in't!
No matter, 'tis a Friend in Print:
The Cover's only for your View,
The Inside cannot Tutor You.

I have never seen the verses save in a letter of Garrick's published by Baker (*Some Unpublished Correspondence of David Garrick*, p. 12), but it is reasonable to suppose that they were copied by Garrick's friends into albums and commonplace books. Were they Byron's inspiration, or did all have a common source?

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GOETHE'S *FAUST*, LINE 1520

Commentators have variously interpreted the line 'sowie er sie (*d. h.* die Schwelle) mit Öl betupft." Witkowski remarks as follows:

Die Frage, weshalb Mephistopheles die Schwelle mit Öl betupft und wo er es hernimmt, erscheint müssig, wird aber bei jeder Faust-Inszenierung von neuem aufgeworfen. Der Zweck ist wohl, *das Holz zu erweichen und*

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Ratte die Arbeit zu erleichtern,[1] und am einfachsten taucht er seinen Finger in den offenen Behälter von Fausts Lampe.[2]

If this is the correct explanation, it is hard to understand why Goethe should have used the word *betupft,* which according to the *Grimm Dictionary,* Vol. II, 1741, means 'leviter digitis vel pencillo attingere, betippen.' Grimm quotes two examples of the word, one of which is this passage from *Faust* and the other (with umlaut) from Wieland: "Es wird gar bald, wenn wirs nur leicht betüpfen, Uns durch die Finger schlüpfen." The meaning of the word is clearly to touch lightly, and by simply touching a surface lightly with oil it is difficult to see how the wood of the threshold would thus be softened.

H. Düntzer in his *Faust* commentary comes very close to the proper interpretation. He says: "Das Betupfen mit Öl soll nichts weniger als eine Weihe bezeichnen; der Teufel will nur eine Ratte, deren es viele im Zimmer gibt, durch den Geruch heranlocken," *i. e.,* in order to have it gnaw the wood on which the oil has been lightly put to complete in outline, as it were, the defective point of the pentagram.

It is interesting to note in this connection that Poe in his story of *The Pit and the Pendulum* lets the man in the clutches of the Inquisition use the rats in a similar way to effect an escape:

> With particles of the oily and spicy viand, I thoroughly rubbed the bandage wherever I could reach it.—I had not counted in vain upon their (*i. e.* the rats') voracity. Observing that I remained without motion, one or two of the boldest leaped upon the framework, and smelt at the surcingle.—They busied themselves with the anointed bandage.—Plainly I perceived the loosening of the bandage. I knew that in more than one place it must be already severed. Nor had I erred in my calculations.—I at length felt that I was free. The surcingle hung in ribands fom my body.—At a wave from my hand my deliverers hurried tumultuously away.

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[1] Italics are by the writer.

[2] It is important to bear in mind that the oil used in lamps prior to the nineteenth century was a vegetable or animal oil and not petroleum.

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A NOTE ON LEGOUIS AND CAZAMIAN, *HISTOIRE DE LA LITTÉRATURE ANGLAISE*

When this work appeared two years ago, the *Bibliothek der Angelsächsischen Poesie* of Grein and Wülker was attributed by Legouis (p. 15, n. 1) to "C. W. M. Green" and "R. P. Wilker." We should expect the errors to disappear at the first opportunity; but in the English translation of Legouis and Cazamian by Helen Douglas Irvine (1926, 1. 8) poor Grein is still Green, and Wülker has suffered a further sea-change into "R. P. Wilkes." I observe (French edition, pp. 1-2) that the bibliographical net has failed to catch Wülker's *Geschichte der Englischen Litteratur* (1896); this should have been included, if only for the numerous, and mostly admirable, illustrations. It is of interest, also, as the only history of our literature, by a scholar of repute in Old English, that aims to give the story "*von den ältesten Zeiten bis zur Gegenwart.*" Though Wülker, like the rest of us, occasionally made a mistake, I doubt whether he would have made two in a comparable, crucial, instance such as I have noted above.

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THE SIGNIFICANCE OF D'ANNUNZIO'S "OUTA OCCIDENTALE."

In an article entitled "Japan in French Poetry" which appeared in *PMLA*, 1925, pp. 435-449, the present writer made the statement that: "During the Russo-Japanese War, Europe . . . began to think of writing, no longer about the Japanese, but as the Japanese write poetry." Since then he has discovered imitations of the metre of the Japanese *uta* by Gabriele d'Annunzio, published in his *Isaotta Guttadàuro ed Altre Poesie* as early as 1886. These are eleven original "Outa Occidentale," inspired, as the poet says in a note, by the rimed translations of Japanese poetry made by Judith Gautier in the *uta* metre in 1885 and published under the title of *Poèmes de la Libellule*. Although D'Annunzio's Japanese poems do not appear to have exercised the influence of the first French *haikai*, composed in imitation of the Japanese by Paul-

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Louis Couchoud, Albert Poncin and Julien Vocance in 1905,[1] the Italian "Outa Occidentale" antedate the Russo-Japanese War by nearly twenty years. This fact seems to afford another indication of D'Annunzio's versatility.

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[1] Cf. W. L. Schwartz, *RLC.* oct.-déc., 1926, "L'Influence de la poésie japonaise sur la poésie française contemporaine."

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REVIEWS

L'Auteur de la farce de Pathelin. Par Louis Cons. Princeton University Press and Les Presses Universitaires de France, [September] 1926. Pp. ix + 179. Price: $1.80 in U. S.; 30 francs in France.

Though announced in print[1] in April, 1914, the important discovery which Professor Louis Cons was then stated to have made "within the last few days" could not be published "at an early date." A full participation in the Great War and, after that, ever and ever more finds, often requiring visits in France—these and other causes explain why we have had to wait so long for the publication of this book on the authorship of *Pathelin.* How has Mr. C. now presented his case?

Having filled 67 pages with indispensable approaches ("l'état de la question," "la critique des attributions," "la date de l'œuvre," "le lieu d'origine de l'auteur," "le milieu de l'auteur," etc.), Mr. C. convincingly eliminates a final batch of candidates and remarks (p. 68): "Il faut chercher ailleurs. Et chercher parmi les auteurs qui florissaient dans les années [1464-69] où se place ce chef-d'œuvre, dans le pays normand et dans le monde des clercs d'église." Thus, for literally the first time, he can name a really possible candidate for further testing, "Guillaume Alecis, auteur des *Faintes du monde* et du *Blason de faulses amours,*" the earliest writer known to have used *pathelin* as a common noun. In Alecis we find "les allusions les plus anciennes, les plus nombreuses, les plus littérales à *Pathelin;* dans ses *Faintes du monde* surtout on retrouve les personnages, les thèmes de la Farce, rendus avec une précision, une fidélité que ne sauraient expliquer les jeux du hasard et du souvenir." In fact, as the reviewer also long ago perceived, "Les *Faintes* d'Alecis [C., p. 111] sont comme une galerie où on peut saluer au passage tous les personnages de *Pathelin,* où on les retrouve avec tout ce qui leur arrive et tout ce qu'ils font, avec les gestes de leurs mains et les paroles de leur bouche," an essentially truthful, though not a literally true statement. In *Les Faintes du monde,* one finds, in reality, the *disjecta membra* of almost the whole plot of the Farce, a witty scenario scattered

[1] In a Note on p. xii of my second (*the* second) English version of *Pathelin.* In my *Étude sur Pathelin* (Elliott Monographs, 1917, pp. 10, 87) I again announced Mr. C.'s intention to prove his thesis; again in my "small" critical edition of *Pathelin* (Classiques fr. du moyen âge, [June] 1924, p. 3, n. 1); again, and finally, in my *Études et Aventures Pathelinniennes* (in Études fr., *Sixième Cahier,* 15 Novembre 1925 [in reality, somewhat later]).

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slily (and not detected until about 1913 or 1914) through some 880 verses (C., pp. 90 ff.) and now dissected out by Mr. C. (pp. 112 ff.) in a series of "exhibits" which *mathematically* demonstrate a genetic relation between *Pathelin* and the *Faintes;* for, in not less than twelve cases wherein the Farce and the *Faintes* unmistakably express the same thought (often with a striking verbal similarity), or wherein the *Faintes* provide a true comment, the verse-numbers are exactly or essentially identical—as follows: P 123, F 123-4; P 209-10, F 209-10; P 224, F 223-4; P 314-5, F 313-4; P 392-4, F 393-4; P 442-4, F 441-4; P 448-51, F 449-52; P 455-9, F 457-60; P 496, F 495-6; P 630-1, F 629-30; P 739-40, F 739-40; P 771, F 771-2. And all these numerical correspondences are capped in the *Faintes,* 589-90, by the direct, though of course not mathematically indicated connexion:

> Tel a largement de blason
> Qui ne sçait pas son pathelin.

What do these data reveal? (1) that in the (or an) original MS. of *Pathelin* the verses (contrary to the usual practice of 15th-century, and earlier, scribes or authors) were visibly numbered (1, 5, etc., or the like); (2) that the author of the *Faintes* took the pains, in some twelve cases, thus to link this work inextricably to the Farce by inserting like verses at the same intervals; (3) that *Pathelin* and the *Faintes* have therefore come down to us (at least as far as vv. 771-2 in each) with the length that each had when this series of mathematical equivalences was thus established. [As shown in my "small" edition, *Pathelin* has lost one verse, between 918 and 920, one, three, or some other *odd* number of verses, after vv. 771-2. After v. 880 of the *Faintes* occurs the probably original explicit: "Fin des Faintes du monde"].

Even if, by parallel passages from the *Blason* etc., Mr. C. had not supplied other abundant evidences of a common authorship, the mathematical correspondences above stated would make any attribution of our anonymous Farce to some one else than Guillaume Alecis difficult now even to conceive, still more difficult to establish. In a word, I conclude that Alecis adopted this typically medieval and extremely sure method of secretly *signing* the Farce as his own creation. The motives of this churchman for desiring his *Farce* to appear anonymously hardly need the convincing explanations offered by Mr. C., but for whose rare talents as a discoverer and follower of clues the best and historically most important comedy between Terence and *Twelfth-Night* might easily have continued for even more than 450 (or 462) years to be properly attributed to "an unknown author."

Me judice both logic and good form require that *Maistre Pierre Pathelin* shall figure henceforth as one of the Works of Guillaume

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Alecis and be printed in the same style as Piaget and Picot's excellent 3-volume edition of his *Œuvres*. The careful study of this single masterpiece inevitably leads one far and relevantly afield (a fact not understood by certain persons who, more intent upon belittling than upon comprehending, have enquired of me whether this subject has not now [about 1920 and later] been adequately treated), and Mr. C.'s discovery will not only increase the scientific value of an *Édition critique complète* (now within sight of publication), but will also provide one more solid foundation for other instructive and far-reaching studies.[2]

It was merely a handful of clues (substantial though they were) that caused Mr. C.'s searchlight to pause so splendidly in April, 1914. Later, as his book reveals, he could visit the ruins of the ancient abbey of Lyre (so suggestive of *guiternes* and *guiterneaulx!*) in the diocese of Évreux and could pursue his search with the valuable assistance of a canon of that place (M. Charles Guéry) who is the author of an *Histoire de l'abbaye de Lyre* and at home in all that concerns "le bon moine." In Paris, Rouen, and Évreux itself, he could examine some of the very MSS. once studied and even annotated in his own handwriting by Guillaume Alecis (C., p. 76 ff.), among them, the only known MS. of the *Advocacie Nostre Dame,* which he demonstrates (pp. 148-54) to have inspired in some measure the "fifth act" of *Pathelin.* He shows (pp. 154-6) a genetic connexion between *Pathelin* and *La Chapelerie de Nostre Dame de Bayex* known only through the MS. that contains the *Advocacie.* He identifies (pp. 156-8) that Jean du Quemin of whom Pathelin says (vv. 896-7):

> Jehan du Quemin sera joyeulz,
> mais qu'i' sache que je le see.

He finds (pp. 167-73) an authentic Guillaume Joceaulme, "nom d'un personnage historique," as a quite possible model for our reprobate Draper. He even reproduces (facing p. 164) a likeness (?) of *la benoiste couronnee* as we see her crudely figured on a seal of Guillaume le Bas, abbot of Lyre, and, beneath her feet, in a niche of his own, is the abbot himself:

[2] Mr. C. has already in mind, for example, the relation of *Pathelin* to other farces of that time; a search for the place where this farce was first performed or intended to be performed (Blois?, the château at Brie-Comte-Robert?); the political allusions in *Pathelin* (as presumably confirming the date, 1464, disclosed in my *Étude*); other facts which connect the Farce with Lyre; the part played by Louis d'Harcourt, abbot of Lyre (1463-79), in the composition or genesis of *Pathelin;* the relation of this farce to the "Guerre du Bien public" and to the opposition to Louis XI; a comprehensive study of Guillaume Alecis; nor merely these subjects—to which various readers of this review can readily add numerous kindred topics worthy of investigation.

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Il en viendra au pié l'abbé,
par la benoiste couronnee. (*Path.* 1015-6)

Both lack of space and a desire not to spoil too many of Mr. C.'s "surprises" for other readers not less fond of them than myself make me refrain from further mentions of the many incidental discoveries made by Mr. C.

(1) The Conclusion of his book (pp. 174-9) summarises accurately its whole contents, but in such fashion that at least some of those persons who reach Conclusions before they read what precedes will immediately regret their haste. (2) A work of this length and with such a wealth of contents should have been followed by an Index of Proper Names and Notable Matters. (3) At least one facsimile of the handwriting of Guillaume Alecis, with his signature, would have been well worth while. (4) To his "Ainsi Pathelin a paru entre 1464 et 1469" (p. 21) Mr. C. might safely have added some such phrase as this: "et il semble évident qu'en faisant dire par son Drapier *cest yver* (*Path.* 245) l'auteur ne peut avoir eu dans l'esprit que l'hiver qui avait précédé immédiatement l'an 1465 (v. st.)"; for otherwise, to a very matter-of-fact public, his allusion would have seemed unduly belated; it was certainly not made by the author as something continuously true. This conclusion would have shifted back to "about 1464" the possible *terminus a quo* of the *Faintes*. (5) Mr. C. is wise (pp. 24-25) not to attach great importance to the language of *Pathelin* as indicating, here and there, Norman origin; Parisian writers of that period use the form *donge* (C., p. 22); and *vecy* (or *vela*), assumed by C. and by Joret (whom he quotes) to be characteristically Norman, is common in other N. French dialects at that time. (6) "Et ici encore [dans *Pathelin*] c'est bien l'appareil romain et les cinq actes de Plaute et de Térence qui se rappellent à nous." (C., p. 59). Five main episodes (which we may call "acts") are in fact discernible in our farce, as shown by C., but he would have done well to prove (what he knew) that a visible division of Plautus and Terence into Acts and Scenes had been made well before the time commonly supposed ("the 16th century"). The 15th-C. *Therence en françoys*, examined by him in the Morgan library (p. 61, n. 1) is thus divided, though C. does not say so in his note. (7) P. 105, n. 1, C. declares *eaue* to count for two syllables in *Path.* (170, 606, 756); for only one in the *Faintes* (316, 867); he rightly adds: "On conviendra qu'il n'y a pas là de quoi infirmer nos [mes] conclusions." Let me add that there does not exist at present any good treatise on French versification in the 15th century, though we have many good texts from which to derive the data, including all Alecis. (8) C. says (p. 118): "Le 'Pathelin, en contant sur ses dois,' qui fait partie du texte de *Pathelin*, est nettement suggéré par l'allitération 'doye,' 'dois' et 'compte' des vers 273-74 des *Faintes*." Exactly the contrary, but this inadvertence is easy to understand: C. of course knew that *Pathelin* antedates the *Faintes*. (9) Without proof, C. states positively in his main text that *cabasser* has two different senses in *Pathelin* 3 and 1140; his footnote is more cautious; but his 'celui plus vigoureux dans lequel le mot est appliqué aux moutons' is again purely an assumption, particularly if he means both "stronger" and different.[a]

[a] The following misprints occur, not all due to Mr. C.: p. 3, la Croix *Read* La; p. 7, cell- *R* celle; p. 14, n. 2, le manuscrit *R* un; p. 19, fol vestu *R* mouton vestu; p. 23, *omblyer* pour *oublier R ombliez* pour *oubliez;* p. 24, ll. 16-17, eaue: doulce *R* eaue doulce; p. 24, n. 1 and n. 3. *R* either *Gringoire* or *Gringore* (not both); p. 32, n. 1, c'est trestoute froidure *R* ce fust *etc.;* pp. 33, 39 deüst *R* dëust; p. 51, ( ) *misused* 3 *timcs for*

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[ ] *to indicate interpolations by C.;* p. 56 Evathl os quece *R* Evathlos que ce; p. 61, n. 1, Octavien Saint-Gallais *R* Octavien de Saint-Gelais; p. 70, l'eut fait *R* l'eût fait; p. 75, la pié *R* le pié; p. 75, lad. rivière (La Risle) *R* lad. rivière [la Risle]; p. 77, Si je n'ay *R* (?) Se je n'ay; p. 79, formosior instă *R* formosior istă [*f. abl.*]; p. 85, n. 1, *Here and elsewhere, R Faintes du Monde* (not *Feintes* etc.); p. 90, rimes équivoqués; p. 91, premier assis *R* premier assis,; p. 93, nous bevrons *Holbrook reads* beurons (safer!); p. 94, tout lieux *R* tous lieux; p. 95, moisne noire; p. 96, contemplé *R* contemplée; pp. 101, 110, *Le Blason des faulses amours R de;* p. 101, dont venons *R* dont nous venons; p. 110, fantise *R* faintise; p. 116, que ne soit *R* que ce ne soit; p. 123, dont parle les *Faintes* cf. ces *Faintes* sont (p. 117); p. 123, en alliez *R* en aillez [: baillez]; p. 126, celle de *R* celles de; p. 129, ((réclame)) qui *Insert,;* p. 129, n. 1, *Source R Sources;* p. 132, n. 1, bascochien *R* basochien; p. 133, annexe, aux *R* annexe aux; p. 133, n. 3, dés œuvres *R* des œuvres; p. 135, le *Grand Testament* (twice) R *le Testament* [*Grant* was started by G. Beneaut in 1490]; p. 152, qu'il l'aura *R* qu'il aura; p. 157, qui la prinst *R* qui l'aprinst; p. 175 (*printer's error*), l'au teure *R* l'auteur de.

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Lope de Vega, *El Marqués de las Navas,* publicada por JOSÉ F. MONTESINOS. (*Teatro antiguo español,* vol. VI). Centro de Estudios Históricos, Madrid, 1925.

"*El Marqués de las Navas* en resumen es una de las comedias que por más motivos deben figurar en primera línea en un estudio del teatro de Lope. Por la mucha luz que da sobre su arte y su época pero también, y sobre todo, por sus grandes bellezas de detalle. Podría ser una obra popular si se la redujera a los dos primeros actos, lo que es perfectamente factible. Quedaría un gran cuadro de costumbres, tal vez el más lozano, ameno, entretenido y atractivo que nos haya conservado el teatro español del siglo XVII."

Thus Sr. Montesinos (p. 182) on the merits of this uneven comedia of Lope de Vega's, which, as in the two preceding volumes of this series, he publishes from the original manuscript and for which he provides critical observations and notes. (The play had already been included in the modern editions of Lope by Hartzenbusch and Menéndez y Pelayo, but as the present editor shows, both had reproduced, not the text of the original manuscript, but that of Lope's Parte XXII.)

It is not with the first two acts, praised so highly by Sr. Montesinos as *cuadros de costumbres,* that he is concerned in his *Observaciones,* but with the third act. Acts I and II, colorful and attractive as they are in the depiction of the festive side of Madrid life, give but the setting for the main plot of the play, the "estraño casso" of the Marqués de las Navas, tardily presented and

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developed in the third act. This story of the return from the other world of the ghost of Leonardo, killed by the Marqués, to demand that the latter assume the responsibility of carrying out the terms of his will, is studied in its relation to other plays of Lope which present supernatural figures.[1] The play, we learn, is unique only in that it dramatizes what was accepted as a real happening of Lope's day (also recorded as such in Vicente Espinel's *Marcos de Obregón*). Otherwise it bears certain resemblances to other plays of Lope in which ghosts appear. Sr. Montesinos finds, interestingly enough, however, that *El Marqués de las Navas,* written in 1624 and perhaps the last of such plays by Lope, most resembles those nearest in time, and that from such an early comedia as *El ganso de oro* through *La santa liga* and others composed shortly after the turn of the century, there was a gradual evolution in Lope's theatre toward a more realistic presentation of the *figura de ultratumba* and a merging of the two planes of existence, the terrestrial and the non-terrestrial. The dead and the living, being thus more closely related, are more mutually dependent on each other for happiness and the salvation of their souls.[2] This conception finds its most concrete and consequently least artistic expression in the third act of *El Marqués de las Navas.*

After dealing with the special problem offered by this play, Sr. Montesinos has seen fit to devote several pages to the more general and highly controversial topic of characterization in Lope's theatre. He takes exception to the criticism so often made not only of Lope's but of the whole classic theatre of Spain, that it is deficient in clearly conceived and individualized characters. We cannot expect of Lope a *modern* psychological analysis of character, but for that matter, he adds, we do not find such analysis even

[1] Sr. Montesinos limits his study of these plays, purposely leaving out of account those in which there is no direct intervention of supernatural figures and those with miraculous appearances of Saints (p. 141). It would have been worth noting, nevertheless, that in Lope's *El llegar en ocasión* although the Marqués is deceived by Laura and takes the figure of a living man for a ghost, Laura's report that it was her husband's ghost who had returned from the other world asking that certain things he omitted from his will be carried out, is reminiscent of similar requests in *Don Juan de Castro* and *El Marqués de las Navas.*

[2] The idea was common enough at the time. It may be recalled that Don Quijote on one occasion believes himself visited by a ghost come to demand his aid. "Conjúrote," says Don Quijote, "fantasma o lo que eres, que me digas quién eres, y que me digas qué es lo que de mí quieres. *Si eres alma en pena, dímelo; que yo haré por ti todo cuanto mis fuerzas alcanzaren,* porque soy católico cristiano y amigo de hacer bien a todo el mundo; que para esto tomé la orden de la caballería andante que profeso, cuyo ejercicio aun hasta hacer bien a las ánimas de purgatorio se estiende." (Ed. R. Marín, 1916, v, 462.)

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in Lope's French contemporaries, Corneille and Racine, so often called his superiors in character drawing. Lope does all too frequently merely repeat traditional literary types, but he also succeeds at times in achieving true characterization. This is perhaps lost sight of in the fact that Lope's method is more suggestive than explicit, and requires an effort on the reader's part for the figures to take on the full semblance of reality. But we must not for this reason deny these characters a psychologic basis.

This defense, it seems to me, carries in it an admission of weakness in the comedia as a form of art. The very fact that the reader himself must fill in the outline of a figure seen in the large, implies that the figure has been only imperfectly realized by the dramatist. It could not, as a matter of fact, have been otherwise in a theatre so characterized by conventionalism, fantasy and unreality, and, what is more significant, by hasty composition and what amounted almost to improvisation. That the interest was not in character is evident, too, in the fact that the comedia, as even its staunchest defenders admit, can only be fully appreciated with a special knowledge of the period, that is, historically rather than esthetically. Literature in which character is predominant has an inevitable appeal to modern taste, so that we may suspect the hostile attitude toward the classic comedia shown by such writers of today as Azorín, Baroja and Pérez de Ayala, to be due largely to their finding it wanting in this respect.

Turning now to the *Notas* of the present edition, in which Sr. Montesinos continues to list usages not recorded by the dictionaries and to call attention to certain favorite themes and thoughts in Lope, I offer the following additional material as possibly of interest to the student of Lope's thought and expression:

Lines 140-141, "Y mira que *muger* soy, Donde es mayor la *venganza.*" This is a commonplace in Lope and one of the platitudes of the time. Cf. *Modern Language Notes,* XL, 1925, p. 236. Further examples in Lope: the sonnet on a woman's revenge, in *El bastardo Mudarra,* Acad. VII, 472b; the comedia *La bella Aurora,* which deals with the character of a jealous woman. Cf. also "Las mujeres, somos naturalmente vengativas" (Cervantes, *Persiles*), quoted by Castro, *El pensamiento de Cervantes,* 1925, p. 127, note.

Lines 532 ff. "Pienso en lo que estoy callando, Callo lo que estoy sintiendo, Siento lo que estoy sufriendo," etc. A favorite stylistic device: for other examples cf. my edition of Lope's *El castigo del discreto,* p. 265.

Lines 1083-1085. For defamatory references to the *Calle de Getafe,* cf. *El castigo del discreto,* ed. cit., p. 224.

Lines 1092-93. "¡Que venga vn onbre a casarse, Antonio, en día de toros!" To marry on a day given over to bull fighting

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augured ill, giving rise to thoughts of jealousy and dishonor. Cf.: Belardo. "Correránse dos *novillos.*" Danteo. "Ese parecer borralde, Que *en bodas no es buen agüero* Animal con armas tales." (*El engaño en la verdad,* Acad. N., v, 245a.)

Lines 1579-80. "Yd con Dios, que en este puesto Estaré como español, Sufriré como tudesco." The bravery of Spaniards and their ability to withstand hardships was a commonplace: one example in Lope, ". . . en la adversa fortuna, Son los soldados primeros De sufrir y padecer" (*La mayor desgracia de Carlos V,* Acad. XII, 179b). The same trait in German soldiers is referred to in these lines of Lope: "Mira que es tema tudesca Morir sin mover los pies" (*Amar, servir y esperar,* Acad. N., III, 237b); ". . . y tudesco sufrimiento" (*La mocedad de Roldán,* Acad. XIII, 223a). Lope distinguishes, it may be said in passing, between *tudescos* and *alemanes;* in the passage already quoted from *La mocedad de Roldán,* we read: "Con *alemán pensamiento,* Con dulzura portuguesa, Con industria genovesa Y *tudesco sufrimiento*"; and in *El blasón de los Chaves de Villalba:* ". . . Y *fuerte* como un *tudesco. Gallardo* como *alemán.* . ." (Acad. XI, 426a). It would be interesting to know whether in Lope's day a distinction was commonly made between *tudesco* and *alemán;* Covarrubias at least does not make any, saying in his *Tesoro,* "Tudesco es lo mesmo que Alemán."

Further examples of words and usages not recorded in the dictionaries: *platera* = *fregona* (line 452) is also found in *El castigo del discreto* (l. 841); *dueño* = *autor,* "y aun persona interesada o complicada en algo, sin que se trate de posesión de nada material" (line 1700) is also used thus in *El castigo del discreto* (ls. 689, 1498) and in *La mayor desgracia de Carlos V* (Acad. XII, 179b): "La otra, porque ellos son Dueños de cualquier facción Que el César sabe emprender."

The text of *El Marqués de la Navas* as reproduced by Sr. Montesinos seems to call for the following emendations, the errors in some cases being obviously typographical: l. 911, *Fa* should read Ma[rqués]; l. 1066, *Lu.* should read Leo[nardo]; l. 1166, Omit comma after 'que'; l. 1221, Omit comma after 'ocico'?; l. 1257, 'yo' should read 'ya'; l. 1386, 'intenta' should read 'intento'; l. 1495, Why not accept Lope's original reading, rather than the line written in by another hand?

In the table of versification on page 183, the lines for Act II and part of Act III are incorrectly numbered (1068 should read 1056, 1069 should read 1057, etc., etc.). Incidentally, it would have been helpful for purposes of comparison with other plays of about the same date, to have included the percentage of verse forms used in the play.

Another minor point. Sr. Montesinos, in speaking of *El pro-*

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digioso príncipe transilvano, apparently accepts the date of 1595 ascribed to it by Sr. Cotarelo (p. 147). But as the political events related in it can hardly have been foretold by the playwright, it would seem logical to suppose the play to have been composed some years later, in which case the ascription of the play to Vélez de Guevara, not accepted by Sr. Cotarelo because Vélez was only fifteen years old in 1595, would have to be reconsidered.

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The American Indian in English Literature of the Eighteenth Century. By BENJAMIN BISSELL. Yale Studies in English: LXVIII. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1925. ix + 223 pages.

Dr. Bissell's monograph is a discussion, confined mostly to the eighteenth century, of the processes by which the American Indian became "romanticized" in English literature. There are six chapters, an Introduction and Conclusion of two pages each, and a brief Appendix. The opening chapter, by touching lightly in thirty-six pages upon the writings of the travellers, explorers, captives, and historians of nearly three centuries, beginning with Peter Martyr, constructs "the background from which the figure of the romanticized Indian emerged." The second skims over the somewhat complicated subject of primitivism in eighteen pages. The third, "Civilization as seen by the Savage," describes certain essays of the "foreign observer" type, and considers briefly the Four Indian Kings of *The Spectator* fame, Tomochichi, and a few of the other Indians who visited England in the eighteenth century. The three remaining chapters, which occupy three-fifths of the volume, deal with the Indian in fiction, in the drama, and in poetry. The study includes American as well as British authors.

Dr. Bissell holds that seventeenth-century allusions to the Indian's nature and habits show, sometimes admiration for his virtues (especially for the virtues of the Peruvian and the Mexican), but oftener "disapproval of [his] impiety, and resentment at his cruelty"; that "the qualities of the real Indian had been by 1700 pretty fully set forth"; and that "his metamorphosis into the noble savage was gradually to come about during the next hundred years, chiefly under French influence." On page 8 we are invited to "follow this mysterious evolution." But in his "Conclusion" the author admits (p. 213) that "the accumulation of evidence cannot be so arranged as to

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show a steady and obvious progression from one extreme to another" (that is, from the extreme of aversion to that of idealization), though he considers that "there has been some sort of change between the year 1700, let us say, and the decades which mark the close of the century," since between 1775 and 1800 the idealized Indian appears in English literature with "relative frequency." On page 214 Dr. Bissell speaks of "the transformation of the sinister and forbidding savage into the idealized embodiment of picturesqueness, pathos, fortitude, and heroic sentiment" as a "singular product of the purely literary imagination," whatever and whenever that may mean. One supposes it to mean by the close of the eighteenth century but on page 41 "innumerable poets, philosophers, romancers" are said to have "sung the praises of the brave and generous Indian" before the time of Rousseau, and one recalls that Dryden used the expression "the noble savage" as early as 1672. The author's explanation (p. 213) that "the variety of currents, cross currents, and counter currents sometimes seem to confuse the entire issue" accounts for the reader's difficulty in following any "mysterious evolution."

In point of fact, from the beginning of their contact with the American Indian, Europeans regarded him in at least three ways, —the settler's way, the missionary's, and the romancer's, and all three are found in varying degrees contemporaneously in the literature of the sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. Increased attention is of course given to the Indian as a romantic figure toward the close of the eighteenth century, and Dr. Bissell is right in correlating this phenomenon with the growing interest in the various manifestations of primitivism, but his discussion of the influences—mainly French, he says,—that fostered this development is far from complete or lucid. Furthermore, there is nothing to indicate when, where, or in what forms the "romanticization" of the Indian reached its culmination, or why such a study as this appropriately stops with the year 1800.

The significance of an investigation of this sort, in which no clearly defined thesis of much importance can be established, must lie mainly in the working out of incidental problems, or in the accumulation of bibliographical material. Dr. Bissell finds no incidental problems to solve—indeed he seems rather impatient of detail (cf. pp. 21, 22, 29); and he has not presented a very impressive amount of new matter. Attention has already been called in print during the last fifteen years to a considerable number of the books, essays, and poems that he cites. The author implies (on pp. ix, 37, 41, 63, 96, and 177, for example) that he has found much more material than he has used. It is unfortunate that he has not given us the full benefit of his researches in an adequate bibliography. The bibliographical information is of the

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scantiest sort. Drake's *Book of the Indians* is cited, but the author does not say which of the widely differing editions he has consulted. No mention is made of works of such fundamental importance to his subject as Hodge's *Handbook,* Field's *Catalogue,* or the Newberry Library list of "Captivities," nor is there anything to show that he is acquainted with the Ayer, Harris, Watkinson, or Clements collections of Americana.

Dr. Bissell's citations of fiction, plays, and poems in which Indians appear make no pretension to completeness, but the chapters on the drama and on poetry, particularly, contain some regrettable omissions. William Richardson's play, *The Indians,* is analyzed, but no reference is made to the earlier tale, by the same author, on which the drama is based. Mrs. Behn's *Oroonoko* receives attention, but not her *The Widow Ranter.* There is no mention of John Dennis's *Liberty Asserted,* or Governor Wolcott's *Poetical Meditations,* or Tickell's *Prospect of Peace,* or Brackenridge's satirical thrusts. Indeed, the humorous and satirical treatment of the Indian in the eighteenth century is hardly touched upon.

A checking-up of Dr. Bissell's text reveals considerable laxity of various sorts. The author does not seem to know that the ode, *Tomo-cha-chi,* has long been ascribed to the younger Samuel Wesley, and more recently to Thomas Fitzgerald; or that *Art and Nature* is the work of James Miller; or that W. R. Chetwood is believed to be the author of *The Voyages of Captain Richard Falconer;* or that William Smith, Provost of the College of Philadelphia, is the reputed author of Yariza's *Letter to the Ladies of New York* and the poems that accompanied it, or that Smith's book was published in New York two years before the London edition appeared. The water-color sketches made by John White, the artist who accompanied Raleigh to America in 1585, seem to be attributed on p. 5 to the De Brys family. Since these drawings must have had at least some basis in actual observation, Dr. Bissell is hardly justified in calling them "even more fanciful" than the text they illustrated.

Nothing is said of the interesting discussions of the "Welsh Indians" in the eighteenth century, or of the literature of the Wyoming massacre, or Lovewell's fight, or St. Clair's retreat, or the Jane McCrea episode. In fact, only two pages (177-8) are devoted to the literary treatment of the Indian in connection with historical events. Logan's speech is accepted (p. 27) as genuine, and Cresap's responsibility for the murder of Logan's family is unquestioned. The note on Prichard's *Character of St. Tammany* (p. 182) neglects to mention E. P. Kilroe's interesting dissertation on this Indian saint, which shows, incidentally, that Prichard's poem was in print three years earlier than the earliest date

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given by Dr. Bissell. The story of Smith and Pocahontas, which is said on p. 6 to be mentioned for the first time in Smith's *General History* (1624) is alluded to in the second edition of Smith's *New England's Trials* (1622).

There are several instances of careless proof-reading. C. C. Jones's *Historical Sketch of Tomo-chi-chi* is cited twice, and in two different ways (pp. 63, 66), but neither time under the correct title. The title of Joseph Williams's *The Converted Indian* is given on p. 194 as *The Indian Convert. An Indian's Speech to his Countrymen* appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1765, not in 1785 (as on p. 179). The name "Thomas J. McKee" (p. 183, n.) should be "Royall Tyler." On p. 192 Robert Southey masquerades as William Southey. The Indian name "Weimar" on p. 188 should be spelled "Wimar." "Introduction to *The Works of Aphra Behn*" (p. 84) should read "Introduction to *Oroonoko*, in *The Works of Aphra Behn*." *The Complaint of Cascarilla* appeared in Volume 4 (not 9) of *The American Museum*, and Volume 4 (not 9) of *The Massachusetts Magazine* (p. 199, n.). E. G. Bourne's article on Carver appeared in Volume 11 of *The American Historical Review*, p. 287, not in Volume 2, p. 282 (p. 12, n.) or Volume 2, p. 287 (p. 28, n.). Dr. Bissell does not, by the way, call attention to Quaife's reply to Bourne in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, September, 1914. In the extract from Ligon (p. 138) "took them abroad" should read "took them aboard." On pp. 50 and 53 Boswell is misquoted, and on p. 164, Milton.

One of the most surprising features of the book is the style in which it is written, which the following quotations represent at about its worst: "One of the Spaniards speaks of how nobly he was used" (p. 142); "The chief source of general knowledge regarding the Indian and his ways was provided by a variety of other sources" (p. 12); "to regard the Indian as being for the most part a simple, harmless sort of being" (p. 3); "the metaphors . . . of which there was not much variety, but a certain quaint picturesqueness" (p. 25); "Rousseau's contribution . . . was not, indeed, in any new praises of savage virtue (he did not of course pretend to have any first-hand knowledge of them)" (p. 41); "it is merely necessary to mention them" (p. 5); "to the sense of horror at the Indian's cruelty, there is an additional element of interest in the captive's danger" (p. 11); "such persons, if there were any, who actually made this daring and picturesque social experiment" (p. 37).

All things considered, Dr. Bissell's dissertation can hardly be held to add much distinction to the series of Yale Studies in English.

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The Philosophy of Grammar. By OTTO JESPERSEN. New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1924. 359 pp.

For many years the need for a thorough-going revision of our antiquated system of grammar has been obvious to all who observe and reflect upon the character and behaviour of the living languages; and not a few attempts in that direction have been made. But Professor Jespersen, penetrating deeper into the problem, has seen that as a preliminary step to such revision a clear comprehension of the nature of grammar itself and of the principles underlying it is essential. In the *Philosophy of Grammar,* a book that was under way for some fifteen years, he has attempted to take that step.

Early in the first chapter the author makes plain what is already known to his followers: that he, like Brunot, Bally, Sechehaye, and others of the modern school of linguistic thought, is a vivisectionist. "The spoken and heard word," he says, "is the primary form for language, and of far greater importance than the secondary form used in writing (printing) and reading." The first three chapters serve to orient the reader. Distinctions are made between formulas and free expressions, between descriptive and historical linguistics, between grammar and dictionary. A criticism showing the inconsistency and the confusion in the divisions usually recognized in the subject of grammar introduces a discussion of the possibility of a universal grammar and of the categories to be recognized as a framework of such a system which is clarifying to those who, though appreciating the interest which such a work might have, are bewildered even by the vagaries of their own language. With the relationship between the syntactic and the notional categories established, Jespersen's bipartite approach to the facts of language (from form to thought—from without to within, and from thought to form—from within to without) is a valuable working hypothesis.

The author begins his actual presentation of his system of grammar with three chapters on the parts of speech. He recognizes five classes of words which are grammatically distinct: substantives, adjectives, pronouns (including pronominal adverbs and numerals), verbs, and particles (an omnibus carrying whatever words do not fit into the first four classes: adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions, and interjections). The identification of a word must be based not on the isolated form, but on its form, function, and meaning in a given context. The word having been considered and classified as a thing in itself, the next step is to classify it according to its relationship to the other words of the context. For this purpose Jespersen uses, with one slight change in terminology, the system of ranks (primary, secondary, tertiary, etc.,) which he used in his *Modern English Grammar,* Part II, and which provides a neat

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and consistent designation for some of the mooted problems of grammar. Likewise, the author's enumeration of the various kinds of nexus offers a reasonable solution for a number of types of intricate syntax. Conspicuous, at this point, is his defense of the accusative in the type of sentence exemplified by, "We feed children *whom* we think are hungry." In an appendix the author presents a rather convincing array of illustrations ranging, in English, from Chaucer to a *Times Literary Supplement* of 1923 to demonstrate that the speech instinct inclines to the accusative and to support his contention that "a subject need not always be in the nominative, and the insertion of the words *we think* can and does change the relation between the relative pronoun and its verb." To which one might add: neither need an object always be in an oblique case. (Cf. "I may go if *I* please"; "Let's you and *I* go down town."

The chapter on *Case* argues the inadequacy of the various tests based on inflexion, or analogy, or syntax which grammarians use to prove the existence of a case system in modern English; and also presents some of the difficulties in finding notional categories of any classificatory value that will provide for the idiosyncrasies of individual languages.

The discussions of number, person, gender, and comparison are stored with an amazing accumulation of significant illustrations that do not readily admit of summary. As a basis for his observations on time and tense, Jespersen uses a sevenfold division, each with a grammatical and a notional name, which satisfies the requirements of logic, but which does not, he grants, provide for actual time categories and tense distinctions found in different languages. The whole problem of tense is complicated by the fact that forms theoretically intended for time distinctions are used to express other types of notions such as unreality or impossibility, with the result that the grammatical form of the verb and its notional content (with respect to tense) may be wholly contradictory. The author's contribution to the subject of aspect—a classification upon a notional basis—is purely tentative. He suggests the following divisions: the tempo-distinction between the aorist and the imperfect, the distinction between conclusive and non-conclusive verbs, between durative or permanent and punctual or transitory, between finished and unfinished, between what takes place only once and repeated or habitual action or happening, between stability and change, and the distinction according to the implication or non-implication of a result. These differences are sometimes expressed by inflexional changes, sometimes by the use of auxiliaries or expanded forms, again by idiomatic word groups and by prefixes or suffixes. A phenomenon which manifests itself as a problem of grammar in one language may be a

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problem of lexicography in another: hence the constructive and unifying value of notional categories in universal or even comparative grammar.

The book is completed by chapters on direct and indirect speech; on the classification of utterances (*utterance* being the basic word on which Jespersen builds his definition of a sentence); on mood (which he considers a syntactic, not a notional category); and on negation.

But the significance of the *Philosophy of Grammar* does not end with its last page. The reader shares in the hope of the author "that elementary teaching of grammar in future may be a more living thing than it has been up to now, with less half-understood or unintelligible precept, fewer 'don't's,' fewer definitions, and infinitely more observation of actual living facts." (p. 346) One anticipates with enthusiasm a study of comparative syntax based upon the principle proposed by Jespersen 'starting from notion or inner meaning and examining how each of the fundamental ideas common to all mankind is expressed in various languages, thus proceeding through function to form.' Such a plan would extend the scope of study beyond the group of languages having linguistic kinship, and include, in theory at least, all intelligible systems of conveying thought by means of speech. One can merely speculate as to the importance of such a work in showing the multifarious operations of the human mind, and the similarities and diversities in human thought.

It would seem indeed hypercritical to seize upon details in a mass of material so carefully organized and so highly interesting; but not infrequently Professor Jespersen's statements challenge a reconsideration, and sometimes it is difficult to agree entirely with him. I shall mention a few instances.

His suggestion (p. 121, note 1) that one might take *witness* in "witness the way in which he behaved" as a substantive or as a verb in the subjunctive is difficult to follow. Why not the 'imaginary imperative' illustrated on pp. 314-5?

The passage on active and passive substantives (p. 169) with its omission of compounds made up of verb and subject, recalls a curious fallacy of the author in his *Modern English Grammar* II, 8. 64 (pp. 224-5) in insisting that in the original making of the compound *hangman man* was the object of *hang*. "We should in vain search," he says, "for parallels to the other possible explanation: 'a man who hangs,' as if we had a word *bake-man* = *baker*." While *hangman* may possibly have been formed with *man* as the object of *hang*, the search for parallels is not in vain: without question hush-money is money which hushes and a watch-dog is a dog which watches. Furthermore, OED gives the first illustration of *hangman* in 1393, of *watchman* a1400-50, of *watchdog* in

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1610, of *hangdog* in 1687. Other examples, of which there are doubtless many more, are: *cookstove, flywheel, go-cart, ripsaw, turnbridge, turntable, saw-mill, springboard.*

The interpretation of such expressions as "this rather frightened me" (p. 253) as at bottom a comparison of verbs "where the second term of comparison is left unexpressed, but where the original idea is '*frightened* is a more adequate expression than any other verb,'" is certainly based on the historical rather than the descriptive method. *Rather* in such instances has nothing deeper than a quantitative significance; it is practically equivalent to *somewhat.*

In the example quoted from Shaw (p. 329), "You may call me Dolly if you like; but you mustn't call me child," the change in auxiliaries is due, not to a change from positive to negative statement, but to an actual change in meaning, a change in the intensity of volition on the part of the speaker. The next example from Dickens, "You mustn't marry more than one person at a time, may you?", is surely an anomaly. The change in auxiliary is caused by a shift in the psychological attitude of the speaker rather than by the negative.

On the whole, the chapters on time and tense are the least convincing part of the book, perhaps because the author departs from his own method and takes as a basis for discussion a logical scheme of "times" which corresponds very closely to the recognized tense systems of grammar. In a classification proceeding from within to without, i. e., notional, there are only three time realms possible, the past, the future, and the present, the last an ever-changing, instantaneous point which is in reality very seldom designated, being fundamentally exclamatory. (Cf. He moves! and He moves quietly.) But the verb, in the phrasal group or by its inflexion, expresses the different phases of the action (Jespersen regards, wrongly it seems to me, some of these phases as "time," others as aspect) in relation to the time sphere. These phases may be classified as follows: 1) Pre-initiative, 2) Initiative, 3) Developing, 4) Existent [a) Instantaneous, b) Continuative, c) Repetitive, d) Habitual], 5) Completed. With this classification in mind, the significant comment on verbs denoting psychological states, feelings, etc., (see pp. 278-9) is that, whatever their form may be, they never can, by reason of their inherent meaning, express an instantaneous phase; the meaning, regardless of form, is always "expanded."

MILDRED E. LAMBERT.

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A Bibliography of Chaucer, 1908-1924, by DAVID DUDLEY GRIFFITH. Pp. 148. University of Washington Publications in Language and Literature, IV, no. 1, pp. 1-148. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1926.

So enormous in quantity and so varied in kind have studies in Chaucer became that the undertaking of even a simple problem is a formidable job. Luckily there are excellent helps: Miss Hammond's invaluable bibliography, Wells' *Manual,* and the exhaustive surveys of Koch from time to time in *Anglia* and *Englische Studien.* But Miss Hammond's work is now nearly twenty years old, and Wells' *Manual,* though indispensable, is not always easy to use. In these circumstances one welcomes heartily the work under review, which begins where Miss Hammond left off and carries the record down to 1925.

Professor Griffith's design is modest:

> There has been no effort to make a critical bibliography or to satisfy the need of scholarship which will be met when Miss Hammond has completed the promised revision of her book. We have tried to keep in mind only the need of the student and to call to his attention articles and supplementary material which otherwise might be overlooked in his study.

But this more limited work is of the highest utility, and it has been executed with care and intelligence. The book is divided into two parts; the first, a general bibliography; the other, a bibliography of Chaucer's works. Part I, which fills a little less than half the volume, falls into five chapters: Bibliography, Chaucer's Life, Editions, Investigations and Criticisms, Backgrounds of Chaucer's Time; Part II includes two chapters, The Canterbury Tales, and Works other than the Canterbury Tales. Within the chapter the arrangement is alphabetic by authors. Such a classification, of course, involves arbitrary decisions respecting the disposition of items and the relegation of them to compartments that the hurried student could never suspect. This difficulty, inherent in any cataloging, has been skilfully minimized by abundant cross references, and even repetition, and an index of authors. An index of titles would have been welcome; but in these days of high publication costs we may not ask for perfection. The result in any case is an eminently practical and usable book; and that is the great *desideratum.* How far it is exhaustive only long and assiduous use could determine. But it is obvious that Professor Griffith has worked through all the usual sources, and if material has escaped his attention, it must be recondite indeed. At least, the writer has had occasion to check the references in two recent heavily annotated articles, and has found them recorded in their proper place in Griffith. Professor Griffith has even gone back and included material omitted from Hammond and Wells: Cook's Bibliography, for instance (p. 7), the note by Furnivall on Chau-

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cer's Tomb (p. 11), and a good many minor items buried in the voluminous files of *Notes and Queries*. One entry, however, did send us on a wild-goose chase. On page 15 is recorded Professor Tatlock's "Comparative Study of All the MSS. of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales," Milford, 1924; and on p. 69 the same book is again noticed as Chaucer Society, second series, 57. Professor Tatlock's study has long been eagerly awaited, but so far as I am aware it has not yet appeared. The error, apparently, must be charged against the Bibliography of the Modern Humanities Research Association (1924), where it is announced as published (p. 5, no. 60).

Slips of this sort, when they are infrequent, as they are here, are venial; and so are purely mechanical flaws. Certainly one could wish that series and number of the publications of the Chaucer Society should invariably be given. This has indeed been done where a publication is recorded separately, but not in the list of publications since 1908 on page 15. Further, reference would certainly be facilitated and space-consuming repetition avoided if items were numbered consecutively as they are in Gross' *Sources and Literature of English History* and in the annual bibliographies of the M. H. R. A., to mention only two examples. We welcome especially Part I, Chapter V, "Backgrounds of Chaucer's Time," though here selection must be rigorous and the omissions often startling. We miss, for instance, any reference to the Paston Letters. The standard editions, of course, were published long ago, but there have been useful abridgements since 1908, to say nothing of that extremely entertaining and scholarly book in large part based upon them, Mr. H. S. Bennett's *The Pastons and their England* (1922). And the Paston Letters recall the almost equally important Stonor Letters, so ably edited for the Royal Historical Society (Camden Society, 3. series, 29, 30; and the Camden Miscellany, 13) by Mr. C. L. Kingsford. The Stonors, indeed, for three generations were intimately associated with the Chaucer family, and the records of their life throw an invaluable light on the state of that lesser gentry which Chaucer's Franklin illustrates so well, and to which, or to a rank only slightly higher, Chaucer's own son belonged. Attention should be called also to the perfect annotation of lines 390-412 of the Prologue (description of the Shipman) in Mr. Kingford's *Prejudice and Promise in the Fifteenth Century*. The chapter here, on the "West Country Piracy," is an unrivalled illumination of that "gentil" ruffian and his crew. Such criticism, however, is simply captious: illustrative material is inexhaustible, and we have merely to record our pleasure that Mr. Griffith has made accessible to students a field of investigation so magnificently exploited of late by Mr. Manly and Miss Rickert.

University of Minnesota. MARTIN B. RUUD.

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From Goethe to Hauptmann, by CAMILLO VON KLENZE. The Viking Press. New York, 1926.

Studies in a Changing Culture, der Untertitel dieses Werkes, ist der rote Faden, der die vorliegenden fünf Studien zu einer Einheit verbindet; und er bleibt—schon nach der Lektüre des zweiten Aufsatzes wird man dessen mit Freude gewahr—nicht wie jenes Kennzeichen der englischen Marine im Kern des Taues verborgen, sondern ist der leitende Grundsatz in der Betrachtung dieser scheinbar auseinanderstrebenden Probleme, die sich somit als weltliterarische Strömungen im Wechsel der Weltanschauungen erweisen.

Ein- und ausatmend, nehmend und gebend steht deutsches Fühlen und Schauen im Mittelpunkt des Buches, das besagt der Haupttitel—von Goethe zu Hauptmann—, der nur in dieser Erkenntnis seine Berechtigung erhält. Wie Goethe's Erlebnis Italiens von seinen Vorgängern beeinflusst wurde, über die er sich dann durch eine ganz neue, organische Betrachtungsweise erhob, ist das Thema des ersten Aufsatzes, *A Renaissance Vision: Goethe's Italy.* Aber Goethes Reichtum wird erst im Laufe der Zeiten ausgeschöpft und in Scheidemünze umgeprägt. So gehen die Zeitgenossen zum Teil an ihm vorbei, stehen verständnislos vor dem veröffentlichten Werk der *Italienischen Reise* und verrennen sich in die romantische Sackgasse einer religiösen Wertung italienischer Kunst, eine Entwicklung, die in Friedrich Schlegel und Wackenroder wurzelnd dennoch in K. F. von Rumohrs Werk zu neuer Einsicht und zur Grundlegung kunstgeschichtlicher Prinzipien führt. Rumohrs Anregungen finden sodann in dem Franzosen Rio einen fanatischen Förderer, der die neue Botschaft nach England trägt und durch Ruskin ein zwar einseitiges aber doch lebenförderndes tieferes Interesse in künstlerischen Dingen entfacht (*A Romantic View of Art: German Predecessors of Ruskin*).

Der dritte Aufsatz, *Realism and Romanticism in Two Great Narrators,* bringt dem englischen Leser die Bedeutung des Doppelgestirns Keller und Meyer zu eindrücklicher Beachtung. Für den Parallelismus der Lebensentwicklung der beiden Erzähler, den Professor von Klenze stark unterstreicht, hat uns das kürzlich erschienene Lussersche Buch (Leipzig, 1926) noch eine weitere Erkenntnis gebracht, nämlich die, dass die Wirkung von Fr. Th. Vischers *Kritischen Gängen* für Meyer dasselbe bedeutet wie für Keller der Einfluss Feuerbachs: eine Rückenwendung gegen die Romantik. Demnach setzt also Meyers Wandlung lange vor der Italienreise ein. Ein Fatalismus Calvinischer Prägung ist aber nicht minder charakteristisch in Meyers ganzem Schaffen als das vom Verfasser ausschliesslich betonte Erlebnis der italienischen Renaissance. Wie der Heilige, wie der Mönch, wie alle andern

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seiner Helden schwankt Meyer zwischen Askese und Lebensfreude, und die stille Wehmut des Pescara gibt auch seinen Gedichten den Schmelz der Abendsonne. Der Lebenstrotz seiner Renaissancehelden darf uns nicht die Lebenszagheit eines Schadau, eines Pfannenstiel oder des *bel idiot* vergessen machen. Gerade diese drei Geschichten sind in dem Aufsatze nicht erwähnt.

Die Höhe seiner Darstellungskraft erreicht der Verfasser in den letzten beiden Aufsätzen, *Naturalism in German Drama from Schiller to Hauptmann* und *Hauptmann's Treatment of the Lower Classes.* Wieder sind es Weltanschauungsfragen, die den Hintergrund dieser Entwicklung bilden: mit der wissenschaftlichen Ergründung des Einflusses unserer Umwelt, mit der Fähigkeit objektiver Beobachtung wächst im 19. Jh. die Einsicht in unsre Menschlichkeiten. Vom Postulat des einheitlichen Charakters unsrer Klassiker fort (aber auch—das müssen wir zugeben—von der ungebrochenen Forderung der ethischen Kontinuität unsrer Lebensführung, die das grosse Werk ihres Lebens und Wirkens war!) entwickelt sich das Drama dem Naturalismus zu (*vor* Hauptmann kann man von Naturalismus doch eigentlich kaum sprechen). Kleists *Penthesilea* und *Prinz Friedrich* sind Beispiele eines Doppellebens (ich vermisse ungern das Wort Unterbewusstsein hier in Professor von Klenzes Darstellung, das doch das Schlüsselwort wird für den disintegrierten 'modernen' Menschen); Grillparzer bringt den Begriff der Umwelt in sein Werk und als Vorfahr des neurotischen Wiener Dramas jene schwankenden Charaktere, Hebbel den Entwicklungsgedanken im grossen Stil; Ludwig und Anzengruber erobern Realistik der Sprache und des Lebenskreises (die freilich schon einmal, im Sturm und Drang, bereits erreicht war).

Und nun weit ausholend schildert der letzte Aufsatz den Aufstieg des Proletariats in das Bewusstsein und die Kunst der Dichter und Schriftsteller und wägt, nach einer vorzüglichen Gegenüberstellung Zolas und Tolstojs, Hauptmanns Verdienst in der Darstellung der Armen.

Eine gut gesichtete kritische Bibliographie schliesst das Werk, das mit der Sicherheit seines kritischen Urteils, der Breite seiner Belesenheit, und der Weite seines literarischen Blickfeldes einerseits eine schöne Bereicherung unsrer Erkenntnis bedeutet, andrerseits aber auch, anziehend in der Kunst seiner Darstellung, für die deutsche Literatur neue Leser werben und ihnen ein anregender Führer sein sollte.

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Der junge Tieck und die Aufklärung. Von Dr. Edna Görte. (Germanische Studien, Heft 45). Berlin, Emil Ebering, 1926. 102 pp.

The extraordinary interest which the present generation of scholars is showing in German Romanticism has led among other things to a much needed reconsideration of Ludwig Tieck. Whereas not so long ago he was still regarded as a sort of literary chameleon and was rejected as a hopelessly second-rate writer without logical development or serious intellectual background, this view is today no longer tenable. Recent investigations, among them the work under discussion, have revealed him as a very important figure, whose spiritual evolution is both fascinating and enlightening.

The purpose of the present investigation is to point out Tieck's position in relation to the Enlightenment. Those who have studied Tieck with care and have followed the trend of recent research will not be surprised at the conclusions, namely that although outwardly Tieck was without doubt under the spell of the rationalistic age into which he was born, he could never, not even during his earliest period, be counted among the Rationalists, but rather that he had a distinctly Romantic *Denkform* from the very outset—a fact which the present reviewer has repeatedly endeavored to emphasize.

Dr. Görte's work, which adheres in the main to modern methods of research, falls into two sections, first a study of Tieck, the man, and second of Tieck, the practical artist and theorist on questions of art, the word 'art' being understood in the broad sense of Romanticism. Beginning with the primarily Rationalistic influences of Tieck's home and its environment (the reviewer begs, incidentally, to differ from the conception of Tieck's father as an out-and-out Rationalist), the author studies first the poet's view of life and of the world, then his feeling toward nature and his attitude toward the world about him. She uses a fruitful comparative method, starting in each case with an analysis of the typical outlook of the Enlightenment and then comparing that with Tieck's viewpoint. Thus we discover that even from the beginning the rationalistic search for knowledge by means of the senses is transcended by Tieck, who yearns for something which surpasses reason. To put it tersely, he proceeds from feeling to thought, while Rationalism travels in the opposite direction. So too we find that his attitude toward nature and God goes beyond the conception of the Enlightenment in that he seeks to spiritualize nature and to detect in it an allegory of the eternal verities of *Gefühl*. This might be characterized as nature-mysticism; nature is conceived pantheistically as a mirror in which man and the symbol

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of his inner self are reflected. And finally in religious questions Tieck, while agreeing at first with Rationalism, soon surpasses it through his romantic irony, which is an outgrowth of enthusiasm, not of reason. Such irony as the Rationalists possessed was one born of the brain; Tieck's sprang from a reverence and a love for all creation. It will be noted that Dr. Görte here agrees on the whole with Brüggemann.

The latter half of the work begins with the poet's general conception of genius and art. In neither is he a Rationalist, though partly under the spell of Rationalism. The following quotation will serve to explain this (p. 58):

> In der Aufklärung bildet der Philosoph den Künstler, und die Kunstanschauungen bauten sich auf die rationalistische Philosophie auf. Ihr Kunstwerk war eine rationale Einheit, während das Kunstwerk des jungen Tieck als eine Einheit des Gefühls und der Phantasie bezeichnet werden kann. Das Kunstwerk der Aufklärung entsteht, wenn wir von Gottsched absehen, durch die Betätigung aller Seelenkräfte; das Kunstwerk des jungen Tieck wird erzeugt durch Inspiration; es stellt mit Hilfe der Phantasie intuitiv Geschautes dar; es ist irrational.

In Tieck's tragedies, even in the earliest, there is a spirit which distingushes them from those of Rationalism. They are characterized by a different outlook upon life and the world. This differentiation becomes stronger as time goes on. In *Genoveva* the break with Rationalism is wellnigh complete, and we have a subjective, allegorical work clothed in a national, legendary dress. The satires reveal the same trend. Having an allegorical nature, they must take the fairy-tale form; furthermore they are free of the moral purpose and partizanship ever present in a rationalistic satire, and betray a childlike delight in the naive. Stated in terms of Oswald Spengler's *Weltangst,* Tieck's life-view is interestingly described as follows (p. 86):

> In Ludwig Tieck hat die innere Reaktion gegen die Erkenntnissicherheit des Rationalismus ein Gefühl der Weltangst hervorgebracht, das er nicht imstande war, dauernd durch eine Religion oder Philosophie vollständig zu meistern. Die Vorliebe für schaurige Landschaften, krankhafte Seelenzustände, Personifikation böser, zerstörender Mächte, sein Schicksalsglaube deuten darauf hin. Aus Resignation über die Unfähigkeit des Menschen, durch den Verstand zur Erkenntnis zu gelangen, ersehnt er den Seelenzustand des Kindes und stellt ihn als erstrebenswertes Ziel hin.

This explains at the same time Tieck's leanings toward the *Märchen* as an outgrowth of his philosophy of resignation and as the simplest allegory of the irrational in man. In his novels, too, we find the emphasis on metaphysics and esthetics, rather than on ethics. It is no accident that *Lovell* and *Sternbald* present no development or amelioration of character, but merely depict a "living out" of the characters' lives.

Finally the author compares Tieck's views on art in the narrower

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sense with those of Rationalism and finds the same contrast. Tieck sees in art a wealth of subjective, religious values making for *Kunststimmung,* while Rationalism took pains to discover even in art a utilitarian, moral purpose.

The apparent objection to the work that it applies to Tieck philosophical and metaphysical standards of criticism which as systems were foreign to him, who was not at all inclined in that direction, is hardly valid, for this method, throwing new light on the proposition that Tieck never was a Rationalist, seems to be very productive and really helps to elucidate Tieck's creative processes. Incidentally too, the author gives a valuable critical estimate of Enlightenment.

Like all serious investigations on subjects relating to Tieck, this one too suffers from the inaccessibility of the great bulk of the poet's letters. But even those which are accessible, as for example the Wackenroder correspondence, have not been sufficiently used by Dr. Görte. On the other hand, she has utilized to the full the material in the Berlin *Nachlass,* which all students of Tieck hope will soon be published.

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Vom Werden des deutschen Geistes. Festgabe Gustav Ehrismann, herausgegeben von P. MERKER und W. STAMMLER. Berlin u. Leipzig. W. de Gruyter & Co. 1925.

In quality the present collection of papers is hardly above the average of late years. Already the general title impresses one as unnecessary, inappropriate, in poor taste, and as not possessing even the merit of originality. That Ehrismann is hailed as "*bahnbrechender Forscher*" impresses one similarly as superfluous, and one could easily imagine him preferring to be called a conscientious seeker of the truth, which so far as my knowledge goes corresponds better with the facts. The personal greeting with which Karl Helm, as oldest of his pupils, prefaces his own contribution gives on the other hand in few, well-chosen words a presumably accurate and certainly more impressive picture of the scholarly personality of Ehrismann. The paper of Helm, which heads the list, is directed polemically against Neckel, whom the author criticizes for having overstressed the permanency of primitive Germanic traits and practices. In the religious sphere Helm illustrates changes by the several different methods of disposing of the bodies of the dead, secondly by differences in the cults of the gods, developing the progress of worship especially of Tius, Donar and Wodan (the nameforms are Helm's).

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Panzer in a short article on the Old Norse *Nornagestsþáttr* connects its conception of the long life of the hero with medieval accounts of Johannes a Temporibus, armor-bearer of Charlemagne, who died according to chronicles in 1139 or thereabouts, and of a certain Ricardus, who was said to have lived from the time of Charlemagne into the thirteenth century. The story, Panzer thinks, may have got to the North from France. That the Wandering Jew story had reached the North is also suggested.

Zwierzina discusses the nature of the Middle German $e < i$.

By H. Naumann are interestingly developed the parallel traditions of the bad and the good heathen in German poetry of the Middle Age. Wolfram and Walther he considers as only prominent points in a line of chivalrous tolerance, which neither begins nor ends with them. A foreign source for these tolerant ideas towards religious opponents is hardly to be found; the tendency is a natural development, complete within itself.

F. R. Schröder criticizes conjectures of Josef Körner as to the original ending of the *Nibelungenlied* and secondly Panzer's distinctions of style between the medieval court epic and popular epic.

H. Schneider deals with the problem of the origin of the German popular ballad (of narrative type, not the lyric folksong). He concludes that it is the direct literary "heir" of the old heroic song and endeavors to demonstrate its existence already at the beginning of the thirteenth century.

De Boor comments at length upon the style of Heinrich von Hesler of the latter part of the thirteenth century. He concludes that Curt Schumann, who in a dissertation (1912) denied to this poet the authorship of the *Evangelium Nicodemi,* was not justified in his conclusions.

Rosenhagen gives an illuminating analysis of Stricker's *Der Pfaffe Amis,* concluding that the author had made use of a northern French collection of *fabliaux,* which he had treated somewhat freely and provided with additions.

J. W. Bruinier lists the late medieval personal names in the *Anklamer Stadtbuch.*

Stammler emphasizes the importance for the history of the modern German language of the many translations from the Latin done by German humanists of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Behaghel contributes a few trifles in the way of *Wortgeschichte* which are perhaps not all very convincing.

Merker gives a detailed account of Bodmer's treatment in his *Parcival* of his original, the poem of Wolfram von Eschenbach.

Gülzow furnishes some connections of Wackenroder, including genealogical ones, with Pomerania.

Strauch edits some hitherto unprinted letters of Jacob Grimm to the philologist, A. F. Pott.

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Sütterlin comments upon the prepositions in the German dialect of the Palatinate, in doing which he is impelled to employ such grammatical terms as *Vorwort, Umstandswort, Wessenfall, Wemfall,* etc.

There are a few other papers and finally a complete bibliography of the works and notes of Ehrismann, including bibliographical surveys and book-reviews.

A. Le Roy Andrews.

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Hans Christian Andersen, by Himself. The True Story of My Life. Translated by Mary Howitt. Illustrated. Scandinavian Classics, Vol. xxvi, pp. xii + 318. The American Scandinavian Foundation, New York, 1926.

The publishers could hardly have chosen for their scholarly series of classics a more appropriate, more delectable or more useful work than Hans Christian Andersen's autobiography. It is here republished in the form which the author wrote it for the German edition of his works, 1846, and now appears as a handsome, illustrated volume, with a brief and discriminating preface by Hanna Astrup Larsen.

It is perhaps trite to say that Hans Christian Andersen needs no introduction. But to know some of his fairy tales is one thing, and to be admitted into the innermost recesses of his mind and heart is quite another. The fairy tale of his own life is assuredly the most extraordinary of all those he told. Poets, scholars and writers in general will in this story of struggles find delight, encouragement, and the history necessary for their own background. Anyone desiring a cross-section view of contemporaneous European culture need but turn to Andersen's story of his acquaintances, for among those were to be found the most prominent writers, artists and potentates of the day. So this volume is of special value as an intimate kind of source book for students of comparative literature. As such, its worth would be enhanced perhaps by an index of names. Andersen was acclaimed abroad, especially in Germany and Sweden, before his native Denmark would take him seriously, and numerous are the foreigners whom he knew personally, and to whom one might, after the first reading, like to refer directly. We need but mention Chamisso, Victor Hugo, Alexander Dumas, Fredrika Bremer, Jenny Lind, Freiligrath, Tieck, the Brothers Grimm, and Walter von Goethe. But this is secondary.

Andersen, the son of an intellectual shoemaker who once had

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dreamt of a different future, was in his youth a singer and dabbler in play writing. His keen memory recalled all events from the age of three on. As a boy he played with dolls, made their own clothes, and once presented a widow with a "white silk pin-cushion" which he had made himself. What could you do with a boy like that? He helped his mother glean on a rich neighbor's field, and wore clothes made over from his father's scanty wardrobe. A product of deep religious feeling and superstition, he nevertheless attended German plays, built a puppet theatre, read Shakespeare, and wrote a tragedy in which every character died, and the king spoke anything but Danish. On his confirmation day he was more interested in the squeaking of his new boots than in his God. He felt sorry about that, but, after all, God was always with him, whereas it was not every day that he had a pair of new, creaking boots.

Andersen's autobiography is a poet's record, not only of sunshine and homage but of intense suffering, sensitiveness, puerile criticism and—worst of all—ruthless ridicule from his native land. "There is something so pitiful in such criticism," says Andersen in 1841, "that one cannot be wounded by it; but even when we are the most peaceable of men, we feel a desire to flagellate such wet dogs, who come into our rooms and lay themselves down in the best places in them. There might be a whole Fool's Chronicle written of all the absurd and shameless things which, from my first appearance before the public till this moment, I have been compelled to hear" (p. 168).

The translation itself, which was made by Mrs. Howitt about eighty years ago, and which is now almost forgotten, has not been altered in the present edition and therefore retains the quaintness of the language of that time. Also, so far as the reviewer has been able to determine from a comparison with the original, the translation appears to be accurate and complete. The parts apparently omitted are probably those interpolated by the author in later editions. A copy of the first edition of the original has not been available to the reviewer.

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WITH THE COÖPERATION OF

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H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER

CONTENTS

PAGE

WALZ, J. A.—An English 'Faustsplitter,' - - - - - - - - 353

CRAWFORD, J. P. W.—Francisco de la Torre and Juan de Almeida, - 365

BANKS, T. H.—The Personal Relations between Denham and Waller, - 372

BRADNER, L.—A Test for Udall's Authorship, - - - - - - 378

CLARK, W. S.—The Early Stage History of the First Heroic Play, - - 381

STOUT, G. D.—Leigh Hunt and 'The Plain Dealer,' - - - - - 383

KNAPLUND, P.—Correspondence relating to the Grant of a Civil List Pension to William Wordsworth, 1842, - - - - - - 385

KLAEBER FR.—Analogues of the Story of Cædmon, - - - - - 390

HAWKINS, R. L.—A Letter by George Sand on World Peace, - - - 391

MATULKA, BARBARA.—Voltaire and the Queen of Prussia: a Letter Recovered, - - - - - - - - - - - - - 394

DICKMAN, A. J.—A Reply, - - - - - - - - - - - 396

REYNAUD, L.—Une Réponse, - - - - - - - - - - - 398

REVIEWS:—

CAROLINE F. E. SPURGEON, Five Hundred Years of Chaucer Criticism and Allusion, 1357-1900. [*J. M. Manly.*] - - - - - 401

C. H. HERFORD and PERCY SIMPSON, Ben Jonson—Vols. I and II, The Man and his Work. [*W. D. Briggs.*] - - - - - - 404

KARL LOKOTSCH, Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Europäischen Wörter Orientalischen Ursprungs. [*H. Collitz.*] - - - - - - 412

RENÉ BRAY, La Formation de la Doctrine Classique en France; La Tragédie cornélienne devant la critique classique d'après la querelle de *Sophonisbe* (1663). [*H. C. Lancaster.*] - - 414

J. FRANSEN, Les Comédiens français en Hollande au XVIIe et au XVIIIe siècles. [*H. C. Lancaster.*] - - - - - - - - - 416

E. VAN DER VEN—TEN BENSEL, The Character of King Arthur in English Literature. [*J. J. Parry.*] - - - - - - - - - 417

J. HURTADO y A. G. PALENCIA, Antología de la Literatura Española. [*J. Robles.*] - - - - - - - - - - - - 420

A. W. REED, Early Tudor Drama. [*L. B. Wright.*] - - - - - 421

E. SCHNIPPEL, Die Englischen Kalenderstäbe. [*K. Malone.*] - - - 422

CHARLES DU PELOUX, Répertoire Général des Ouvrages Modernes Relatifs au Dix-Huitième Siècle Français (1715-1789). [*G. B. Watts.*] 423

THÉRÈSE LABANDE-JEANROY, La Question de la langue en Italie. [*D. S. Blondheim.*] - - - - - - - - - - - 424

Neusprachliche Studien, Festgabe Karl Luick. [*K. Malone.*] - - 425

J. F. BENSE, A Dictionary of the Low-Dutch Element in the English Vocabulary. [*K. Malone.*] - - - - - - - - - 426

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AN ENGLISH *FAUSTSPLITTER*

Since Alexander Tille published in 1900 his learned volume *Die Faustsplitter in der Literatur des sechzehnten bis achtzehnten Jahrhunderts nach den ältesten Quellen,* in which he gives all the stray references to Faust in German, Latin, English and French works of that period, little additional material bearing on Faust has been found. An interesting and important, though brief, reference to Faust escaped Tille. It is found in the *Itinerary* of Fynes Moryson, published in London in 1617. This *Itinerary* was republished at Glasgow in four volumes in 1907, seven years after the appearance of Tille's *Faustsplitter.*

Fynes Moryson traveled in Germany and other parts of the Continent from May 1591 to May 1595, and again from November 1596 to July 1597, when he also visited the Orient. Moryson is an intelligent observer of continental life and customs and gives reliable accounts of what he saw.[1]

Moryson, in 1591, spent several months in Wittenberg. On June 12th of that year he was matriculated at the university. Regarding the city he writes:[2]

"Besides, they shew a house wherein Doctor Faustus a famous coniurer dwelt. They say that this Doctor lived there about the yeere 1500, and had a tree all blasted and burnt in the adjoyning Wood, where hee practised his Magick Art, and that he died, or rather was fetched by the Divell, in a Village neere the Towne. I did see the tree so burnt; but walking at leasure through all the Villages adjoyning, I could never heare

[1] A sketch of Fynes Moryson's life was given by Charles Hughes in the introduction to *Shakespeare's Europe,* London, 1903, which is the first printed edition of the most interesting sections of the fourth part of the *Itinerary* left in manuscript but never published by Moryson.

[2] Glasgow reprint, I, 16.

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any memory of his end. Not farre from the City there is a mountaine called the Mount of Apollo, which then, as of old, abounded with medicinable herbes." [3]

The passage is tantalizingly brief, but it contains several statements of importance.

The reference to the Mount of Apollo has nothing to do with Faust, but it shows Moryson's interest in the country around Wittenberg. Strange as the name may seem, there was a hill with that name near Wittenberg, as it is mentioned late in the 18th century by Joh. F. Köhler in his *Historisch-Kritische Untersuchung über das Leben . . . Doctor Johann Fausts, des Cagliostro seiner Zeiten.* Leipzig, 1791, p. 147: "Auf dem Apollens-oder Bollersberg bey Wittenberg stand eine . . . verfallene Kapelle.[4]

Moryson, in 1591, was shown a house in Wittenberg which was said to have been Faust's place of residence.

Faust is said to have lived in Wittenberg about the year 1500.

Faust is said to have had a tree all blasted and burnt in the adjoining wood where he practiced magic. Moryson saw this tree, or to be exact, it was pointed out to him.

Faust was said by the people of Wittenberg to have died, or rather to have been fetched by the devil, in a village near the town. Moryson visited the surrounding villages at his leisure, evidently to get first-hand information about this report, but nowhere did he find any living tradition about Faust's end.

We do not know when Moryson first heard of the conjurer Faust. As he left England in 1591, it would not be impossible that he might have seen the first English version of the *Faustbuch* of Spiess, which had come out as early as 1588. He might also have heard of Marlowe's play. As this is the only place in the *Itinerary* where Faust is mentioned, we do not know whether Moryson heard of Faust in Germany before coming to Wittenberg. In Wittenberg he certainly heard a great deal about the magician.

[3] The passage, so far as it refers to Faust, is cited by G. Waterhouse in his *Literary Relations of England and Germany in the Seventeenth Century*, Cambridge, 1914, p. 6, but merely as a curiosity, without reference to its bearing on the Faust question.

[4] Köhler refers to Sennert, *Athenae Witteb.* p. 11, which is not accessible to me.

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The fact that he refers to Faust as "a famous conjurer" would indicate that, previously to the time when he made this entry in his diary, he had not been familiar with the story of the magician.

No German source knows anything about a tree "all blasted and burnt" connected with Faust, yet Moryson was shown such a tree by the people of Wittenberg. There is, however, an English source quite independent of Moryson, that mentions such a tree: it is *The Second Report of Doctor John Faustus* published in London in 1594.[5] In the introductory statements (p. 33) we read: "Secondly there is yet to be seene his (*i. e.* Faust's) tree, a great hollow Truncke, wherein he used to reade *Nigromancy* to his schollers, not farre from the towne in a very remote place, which I thinke is sufficient testimony to any reasonable eare. And enquire of them which have beene there, see if they will not affirme it." The *Faustbuch* of 1587 speaks of the wood near Wittenberg where Faust first conjured up the devil and calls it Spesser Wald, but makes no mention of a tree specially connected with Faust. Moryson's statement about the tree in Wittenberg confirms the claim of the author of the *Second Report* that he had direct personal information about Wittenberg. The tree of Dr. Faust in Wittenberg, the existence of which the testimony of Moryson makes certain, is a distinct addition to our knowledge of the tradition concerning Faust, even though the tree is not mentioned in any German source.

According to the report heard by Moryson in Wittenberg, Faust had died or rather had been fetched by the devil in a village near Wittenberg. That is also told in the *Faustbuch* of 1587 and by Widman (1599). *The Second Report of Doctor Faustus* even gives the Latin epitaph inscribed on the marble stone on Faust's grave "at Mars Temple, a three miles beyond the Citty." But the *Second Report* (p. 34) also quotes Wier's statement that Faust died in a village of the "Dutchy of Wittenberg," and Wier is to the author of the work a great authority. Moryson can find no traces of a local tradition about Faust's death in any of the neighboring villages. He does not say that Faust did not die in a village near Wittenberg. As a foreigner he would hardly consider himself competent to contradict the report current among the people of Wittenberg. All he says is that he could find no evidence or

[5] Ed. A. E. Richards, Berlin, 1906.

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memory of Faust's death. But that is quite in accordance with the view of modern scholarship based upon the best sixteenth century authority. According to Melanchthon, as reported by Manlius, Faust died in a village of the duchy of Wirtenberg [6]; according to the *Zimmersche Chronik,* he died in or near Staufen, a little town in Breisgau [7]; according to Wier, who may be following Melanchthon, he died in a village of the duchy of Wirtenberg.[8] There is no historical evidence that Faust's death took place near Wittenberg. Moryson was sufficiently interested in the report to make independent investigations. They resulted in no positive information, but they characterize the curiosity of the man and make his statements all the more trustworthy.

In recent years Bolte has discovered evidence of a local tradition about Faust's death in a village near Wittenberg. From a description of a journey of two princes of the house of Württemberg to Berlin in 1613 he quotes the following: "Den 25t zue mittag nach Pretzsch, einem Stättlin, so hannß Lößern Churfr. S. Erbmarschalln zugehörig, Von dannen 3. (Meil) auff Wittemberg, undterwegens ein halb stund davon, In einem Dorff Pratt, das Hauß, darinnen D. Faust sein unseeliges end soll genommen haben, gesehen." [9] The village referred to is Pratau on the Elbe. Neumann in his *Disquisitio historica de Fausto Praestigiatore,* Wittenberg, 1683, speaks of this tradition, but he believes that it originated during the Thirty Years War, when the mayor of the town frightened off some marauding soldiers by showing them blood stains on the wall of a room and by telling them that it was the room where Faust came to his terrible end.[10]

Moryson was shown the house in Wittenberg which, according to local tradition, had been the dwelling place of the magician. The house is also mentioned in the *Second Report of Doctor Faustus:* "First there is yet remaining the ruins of his (*i. e.* Faust's) house, not farre from Melanchtons house as they call at the townes end of Wittenberg, right opposite to the Schooles." [11] The *Faustbuch*

[6] Tille, *Faustsplitter* p. 15.
[7] Tille, *ib.* p. 17.
[8] Tille, *ib.* p. 22.
[9] *Märkische Forschungen,* XX, 20, 1887; Tille, p. 1098.
[10] *Disquisitio,* Cap. III, §9. Scheible, *Kloster,* V, 479.
[11] Ed. Richards, p. 32, *cf.* also p. 64.

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of 1587 places the house "neben dess Gansers und Veit Rodingers Hauss gelegen, bey dem Eysern Thor, in der Schergassen an der Ringmawren" (cap. 60). The house is mentioned and the same location is given by Pfitzer (1674),[12] who evidently follows the *Faustbuch* of 1587. Widman (1599) merely refers to Faust's house and garden.[13] The house is also mentioned in the anonymous publication *Historische Remarquen über D. Johann Faustens . . . Leben und dessen Ausgang,* Zwickau, 1722: "Das Faustsche Haus zu Wittenberg war noch nicht gar unbekannt, wie mir ein hochgelehrter Professor zu Leipzig D. A. R. erzählet."[14]

In recent times Carl Kiesewetter made inquiries at Wittenberg concerning Faust's house. In his work *Faust in der Geschichte und Tradition,* Leipzig, 1893, he writes (p. 241):

Herr Oberbürgermeister Dr. Schild zu Wittenberg hatte die Güte, auf meine Bitte hin Nachforschungen über Fausts Haus anzustellen. Die Scharrn- nicht Scheergasse liegt weder an einem Thor, noch an einer Mauer; auch ist in ihr kein Haus Fausts, Gansers oder Rödingers aufzufinden. Wohl aber wohnte 1595 ein George Rödinger in der Klostergasse und ein Hanns Faust besaß 1571 in der Bürgermeistergasse ein Haus neben dem Hans Lufts, des Luther'schen Bibeldruckers.

Augustin Lercheimer in his *Christlich bedencken und erinnerung von Zauberey* (3rd ed., 1597)[15] very vigorously attacks the author of the *Faustbuch:*

Saget daß der Faust sey bey Weimar und Jena geboren, zu Wittenberg erzogen instituirt Magister artium und Doctor Theologiae gemacht: habe daselbst in der vorstatt beym eusseren thor in der scheergassen hauß und garten gehabt: sey im dorffe Kimlich ein halbe meile von Wittenberg vom teufel erwürget in beyseyn etlicher Magister Baccalarien und Studenten am karfreitage. Diß alles ist böβlich und bübelich erdichtet und erlogen . . . Hatte weder Hauß noch Hof zu Wittenberg oder anderswo, war nirgent daheim lebete wie ein lotterbube, war ein schmorotzer, fraß sauff und ernehrete sich von seiner gauckeley. Wie konte er hauß

[12] Ed. Keller, p. 532.

[13] Scheible, *Kloster,* II, 647.

[14] Scheible, *Kloster,* XI, 401 note. The original is not accessible to me. According to Karl Engel, *Faustschriften,* Oldenburg, 1885, no. 72, the author's name is G. A. Weinhold.

[15] Ed. Binz, Strassburg, 1888. Binz gives a brief biography of Lercheimer whose real name was Hermann Witekind, originally Wilcken.

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und hof da haben beym eussern thor in der scheer gassen, da nie keine vorstatt gewesen und derhalben auch kein eusser thor? auch ist nie kein scheergasse da gewesen.[16]

There is a discrepancy between the statements of Lercheimer and the *Faustbuch*. The *Faustbuch* speaks of *Eysern Thor*, while Lercheimer has *eussern thor*. The name of the village, too, is different. Lercheimer calls it Kimlich, the *Faustbuch* has *Rimlich*. Whatever the reason for this discrepancy may be, it is clear that Lercheimer, who had studied in Wittenberg, denies that Faust had a house in Wittenberg because he lived a wandering life and had no home anywhere, also that there is no Scheergasse in Wittenberg. Lercheimer admits that Faust lived in Wittenberg for a time. [Faust] "Kam gen Wittenberg, ward ein zeitlang alda gelitten, biß ers zu grob machete daß man jn gefenglich wolte eynziehen, da macht er sich davon.[17]

It is equally clear, however, that Moryson found a local tradition in Wittenberg designating a certain house as Faust's residence and this house was pointed out to him by the people of the town. There is no necessary contradiction between the statement of Lercheimer and that of Moryson. While Faust was staying in Wittenberg, he must have lived in some house of the town. He doubtless did not own it, but his name became attached to it in the minds of the townspeople.

Lercheimer, the staunch Lutheran, considers it an insult to Luther, Melanchthon, and the cradle of the Reformation that the author of the *Faustbuch* of 1587 should make Faust a resident of Wittenberg, that according to him Faust should have been brought up in Wittenberg and should have received the academic degrees at the university. All that Lercheimer declares to have been "böβlich und bübelich erdichtet und erlogen." This insult he also resents "darumm daß ich auch etwan da studiert habe," adding "welche zeit noch bey vielen da dieses zauberes thun in gedechtnuß war."[18]

[16] Binz, pp. 41, 42; Tille, p. 93.

[17] Binz, *ib.*, p. 42; Tille, p. 93.

[18] Binz, p. 43; Tille, p. 94. Binz does not give the exact years when Lercheimer-Witekind studied in Wittenberg. He matriculated at the university on October 18, 1546 as Hermannus Wilken Westphalus. (Cf. Album Academiae Witebergensis. ed. C. E. Foerstemann, Leipzig, 1841, p. 242).

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Other Protestant writers have doubted Faust's connection with Wittenberg, most of all J. G. Neumann, professor of theology at Wittenberg, who in his *Disquisitio historica de Fausto Praestigiatore* (Wittenberg 1683) denies that Faust had ever lived in Wittenberg, though he believes it probable that he may have touched Wittenberg during his wanderings. The report of the *Faustbuch* he believes to be due to a confusion with Wirtenberg.[19]

That Faust spent some time in Wittenberg we know from the statement of Melanchthon as reported by Manlius in his *Collectanea* (1563): "Hic Faustus in hoc oppido Wittenberga evasit, cum optimus princeps dux Ioannes dedisset mandata de illo capiendo."[20] A. Hondorff in his *Promptuarium Exemplorum* (1568) repeats this statement after Manlius.[21] The prince referred to is *Johann der Beständige*, who reigned from 1525 to 1532. Lercheimer refers to this flight of Faust in his *Christlich Bedencken:*

> Zur zeit D. Luthers und Philippi hielt sich der schwartzkünstler Faust, wie obgemeld, ein weile zy Wittenberg: das ließ man so geschehen, der Hoffnung er würde sich auß der lehr, die da im schwang gieng, bekehren und bessern. Da aber das nicht geschahe, sondern er auch andere verführte . . . hieß jn, den Faust, der Fürst eynziehen in gefengnuß. Aber sein geist warnete jn, daß er davon kam. Von dem er nicht lang darnach grewlich getödtet ward, alß er jm vier und zwentzig jar gedienet hatte.[22]

Lercheimer had mentioned Faust's flight from Wittenberg in the passage quoted above. A little later he adds: "nach dem er außgerissen, daß er nicht gefangen wurde hat er nie dürffen gen Wittenberg wider kommen.[23]

As Faust evidently was no longer living, when Witekind was a student at Wittenberg, the statement points to a year near 1540 as the date of Faust's death. This agrees with other evidence as to the year of Faust's death and with a previous statement of Lercheimer's (Binz, p. 41; Tille, p. 93) that Faust was fetched by the devil sixty years ago, where sixty may be taken as a round number. The statement was published in 1597.

[19] Cf. Scheible, *Kloster*, v, 465 f.

[20] Tille, p. 16.

[21] Tille, p. 21

[22] Binz, p. 111.

[23] Binz, p. 42; Tille, p. 94.

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Lercheimer also reports a conversation between Faust and Melanchthon at the latter's home, which ended in the discomfiture of the magician:

Der unzüchtige teufelisch bube Faust hielt sich ein weil zu Wittenberg, wie oben gesagt, kam etwan zum Herrn Philippo, der laß jm dann ein guten text, schalt und vermanet jn, daß er von dem ding beyzeit abstünde, es wurde sonst ein böß end nemmen, wie es auch geschahe. Er aber kerete sich nicht daran. Nun wars einmal umm zehen uhr, daß der Herr Philippus auß seinem studierstüblin herunter gieng zu tisch, war Faust bey jm, den er da hefftig gescholten hatte. Der spricht wider zu jm: Herr Philippe, jr fahret mich allemal mit rauchen worten an, ich wills ein mal machen wann jr zu tische gehet, daß alle häfen in der kuchen zum schornstein hinauß fliegen, daß jr mit ewern gesten nicht zu essen werden haben. Darauff antwortet jm Herr Philippus: Daß soltu wol lassen, ich schiesse dir in deine kunst. Und er ließ es auch: Es konte der teufel dem heiligen man seine küche nicht berauben. . . .[24]

The first edition of Lercheimer's *Christlich Bedencken* appeared in the year 1585, but the story in a somewhat modified form was told a few years before by Johann Nas, the bitter opponent of the Reformation, in his *Examen Chartaceae Lutheranorum Concordiae,* Ingolstadt 1581:

Ist ein rechter Wurstglauben (*i. e.* the Lutheran faith), wie von deß Phil. Melanch. Weib ein Histori erzählt wirdt, jhren grossen Glauben auffzubutzen. Dann da jhr der Zauberer Faustus trohet, er wolte jhr die Würst fliegen machen, darauff sprach sie im Glauben: Ich trawe dem getrewen Gott, er werde mir meine Würst wol vor dem Zauberer Fausto behueten, und also sagen sie, hab er nicht zaubern können vor dess kleinen Weibleins grossen Glauben.[25]

As Lercheimer was a friend and former student of Melanchthon, he must have heard the story from Melanchthon himself. Melanchthon refers to Faust in several other places.[26] Indeed, Melanchthon's great interest in Faust throws a curious light on the statement in the *Second Report of Dr. Faustus* that Faust's house stood near that of Melanchthon. The fact that Melanchthon associated with Faust, yes, that Faust was in Melanchthon's house cannot be doubted. The modified form in which the story is told

[24] Binz, p. 86; Tille, pp. 60, 96.
[25] Quoted by A. Hauffen in *Euphorion,* v, 468; cf. Tille, p. 945.
[26] Cf. Tille, p. 13.

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by Nas, indicates the way in which such an incident might be distorted in circles hostile to the Reformers.

Wolfgang Bütner in his *Epitome Historiarum,* Weimar, 1576, connects Faust with Wittenberg. He relates: "So habe ich auch gehöret, das Faustus zu Wittenbergk, den Studenten und einem hohen Mann N. habe Hectorem, Ulyssem, Herculem, Aeneam, Samson, David, und andere gezeiget, die denn mit grausamer geperde, und ernsthafftem angesicht herfür gangen, und wider verschwunden, und sollen (welches Luther nicht gelobt) dazumal auch Fürstliche personen dabey gesessen und zugesehen haben.[27] Bütner, according to Jöcher-Adelung, *Gelehrten Lexicon,* Leipzig, 1784, was a clergyman at Wolfferstädt, a village in the duchy of Mansfeld, during the second half of the sixteenth century. Though a Protestant, Bütner repeats without a comment of doubt the report that Faust practiced magic in the home of the Reformation. Luther's disapproval, of which Bütner has also heard, implies that Luther had knowledge of the conjuring at least after the event. It is true, Bütner's statement is merely hearsay evidence, but the important point is that is is a report that was current in Lutheran circles during the third quarter of the sixteenth century.[28]

Luther mentions Faust in his *Table Talk:*

De ludificatoribus et arte magica fiebat mentio, quomodo Sathan homines excaecaret. Multa dicebant de Fausto, welcher den Teufel seinen schwoger hies, und hat sich lassen horen: "Wenn ich, Martin Luther, im nur die handt gereicht hette, wolt er mich vorterbet haben; aber ich wolde in nicht gescheuet haben, porrexissem illi manus in nomine Domini, Deo protectore. Nam credo in me multa veneficia contra me structa esse."

---

[27] Tille, p. 48.

[28] Faust's conjuring of the heroes of antiquity is also told in the *Chronica von Thüringen und der Stadt Erffurth* by Zacharias Hogel, but the conjuring takes place in Erfurt, not in Wittenberg. The passage in question was published from the manuscript by S. Szamatólski in *Euphorion* II, 56. Though the Chronicle was not written until about 1650, the passage according to Szamatólski is taken from an older chronicle by Wolf Wambach written about 1556. The time referred to is "about 1550." The *Chronica von Thüringen* says that Faust was living at the time in Wittenberg but that his restless spirit made him wander about the country. Unfortunately it is not absolutely clear whether this statement is Hogel's own or whether it goes back to the older chronicle of Wolf Wambach. The story was incorporated in the Faustbooks of 1589 and 1590.

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The passage was first published by E. Kroker in *Luthers Tischreden in der Mathesischen Sammlung,* Leipzig, 1903, p. 422. It was taken down by Antonius Lauterbach in the summer of 1537.[29] Kroker believes that Faust and Luther never met. Luther's words certainly admit of that interpretation, but we may also infer from them with even greater certainty that Luther would have had the opportunity of meeting Faust, if he had made the slightest effort to do so. Luther's words seem to imply definitely that Faust had been in his neighborhood, in other words that Faust must have been in Wittenberg at some time or at different times with the knowledge of Luther.

Another reference to Faust in Luther's *Table Table* is given by Tille, p. 20:

> Da uber Tisch zu abends eines Schwartzkünstlers Faustus genant gedacht ward, saget Doctor Martinus ernstlich, der Teufel gebraucht der zeuberer dienst wider mich nicht, hette er mir gekont und vermocht schaden zu thun, er hette es lange gethan. Er hat mich wol offtmals schon bey dem kopff gehabt, aber er hat mich dennoch mussen gehen lassen.[30]

Widman has a special chapter on Luther and Faust: "*Erzehlung, was D. Luther von D. Fausto gehalten hab,*"[31] but as we are dealing here with historical evidence, we need not consider Widman.[32]

J. G. Godelmann in his work *De Magis, Veneficis Et Lamiis,* Frankfurt 1591 speaks of Faust as "Witebergae temporibus divi Lutheri commorante."[33] Though the passage was published after the appearance of the *Faustbuch,* there is no reason to assume that Godelmann was in any way influenced by it. Godelmann was a Protestant, a jurist of note with enlightened views about witchcraft. He had studied at Wittenberg between 1578 and 1580[34] where he must have heard of Faust's presence there during the time of Luther.

There is indeed sufficient historical evidence in the sixteenth

[29] Cf. E. Kroker, *Dr. Faust und Luther* in the same author's *Doktor Faust und Auerbachs Keller,* Leipzig, 1903, p. 43.

[30] *Tischreden oder Colloquia Doct. Mart. Luthers,* Eisleben, 1566.

[31] Scheible, *Kloster,* II, 279.

[32] Cf. the discussion by Kiesewetter, *Faust in der Geschichte und Tradition,* Leipzig, 1893, p. 35 ff.

[33] Tille, p. 79.

[34] Cf. *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie.*

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century connecting Faust with Wittenberg, and what is important, all the evidence comes from Protestant sources with the exception of the story told by Johann Nas, which, however, is vouched for in a somewhat different form by Lercheimer. Moryson's statement shows that in 1591, when he resided in Wittenberg, the people of the town looked upon Faust as having once lived among them, a distinguished resident, though doubtless not a citizen, distinguished, to be sure, for his evil ways, but distinguished nevertheless. His house and his tree belonged to the sights of the town that were pointed out to strangers. It is inconceivable that the Wittenberg tradition connecting Faust so closely and definitely with the town should have originated outside of Wittenberg and should have been foisted upon the townspeople by outsiders. Nor can it be assumed that the publication of the *Faustbuch* of 1587, or the manuscript of the *Faustbuch* which existed a short time before 1587 and may have been in circulation, should have given rise to the tradition of Faust's house and tree in Wittenberg, the tree being not even mentioned in the *Faustbuch*. Moreover, as Moryson's testimony refers to the year 1591, there would not have been time for the tradition to assume such definite form. Witkowski rightly says: "Jedenfalls hatte sich aber schon die Wittenberger Tradition festgesetzt, als das erste Faustbuch geschrieben wurde, so dass hier wie in den unabhängig davon entstandenen ausführlichen Berichten Lercheimers Wittenberg als ein Hauptort seiner Wirksamkeit erschien." [35] But the Wittenberg tradition must have originated within the town, and it could arise only because Faust had actually lived in the town for some time or, more probably, at different times. Wittenberg was not merely one of the towns that he visited on his wanderings, but for a time, at least, it must have been a sort of headquarters for him.

What has been said disposes definitely of the theory, of which Eugen Wolff has been the most extreme exponent,[36] that the *Faustbuch* or the Faust tradition originally represents a Catholic satire on the Reformation, or that the tradition originated in Catholic circles and that Faust's place of residence was transferred to Wittenberg to degrade and to ridicule the home of the Reforma-

[35] *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, 1896-7, p. 325.
[36] *Faust und Luther*, Halle a. S. 1912.

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tion. No doubt certain Protestants like Lercheimer, and later Neumann, were unwilling to have Wittenberg so directly and closely connected with the magician, but the people of Wittenberg themselves, Protestant though they were, accepted Faust's residence in their town as a fact. What Lercheimer relates of his student days in Wittenberg: "welche zeit noch bey vielen da dieses zauberes thun in gedechtnuß war," can only mean that the memory of Faust was still alive among the students and people of Wittenberg, just because Faust had lived there, even though he was not the owner of a house. If Faust was permitted to enter the home of the great and saintly Melanchthon, as Lercheimer reports, why should the people of Wittenberg deny or conceal or object to Faust's connection with their town?

Moryson gives a definite date for Faust's stay in Wittenberg. The people said that Faust had lived there about the year 1500. This, of course, is not historical evidence but it represents the report current in Wittenberg in 1591. If the report is true, and there is no intrinsic reason why it should not be true, it throws interesting light on the Faust tradition. It connects Faust definitely with Wittenberg at a time when Luther was still unknown and when Wittenberg was a town of no special importance.[37] That the historical Faust had acquired notoriety long before Luther became famous, is proven by the letters of Trithemius and Mutianus Rufus. It disposes of the objection that a magician of such notoriety could not have practiced his trade under the very eyes of Luther whose influence in Wittenberg was all powerful. The objection itself is not altogether sound, for Melanchthon associated with Faust and Luther's reference to Faust, as we have seen, implies Faust's presence in Wittenberg. It fits in with the date of Faust's birth which by the best authorities is placed about 1480 and not earlier than 1470. Early in his career, we must assume, Faust came to Wittenberg. Here he practiced magic and im-

[37] J. F. Köhler in his *Historisch-kritische Untersuchung über das Leben . . . Doctor Johann Fausts, des Cagliostro seiner Zeiten*, Leipzig, 1791, proceeding on the assumption that the report of Widman regarding Faust's bringing up by an uncle in Wittenberg is true, says (p. 63): "Wahrscheinlich hat Faust sich noch vor der Universitätsstiftung, die bekanntlich im Jahre 1502 erfolgte, zu Wittenberg aufgehalten.

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pressed the people. His name clung to the tree where he did his conjuring and to the house in which he lived. As he led a wandering life, his stay could not have been very long, but he must have returned to Wittenberg from time to time until he finally fled from the town to escape arrest. The *Faustbuch* also represents Faust as wandering through the country. It mentions ten different German towns and villages in which he showed his magic skill not including the numerous cities which he is supposed to have visited on his imaginary tour through the world.

Faust's birth-place was not fixed in Rod near Weimar, in the heart of Protestantism, in order to transfer him more easily to Wittenberg, the centre of the Reformation, as Erich Schmidt thought, but because Faust had lived in Wittenberg, his birth-place was transferred by tradition from Knittlingen in Swabia to the Protestant North. For the same reason tradition made him meet his death near Wittenberg. It is only natural that tradition should have made the most of the historical fact that Faust had lived in Wittenberg.

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FRANCISCO DE LA TORRE AND JUAN DE ALMEIDA

In a recent article,[1] M. Adolphe Coster made a painstaking analysis of the many problems relating to the authorship of the poetry of Francisco de la Torre which have occupied the attention of critics from time to time since their publication, and presents a new solution, which deserves careful consideration.

It will be recalled that Quevedo printed these verses in 1631, accompanied by a dedicatory letter, in which he states that he had found the manuscript at a bookseller's with the author's name almost obliterated, but that he had succeeded in reading the name as Francisco de la Torre. Apparently the author had made every effort to conceal his identity, and his motives may be judged from the phrase *Delirabam cum hoc faciebam et horret animus nunc* written on the manuscript.

[1] *Sur Francisco de la Torre, Revue Hispanique*, LXV, 1925, 74-133.

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Quevedo accepted the suggestion of his friend, the Count of Añover, that the author might be identified with the Bachiller de la Torre who was mentioned by Boscán in his *Octava Rima*. It is well known that in 1637 Manuel de Faria y Sousa called attention to this obvious error by declaring that the poet could not have been a predecessor of Boscán, since Lope de Vega knew him. This statement, which has been accepted by later critics, is shown by Coster to rest upon an erroneous interpretation of a passage in *El laurel de Apolo*. Lope had no knowledge of Francisco de la Torre, except that Quevedo proposed to publish his poetry.

Coster then discusses the biography of Francisco de la Torre offered by Aureliano Fernández-Guerra y Orbe, and finds that the documents presented to support it are unconvincing, and that the poems themselves give little or no basis for biographical facts.[2] He also finds invalid the arguments to identify Francisco de la Torre with Fray Luis de León, Francisco de Figueroa, Fernando de Herrera, or Quevedo himself.

In the Appendix to the volume published by the latter, a certain Don Juan de Almeida addresses himself to the reader declaring that he had submitted these verses to "el Maestro Francisco Sanchez de las Broças, Catedratico de propiedad de Retorica de la Universidad de Salamanca," and that "medroso de ver estos papeles sin ornamento de algun escritor deste tiempo," he had asked him for permission to publish some of his translations of Petrarch's sonnets and Horace's odes. The request was apparently granted, for eleven translations from Petrarch, three odes of Horace, and a sonnet of Domenico Veniero are included in the volume without further comment.

These compositions are followed without interruption by three translations of Horace's ode *O navis referent in mare te novi fluctus* (I, 14) by Don Juan de Almeyda, el Maestro Francisco Sánchez, and Alonso de Espinosa, with the comment: "Auiendo traduzido tres tan grandes Poetas, como los referidos, esta Oda de Horacio, de parecer de todos, pidieron al P. M. Fr. Luis de Leon la censura de cada una por esta carta que se sigue." The text of the letter to Fray Luis de León is then given, together with

[2] See also J. P. W. Crawford, *Francisco de la Torre y sus poesías*, *Homenaje a Menéndez Pidal*, II, 432-434.

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the reply, in which a rather superficial criticism is made of the translations, and the referee himself then submits his own version.

Almeida then discusses the propriety of dividing a word at the end of a line (synaphea), which occurs occasionally in the poetry of Francisco de la Torre, and strives to justify it because of its use by Horace, and by two modern poets, "con quien tratamos y a quien conocemos," namely, Ariosto and Fray Luis de León. In mentioning the latter, he quotes from the famous *Qué descansada vida,* but with a variant reading *Quán descansada vida.*

Fernández-Guerra y Orbe first called attention to the importance of this Appendix. Relying upon an entry in Barbosa's *Biblioteca Lusitana,* he identified Juan de Almeida as a son of Don Francisco de Almeida, a member of the Council of Philip II. We are told that he was fond of poetry, and that because of his brilliant intellect, he received the epithet of "el Sabio." He was mentioned in laudatory terms among the distinguished poets of Portugal by Jacinto Cordeiro in his *Egloga de los poetas lusitanos,* published in 1631, who numbers him among the dead.

Coster rejects entirely this identification, arguing that the Appendix shows that Almeida enjoyed a close personal relationship with Luis de León, and that from a chronological standpoint, Don Juan de Almeida "el Sabio" could not have been the editor of the manuscript.

He proposes, however, as a substitute, another Juan de Almeida, also a Portuguese, who was for a short time Rector of the University of Salamanca (1567-1568), and who seems to have been on good terms with Fray Luis de León after 1568, and was called as a witness for the defense in the poet's famous trial. M. Coster also mentions the fact that about the year 1570, the same Juan de Almeida supported his friend or secretary, Dr. Miguel Termón, who had objected to a ruling of the Inquisition prohibiting descendants of *conversos* from holding public office. The fact that he was a member of the committee charged with the revision of François Vatable's Bible would seem to indicate that Almeida was Master in Theology. His death occurred sometime between March 24, 1572, and February 5, 1573.

These facts lead M. Coster to the following conclusions: "En effet, qui a pu être en possession des trois traductions de l'Ode

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d'Horace, de la lettre d'envoi à Luis de Leon et de la réponse de ce dernier si ce n'est le Recteur de Salamanque? Qui a pu avoir l'idée de consulter Sanchez de las Brozas sur la valeur des poésies de la Torre et le prier d'accorder quelques-unes de ses traductions pour donner un nouvel attrait à cette édition, si ce n'est précisément le même Almeida, dont le nom se trouve encore rapproché de celui de Sanchez et de Louis de Leon dans un manuscrit renfermant une poésie de chacun de ces trois personnages sur la mort de son doméstique Termon?"

M. Coster then discusses the authorship of the verses attributed to Francisco de la Torre. They belong unquestionably to the second half of the sixteenth century, and a verse in the fourth eclogue, "al son dulce acordado," seems to be a reminiscence of Luis de León. The editor, Almeida, gives no information as to how the manuscript came into his possession. Quevedo makes no mention of preliminary matter, save Ercilla's *aprobación*. Contrary to the custom in the sixteenth century, there were no laudatory verses, and even when they were submitted to Sánchez, he gave no word of praise. This seems to show, in M. Coster's opinion, that the name La Torre was a pseudonym, that the identity of the poet was known to Sánchez, and that he made no comment on the verses for fear of betraying the secret.

He then continues: "Ces observations me semblent conduire à une conclusion très simple: c'est que Francisco de la Torre n'est autre que Juan de Almeida, non celui de Barbosa, mais le Recteur de 1567-1568, le patron de Miguel Termon, le théologien libéral, mort avant 1574." Desirous of seeing his verse in print, he communicated them to Sánchez de las Brozas, and added to his manuscript the latter's translations, the three translations of Horace's ode, the correspondence with Luis de León, and the observations on synaphea. But in view of his ecclesiastical status, he preferred to print his amatory poetry under an assumed name, and later, perhaps at the approach of death, he tried to obliterate even his pseudonym on the manuscript, and wrote the words *Delirabam cum hoc faciebam et horret animus nunc,* which Quevedo quoted.

It seems to me that M. Coster has overlooked two or three important points which may invalidate his conclusions. If we turn again to the Preface to the Reader, we find that Don Juan de

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Almeida, speaking in the first person, states that he had communicated these verses to Maestro Francisco Sánchez de las Brozas, "Catedratico de propiedad de Retorica de la Universidad de Salamanca," and had requested him to add some of his translations from Petrarch and Horace, "medroso de ver estos papeles sin ornamento de algun escritor deste tiempo." One wonders why the author himself should have used the term "deste tiempo" in writing to a friend, as though his verse belonged to an earlier generation.

Furthermore, it should be noted that in the Appendix, the editor Don Juan de Almeida speaks as follows of the translations of Horace's ode made by Don Juan de Almeida, Maestro Francisco Sánchez, and Alonso de Espinosa: "Auiendo traduzido tres tan grandes Poetas, como los referidos, esta Oda de Horacio, de parecer de todos, pidieron al P. M. Fr. Luis de Leon la censura de cada una por esta carta que se sigue." If the editor, Juan de Almeida, was also the poet who translated the ode, would he not have used the form "pedimos" instead of "pidieron?" And would it have been seemly to have referred to himself as a "grande poeta?" The translators were more modest, for they referred to themselves as "tres malos poetas" in their letter to Luis de León.

It seems to me, therefore, that we have to deal, not with one, but with two persons named Juan de Almeida, namely, the Rector, friend of Luis de León and translator of Horace's ode, and a younger Juan de Almeida, in all likelihood a relative, who in some way came into possession of the much-discussed manuscript, and added to it the translations by Sánchez, the correspondence with Luis de León, and the comments on synaphea. He must have brought this material together during the lifetime of Luis de León, for in referring to him he uses the words "a quien conocemos." Possibly, after all, the editor Juan de Almeida may be identified as "el Sabio," as was suggested by Fernández-Guerra y Orbe. It is likely that he was the Don Joan de Almeyda "del Consejo del Rey nuestro Señor," to whom the Lisbon, 1624, edition of the *Diana* was dedicated.

This explanation would solve two of the difficulties mentioned by M. Coster in his interpretation. Juan de Almeida, the Rector, could not have referred to Sánchez as "Catedratico de propiedad

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de Retorica de la Universidad de Salamanca," for he was not appointed to that post until a few months after his friend's death, and did not become Master until the following year. Furthermore, we have no knowledge of an *aprobación* by Ercilla earlier than 1579. Coster suggests: "Il serait d'ailleurs possible que l'Approbation ne fût pas antérieure à 1580 et eût été sollicitée par le possesseur fortuit ou malhonnête du manuscrit," and this is entirely reasonable, but I believe there are good grounds to assume that the possessor of the manuscript was the younger Juan de Almeida, who solicited permission to publish it some time between the years 1579 and 1591. Judging from the reference in Cordeiro's *Egloga de los poetas lusitanos,* Juan de Almeida "el Sabio" died in the later years of the second decade of the seventeenth century. Possibly at his death, the manuscript found its way into the hands of the bookseller from whom Quevedo obtained it.

With respect to the identification of Juan de Almeida as author of the poetry ascribed to Francisco de la Torre, I should like to call attention to an article by Señor Menéndez Pidal in which he describes certain manuscript collections of verse preserved in the Biblioteca Real, and which he characterizes as follows:[2] "Todos estos manuscritos tienen un carácter común: son cartapacios formados por personas afectas a la Universidad de Salamanca. Se conservaron en esa ciudad, en la biblioteca de los Colegios Mayores, hasta que de ellas pasaron a la Biblioteca Real, en 1806-1807. Son, pues, una abundante y expresiva muestra de la literatura más gustada en la Universidad salmantina durante la segunda mitad del siglo XVI." If the poems ascribed to Francisco de la Torre were really the work of Juan de Almeida, Rector of the University, it would be reasonable to expect to find some of them included in these *cartapacios* along with those of Luis de León and other poets of Salamanca, but none of the many compositions cited by Menéndez Pidal bears the slightest relationship to any of the poems included in the volume of Francisco de la Torre.

Juan de Almeida appears, however, as the author of six poems. The following are found in the *Cartapacio de Francisco Morán de*

[2] *Cartapacios literarios salmantinos del siglo XVI, Boletín de la Real Academia Española,* I (1914), 43.

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la Estrella, compiled at Toro about the year 1585, but including many compositions from earlier collections.

F. 18 c. "Otro soneto dialogismo de don Juan de Almeyda":—"A quien buscas Amor? Busco a Marfida."[4]

F. 20 c. "Soneto de don Juan de Almeyda sobre un lienço que le dio su dama":—"Queda mi rostro de temor turuado."

F. 30 b. "Glosa de don Juan de Almeyda sobre Puesto ya el pie en el estribo":—"Mi postrer punto es llegado."

F. 235. "Canzion a la muerte del maestro Termon por don Joan de Almeida":—"Alma dichosa y vella."

Immediately following, we find on F. 240: "Traduçion de la Oda 14 del primer libro de Horatio, que incipit: O navis, referent in mare te novi fluctus. Esta oda tradujeron don Joan de Almeida, el Licenciado Espinosa y el Maestro Francisco Sánchez de las Brozas y la emuiaron sin deçir los authores al Padre Maestro Fray Luis de Leon para que las juzgase, y con ellas le escriuieron esta carta. . . ." Menéndez Pidal states that there is another copy of this in the same library. Apparently the correspondence of the three poets with Luis de León was circulating in manuscript. Another *cartapacio* attributes to Juan de Almeida two *canciones,* one of which is the poem entitled *Amores de Damón y Galatea,* which is generally ascribed to Francisco de Figueroa.[5]

These *cartapacios* prove that Juan de Almeida "el Rector" wrote verse, and we already knew of his interest in Horace. These seem to me the only clearly established points in common between Almeida and Francisco de la Torre, and with the meagre evidence at hand, they do not appear to me sufficient to make the identification complete. It is my belief that we shall not definitely establish the identity of the mysterious Francisco de la Torre until we find in manuscript, attributed to him or to another, some of the verses included in the volume that bears his name.

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[4] This sonnet is by Montemayor, *Segundo Cancionero,* 1558, f. 115.

[5] *BRAE,* I, 308-309, and II, 306-307.

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THE PERSONAL RELATIONS BETWEEN DENHAM AND WALLER

Since the time of Dryden, Sir John Denham and Edmund Waller have been regarded as the forerunners of the Augustan poetry, as the two poets who most largely influenced the development of the heroic couplet into its highly polished "closed" form. A study of the personal relations that existed between them becomes, therefore, of interest and importance.

There is a large amount of evidence (though most of it is indirect) that they knew one another personally, and there is direct evidence that Denham's early work was greatly influenced by Waller.

That they were closely associated after the Restoration is certain. Both were members of the House of Commons;[1] both were courtiers; both were favorites. In 1663 they were appointed censors for a play of Killigrew's.[2] By that time, however, each had long established his technique, so that this asssociation is of no special significance.

When they first met cannot be precisely determined, but it is possible that it was about 1635 or 1636. Denham went to Oxford in 1631. There he must have become acquainted with his first cousin, George Morley, later Bishop of Winchester,[3] if indeed, he did not already know him, as seems very probable. Morley had remained at Oxford after his graduation in 1618, and in 1633, when Lucius Cary, second Lord Falkland retired to his estate at Burford near Oxford, became one of the brilliant group that gathered about that nobleman. To this circle Morley introduced Waller about 1635, with whom he contracted a warm friendship, apparently living with Waller for a time and directing his studies at Waller's house at Beaconsfield.[4]

It is evident then that Morley might well have brought Denham

[1] Thorn-Drury, *The Poems of Edmund Waller*, (Muses Library), LXIII; *Gt. Britain. Parliament, 1878. House of Commons Accounts and Papers*, vol. 62, Part I.

[2] *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1663-4*, p. 83.

[3] Morley's mother was Sarah Denham, younger sister of Denham's father, Sir John. *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, XXX, p. 1; XXXIII, p. 6.

[4] Thorn-Drury, *The Poems of Edmund Waller*, (Muses Library), XXII.

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and Waller together, either at Beaconsfield, but a short distance from London where Denham was then studying law at Lincoln's Inn (where he had been admitted in 1631),[5] at London itself, or at Denham's place at Egham, only 12 or 15 miles from Beaconsfield.

At all events, Denham by 1642 knew much of Waller's poetry in manuscript, and thought highly of it. (Would he not therefore have found means to know the poet?) In the edition of *Cooper's Hill* of 1642, Denham, speaking of St. Paul's cathedral, says:

> Pauls, the late theme of such a muse whose flight
> Has bravely reach't and soar'd above thy height:
> Now shalt thou stand though sword, or time, or fire,
> Or zeal more fierce than they, thy fall conspire,
> Secure, whilst thee the best of poets sings,
> Preserv'd from ruin by the best of kings.
>
> (Lines 19-24.)

A marginal note reads, "Master Waller" and the reference is to Waller's poem, *Upon his Majesty's repairing of Paul's.* As none of Waller's poems were published until 1645,[6] Denham must have seen this poem in manuscript. The phrase "the best of poets" as applied to Waller's early work sounds somewhat like the complimentary exaggeration of personal friendship, though doubtless Waller's simplicity and directness appealed to Denham.

But *Cooper's Hill* furnishes more evidence of familiarity with Waller's verse as the following parallels show:

1. Not to look back so far, to whom this isle
   Owes the first glory of so brave a pile (Windsor).
   Cooper's Hill, 65-6.

   When the first monarch of this happy isle
   Moved with the ruin of so brave a pile.
   Waller, *Upon his Majesty's repairing of Pauls*, 5-6.

2. Nor then destroys it with too fond a stay,
   Like mothers which their infants overlay.
   Cooper's Hill, 171-2.

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[5] *Records of Lincoln's Inn Admissions*, I, 213. *Aubrey, Brief Lives*, I, 217. Wood, *Athenae Oxoniensis*, II, 422 (1721 edition).

[6] With three exceptions: *To the King on his Return from Scotland*, in *Rex Redux*. 1633: *To Mr. George Sandys*, in Sandys, *Paraphrase upon the Divine Poems*, 1638; and *Upon Ben Johnson, the most excellent of comick poets*, in *Jonsonus Virbius*, 1638.

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As careless dames whom wine and sleep betray
To frantic dreams, their infants overlay.
Waller, *The Battle of the Summer Islands*, Canto II: 21-2.

3. . . . th' unexpected sound
Of dogs, and men, his (the stag's) wakeful ear doth wound
Rouz'd with the noise, he scarce believes his ear,
Willing to think th' illusion of his fear
Had given this false alarm, but straight his view
Confirms, that more than all he fears is true.
. . . . . .
He calls to mind his strength, and then his speed,
His winged heels, and then his armed head;
. . . . . .
His safety seeks: the herd, unkindly wise,
Or chases him from hence, or from him flies.
. . . . . .
With shame remembers, while himself was one
Of the same herd, himself the same had done.
. . . . . .
Wearied, forsaken, and pursued, at last
All safety in despair of safety plac'd,
Courage he thence resumes, resolv'd to bear
All their assaults, since 't is in vain to fear.
And now too late he wishes for the fight
That strength he wasted in ignoble flight;
But when he sees the eager chase renew'd,
Himself by dogs, the dogs by men pursu'd,
He straight revokes his bold resolve, and more
Repents his courage, than his fear before.
Cooper's Hill, 251-298.

So the tall stag, upon the brink
Of some smooth stream about to drink,
Surveying there his armed head
With shame remembers that he fled
The scorned dogs, resolved to try
The combat next; but if their cry
Invades again his trembling ear,
He straight resumes his wonted care,
Leaves the untasted spring behind,
And, winged with fear, outflies the wind.[7]
Waller, *Of Love*, 45-54.

[7] There are several other possible parallels which I have omitted as they were not entirely convincing. Compare, however, lines 236-40 in *Cooper's Hill* where Denham speaks of antlered stags, with Waller's poem, *On the Head of a Stag.*

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As the exact dates of the writing of all these poems is unknown, it is not impossible that Denham influenced Waller, but it seems far more probable that Denham, then at the beginning of his poetic career, echoed the various poems of the older poet with which he was familiar.[8] In another poem of this period, Denham again echoes Waller's *Upon his Majesty's repairing of Paul's:*

Our nation's glory and our nation's crime. 1. 4.

In the Egerton MS. 2421 text of *On the Earl of Strafford's Trial and Death,* Denham says:

Our nations glory and our nations hate. 1. 20.

It is certain, therefore, that by 1642 Denham was thoroughly acquainted with Waller's poetry, and it is probable that he knew Waller himself.

In any case, during the years 1648 to 1652 the two men must have been thrown together. In 1648 Waller removed from Rouen to Paris, where he remained, a member of the exiled English court, until his return to England in 1652.[9] In 1648 Denham fled from England, and joined the royal family in Paris, with whom he stayed, except for occasional absences on various missions, until he too went back to England in 1653.[10] As Waller and Denham were both favorites at court, and were now both famous poets, it is almost certain that by the time they were again in England they knew one another intimately.

In 1655 we find our next indication of personal relationship. In that year the first authorized edition of *Cooper's Hill* appeared. Among many others changes made in the 1642 text, a passage between lines 36 and 37 was cancelled. In the 1642 text, the poet, speaking of the confusion and tumult of life in London, continued:

Some study plots, and some those plots t' undoe,
Others to make 'em, and undoe 'em too,
False to their hopes, afraid to be secure,
Those mischiefs only which they make, endure,
Blinded with light and sick of being well,
In tumults seek their peace, their heaven in hell.

[8] All of the above poems of Waller appeared in the 1645 edition.
[9] Thorn-Drury, *The Poems of Edmund Waller,* lix ff.
[10] Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses, 1721,* II, 422 ff.

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Certainly these lines apply very well to Waller's plot, his attempt to seize London on behalf of the King, and his subsequent confessions and exposures before the bar of the House of Commons. Whether or not the realization of this unintentional aptness caused Denham's ears to tingle and his hair to stand on end, as Gosse dramatically suggests,[11] the lines were dropped in 1655. There is no prosodical reason for this; indeed, the lines are technically good, better than many that he retained. Yet as there must have been some reason for cancelling them, it seems a permissible inference that it was a personal one; that he became dissatisfied with them since they could be taken to allude to an episode discreditable to his friend.

Another though less important link between the two during the period after their return to England is the fact that they had a common friend in Christopher Wase. In 1652 Waller wrote highly recommending Wase as a tutor, and in 1654 his poem *To my Worthy Friend Mr. Wase* appeared in Wase's translation of the *Cynegeticon* of Gratius Faliscus. Wase dedicated the book to Lord Herbert, son of the Earl of Pembroke to whom he was tutor.[12] Now Denham was at this time living with the Earl, and in 1658 took Lord Herbert abroad with him.[13] Wase must have known and admired Denham's poetry, for after Denham's death Wase wrote an elegy to him.[14]

Finally in 1658 we come to our last, and most convincing evidence. In that year was published *The Passion of Dido for Aeneas . . . Translated by Edmund Waller and Sidney Godolphin.* Waller's portion of this joint work was later published separately in his collected editions, under the title (*Part of the Fourth Book of Virgil, Translated.* It is a passage of 134 lines, running in the original from line 437 to line 583.

Denham also translated part of the fourth book of the Aeneid. It was first published in the collected edition of 1668, under the title of *The Passion of Dido for Aeneas,* but was probably written

[11] Gosse, *From Shakespeare to Pope,* 90.

[12] Thorn-Drury, *The Poems of Edmund Waller,* II, 97 note.

[13] Wood, *Athenae Oxoniensis,* II, 423; *Calendar State Papers, Domestic,* 1658-9, 580.

[14] *State Papers, Domestic, Charles II,* vol. 270: 182.

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about 1653. Wood says that when Denham was with the Earl of Pembroke, 1653-54 or later, he translated "one of Virgil's Aeneidos."[15] Denham's only other Virgilian translation, *The Destruction of Troy,* a part of the second book, was published in 1656, and according to the title page of this edition was written in 1636. Evidence of style supports this statement. Wood must refer, therefore, to Denham's *Passion of Dido for Aeneas* as the poem written 1653 or later. Denham's poem is also an incomplete translation, beginning at line 275 of the original. As in his other translations, he condenses greatly, but in this instance he omits altogether a passage of about 130 lines, save for a few scattered lines to bridge the gap. These lines omitted by Denham are precisely the lines translated by Waller.[16]

The coincidence is too striking to be accidental. Either Waller translated them because Denham omitted them, or, as is much more likely, Denham omitted them because he knew Waller had translated or intended to translate them. Here again, perhaps, we have a gesture of personal friendship. Why Waller translated no more, or why Denham's translation was not printed with Waller's instead of Godolphin's I do not know. It seems certain, however, that in this instance Waller and Denham knew of each other's work.[17]

We see then that from 1635 on, Denham's life touched Waller's on numerous occasions, and that the two men were thrown together under circumstances that must have resulted in intimacy. What conclusions in regard to their poetry are we to draw from these facts? As the parallel passages revealed, Denham, in his most important and one of his earliest poems, *Cooper's Hill,* was clearly influenced by Waller, and it is probable that this was the result of personal friendship. There are no further linguistic echoes of Waller in Denham's later work, nor has Waller any traces of Denham. Yet Denham must have kept in touch with Waller's verse (we have seen that he did in at least one instance),

[15] Wood, *Athenae Oxoniensis,* II, 423.

[16] Waller begins 15 lines before Denham breaks off. Waller translates 437 to 583; Denham omits 452 to 583.

[17] Godolphin's portion shows no trace of Denham's influence.

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and Waller could not have avoided knowing so famous a poem as *Cooper's Hill*.[18]

Their styles are distinct. Yet each developed a similar technique of the heroic couplet; each as he matured wrote couplets more and more closely approaching Augustan cadence and polish. I do not believe that either of them consciously attempted a revolution in prosody, nor do I believe that either consciously imitated the other. Yet seeing that their personal and literary relationships were close, it is a reasonable assumption that their influence was interactive, and even if subconscious, none the less effective.

Yale University. THEODORE H. BANKS.

A TEST FOR UDALL'S AUTHORSHIP.

It is common knowledge that the break-up of English prosody in the fifteenth century had left the metrics, if they can be dignified by such a name, of Udall's contemporaries in a state of utter chaos. Of regular recurrence of accent they are almost totally innocent, and even the four beat line, that last resource of those who wish to see some vestiges of system in their work, often breaks down lamentably in actual practice. If we disregard entirely the matter of accentuation and resort to mere syllable counting, the result is equally confusing. The dramatic writers of this period seem to have cared little how short or how long their lines might be. In *Albion Knight,* for instance, there are 24.6% ten syllable lines, 20% eleven syllable lines, 20% nine syllable lines, 15% eight syl-

[18] There is one possible, though by no means certain, echo of *Cooper's Hill* in Waller's *On the Duke of Monmouth's expedition, 1679:*

> ". . . his (the mountains) curled brows
> Frown on the gentle stream which calmly flows,
> While winds and storms his lofty forehead beat:
> The common fate of all that's high or great."
>
> *Cooper's Hill,* 219-222.

> "But seeing envy, like the sun, does beat
> With scorching rays, on all that's high and great,
> This, ill-requited Monmouth! is the bough
> The Muses send to shade thy conquering brow."
>
> *On the Duke* etc., 33-6.

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lable lines, and so on through half a dozen other lengths. *King Darius* has 29% nine syllable lines, 23% ten syllable lines, 18.5% eight syllable lines, 14.6% eleven syllable lines, etc. *Jack Juggler* has 23% ten syllable lines, 21% eleven syllable lines, 17% twelve syllable lines, 15% nine syllable lines, etc. In *New Custom* the twelve syllable line leads with 25%, next comes the eleven syllable with 20%, the thirteen syllable with 19%, etc. In *The Bugbears* we have 29.4% of twelve syllable lines, 27.4% of thirteen syllable lines, 18.7% of fourteeners, and 13% of eleven syllable lines; while in *Gammer Gurton's Needle* the highest type is fourteeners (27.5 %), followed by thirteeners (22.5%), fifteeners (17%), and twelves (16%).[1]

The dating of all these plays is dubious, but they illustrate well enough the lack of any definite practice on the part of the authors of the transition period. It will be noted that in none of these plays is there any type of line that reaches a higher percentage than 29.4%; also that out of six plays we have four different lengths used as the preferred type and that the second choice is so close a runner-up as to be within from 2% to 6% of the first.

In the most cases even the third choice is within 6% of the first. Such a condition indicates that the emergence of any particular type of line as favorite is to be charged to blind luck rather than to conscious choice on the author's part.

I wish now to turn to three plays which are notable exceptions to this condition. *Ralph Roister Doister, Respublica,* and *Jacob and Esau,* besides being written in couplets and divided into acts and scenes (a very unusual practice in this period), all have another significant point in common: the unquestioned predominance of the twelve syllable line. In the first it amounts to 68% of the total, in the second to 75%, and in the third to 68%. Not only this, but each also exhibits the same type of line as a second choice, namely the eleven syllable line. In this case the figures are: *Roister Doister* 21.6%, *Respublica* 17%, *Jacob and Esau* 24%. The third highest in each case, thirteeners, drops to the low figures of 6%, 6%, and 4%, respectively. The few examples of other types are all below 5%. In view of the situation described in the

[1] For the purpose of this paper I have considered only plays written in couplets.

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first paragraph, I do not think it is overstating the case to say that these three plays show an extraordinary metrical similarity and that in all probability they were written by the same man.[2]

Now we know that *Ralph Roister Doister* was the work of Nicholas Udall and each of the other two plays has been attributed to him by modern scholars. L. A. Magnus has presented, in his introduction to the Early English Text Society edition, fairly convincing evidence for *Respublica* on the grounds of style, vocabulary, and historical probability, while Professor C. W. Wallace[3] says of *Jacob and Esau:* "It seems remarkable that students of the drama have not long ago universally recognized Udall in this play." He does not present his reasons, but it may be stated in passing that the fact that Udall is known to have written a play in English called *Ezechias,* produced after his death on the occasion of the Queen's visit to Cambridge in 1564, lends weight to a claim for his authorship of another Biblical play. It has always been difficult to gain general acceptance of such attributions on the basis of the sorts of evidence just mentioned, but I think that any reader of *Respublica* and *Jacob and Esau* will agree that the wit of the lines and the eye for dramatic situations shown in them is quite equal to that shown in *Roister Doister,* even though the nature of the subject matter prevents them from being as boisterously amusing as the latter. I offer the new evidence given in this article as additional reason to believe these plays to be Udall's work and suggest that the time is now ripe for a careful reconsideration of the question of his authorship. The definite addition of them to the list of his works would, if agreed upon, give us a much clearer picture of one of the principal figures in the transitional period of the drama.

LEICESTER BRADNER.

Brown University.

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[2] These figures, compared with those given for *Jack Juggler,* should be sufficient answer to the ingenious theory of W. H. Williams (*Mod. Lang. Rev.,* VII, 289) that Udall was the author of that play.

[3] *Evolution of the English Drama,* p. 101.

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THE EARLY STAGE HISTORY OF THE FIRST HEROIC PLAY

In 1661, shortly after the Earl of Orrery had arrived in Dublin as one of the new lord justices for Ireland, he wrote the first heroic play, *The General.*[1] Yet any definite connection between *The General* and the Irish stage had remained unsuspected until the recent discovery of a letter[2] to Sir Edward Dering, commander of the royal troops at Dublin. Dering, a literary intimate of the Earl of Orrery, was the author of the epilogue to Katharine Philips' *Pompey,* produced at the Smock Alley Theatre, Dublin, in February 1663.[3] In this letter, which bears the date of September 15, 1664, *The General* is stated to have been "formerly acted in Ireland by the name of *Altamira,* but much altered and improved" for its appearance in London as "Lord Orerys new play." The vagueness of the statement is indeed tantalizing. It opens a whole new past in the stage history of *The General,* and yet offers no particulars as to time or circumstance. Partial details, however, seem to be now forthcoming, through a reference furnished me by Dr. J. L. Hotson.

In the state newsbook, *Mercurius Publicus,* for the week of October 23-30, 1662.[4] occurs the following item:

> *Dublin,* Oct. 21. On the 18. [i. e. Saturday] at evening the Lord Lieutenant and most of the persons of Honor in these parts were entertained by the Earle of *Orery* at *Thomas Court* where his Lordship treated them with a noble Banquet and a Play of his own making.

The play of Orrery's own making mentioned in the foregoing dispatch is doubtless *Altamira,* later entitled in its revised form for London performance *The General.* Of all Orrery's plays it alone is known to have been acted in Ireland before 1664, the year when his plays began to appear on the London stage. Furthermore, up to October, 1662, Orrery, as far as can be learned, had written only one other play, lost at the present day.[5] The manuscript of

[1] *Rev. Eng. Stud.,* II, 206 ff.
[2] *Ibid.,* II, 459.
[3] *Letters of Orinda to Poliarchus* (London, 1729), 115.
[4] B. M., E 195, No. 140.
[5] Orrery's *State Letters* (Dublin, 1743), I, 76, 98.

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this now missing piece had however been sent in February, 1662, to the Duke of Ormonde, who was at the time in London, but who had come in July to Ireland as the new Lord Lieutenant. On the occasion of this banquet for the Duke, when Orrery would be anxious to show especial honor to his distinguished guest in the way of highly pleasing entertainment, he would almost certainly not choose to entertain the Lord Lieutenant with a play already for some period in the latter's hands. On the other hand, *Altamira,* in manuscript, had greatly pleased the King the previous year.[6] This fact was well known to the Lord Lieutenant, and hence would be a reason of no small consequence for its stage presentation before him under Orrery's auspices. The presumption therefore that the dispatch in *Mercurius Publicus* refers to a private production of *Altamira* appears scarcely open to question.

That performance, according to the newsbook, took place at Thomas Court, apparently the palatial residence of the Earl of Orrery, situated close to Dublin on the southwest. Originally the abbey of Saint Thomas the Martyr, the building, during the reign of Henry VIII, came into the hands of the Brabazon family, later the Earls of Meath,[7] from whom Orrery seems to have leased the property. The frater, or large hall, of the former abbey was probably the scene of the banquet in honor of the Lord Lieutenant. There, on a temporary stage erected at one end, the play may be imagined to have been acted after the fashion of Elizabethan private dramatic entertainments. In Restoration times, however, such a performance at the manor of a nobleman was a most unusual occurrence, and is worthy of considerable notice.

For so important an occasion the Earl of Orrery likely hired the best actors obtainable, who were the recently formed company at the new Smock Alley Theatre. This theatre under the management of John Ogilby had just been opened. Katharine Philips wrote from Dublin on October 19, the day following the acting of *Altamira* at Thomas Court, that there was "new play house here . . . but the scenes are not yet made."[8] The private

[6] *Ibid.*, I, 76.

[7] Warburton, J., *Hist. of City of Dublin* (1818), I, 319; *Official Guide to Dublin*, 67. For these references I am indebted to Dr. Hotson and Mr. W. J. Lawrence.

[8] *Letters of Orinda to Poliarchus* (London, 1705), 79.

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production of October 18 was surely therefore the maiden stage appearance of *Altamira*. Perhaps indeed it was the only occasion on which the play was acted in Ireland but the statement in the letter to Dering would seem to imply a longer stage career there. If Ogilby's company were the actors before the Lord Lieutenant at Thomas Court, there is every reason to suppose that Orrery would allow them thereafter to produce *Altamira* as part of their repertoire at the Smock Alley Theatre. A few months later he took the lead in securing the production there of Katharine Philips' *Pompey*. Certainly he might be expected to have an equal interest in seeing his own play on the same stage. If so acted, *Altamira* was probably put on the boards at Smock Alley by November, 1662, at least, and thus came to be the first play by a Restoration author acted at the Dublin theatre. In any case, its maiden performance, before a private audience at the author's residence, on October 18, 1662, marks the first production of a Restoration heroic play, preceding the first London production, that of *The Indian Queen*, by considerably more than a year.

WILLIAM S. CLARK.

Amherst College.

LEIGH HUNT AND *THE PLAIN DEALER*

From September 4, 1830, until February 13, 1832, Leigh Hunt carried on almost single-handed *The Tatler, A Journal of Literature and the Stage*. When at the latter date ill health and other circumstances made it impossible for him to edit the journal any longer, he announced that fact in his customary "Farewell to the Readers." That address however contained the following consolatory sentence: "At all events, those who do not like to part with an old acquaintance, even for habit's sake, and those who have got accustomed to the tone of certain articles in this paper, may not be unwilling to hear, that they may perhaps find something to remind them of it, in the pages of a new weekly journal, called the *Plain Dealer*."[1] But Alexander Ireland, the first biblio-

[1] Quoted in A. Ireland, *List of the Writings of William Hazlitt and Leigh Hunt* (London, 1868), p. 147.

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grapher of Hunt, was unable to find any trace of *The Plain Dealer* in the British Museum Library, and so concluded that Hunt had never carried out his intention of publishing it.[2] And later bibliographers[3] have apparently all accepted Ireland's conclusion.

But there is now in the Periodical Room of the British Museum a complete file of *The Plain Dealer.* It was first issued January 1, 1832, as a political weekly, printed on a sheet of regular newspaper size. Hunt probably did not take charge, however, until the fifth number (there is a prospectus presumably from his pen in No. 4), when it was amalgamated with *The Constitution,* another weekly, and its size reduced to a large octavo. Its heading then read:

> The Plain Dealer./ No. 35.[4] London, January 29, 1832.
> Paper, Print, etc. 3½ d. Price 7 d.
> Taxes on Knowledge 3½ d.

The periodical did not thrive in its new form: it languished through four numbers and came to an end with No. 38 [8], February 19. Its fate was a bitter blow to Hunt. He does not mention the episode in his *Autobiography,* but in an unpublished letter to Carlyle dated March 1, 1832,[5] he alludes to it in the following terms: "I have had a great blow since I saw you, which knocks up my prospect of half week luxury; and the worst of it was, that it was knocked up in the most childish manner, the Proprietor of a new paper, which they had got me to conduct, putting a stop to it at the end of three weeks, because it did not *flourish* in that time! I never had so tremendous a compliment paid me before, or one that ended in so frightful a rebuke."

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 147 n.

[3] C. Monkhouse. *Life of Leigh Hunt* (London, 1893), pp. i-xv; *Autobiography of Leigh Hunt* (ed. Ingpen; Westminster, 1903), II, 273-299. Mr. Kent, in *Leigh Hunt as Poet and Essayist* (London and New York, 1889), pp. 527-8, and Mr. Milford, in *The Poetical Works of Leigh Hunt* (Oxford Press, 1922), pp. 736-65, do not list any of the periodicals edited by Hunt.

[4] For reasons which can be surmised from the event, *The Plain Dealer* took over the serial numbering of *The Constitution.*

[5] From a manuscript copy among the Ireland MSS. in the Public Reference Library, Manchester, England. This extract is printed with the kind permission of Mr. Alexander Carlyle.

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But in the few numbers which are extant one can see no reason why the paper should have flourished. Hunt was no longer a "Robin Hood" of politics: in bad health, and tired through and through with the long strain of *The Tatler,* he could not wake any zest. His articles sound weary. And without that peculiar tone which he had given to *The Examiner, The Plain Dealer* was only a very mediocre weekly newspaper of Radical and Reform opinions.

G. D. Stout.

Harvard University.

CORRESPONDENCE RELATING TO THE GRANT OF A CIVIL LIST PENSION TO WILLIAM WORDSWORTH, 1842.

The Melbourne ministry had, shortly before its resignation in August, 1841, discussed Wordworth's claims to a civil list pension. But it was decided to let the incoming ministry, under Sir Robert Peel, take care of Wordsworth.[1] The reason for this decision seems to have been that nearly the entire sum available for pensions such as the one contemplated for Wordsworth was absorbed by a pension of £1000[2] granted to Sir John Newport who had resigned the office of comptroller-general of the exchequer in favor of Lord Monteagle, a member of the Melbourne ministry.

Some time in the early part of the following year, 1842, Lord Monteagle wrote a letter or memorandum setting forth Wordsworth's claims to a pension from the government and sent this paper to the poet. Wordsworth showed it to Gladstone[4] who was known to be a personal friend of the prime minister. Gladstone forwarded Monteagle's memorandum to Sir Robert Peel. How-

[1] See Lord John Russell to Lord Melbourne, July 23, 1841. Copy, the Russell Papers, Public Record Office Ms.

[2] Gladstone to Peel, Aug. 18, 1842. *Sir Robert Peel from His Private Papers.* Ed. by C. S. Parker (London, 1899), III, 437.

[3] See articles on Lord Monteagle and Sir John Newport in *Dictionary of National Biography,* XL, 358; LIII, 427-429.

[4] Wordsworth to Gladstone, June 28 and July 11, 1842. *Letters of the Wordsworth Family from 1787-1885.* Ed. by William Knight (Boston, 1907), III, 246-248.

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ever, he had seen it before that time and, as will be seen from the following letter, Lord Monteagle's advocacy of a pension for Wordsworth nearly destroyed his chance of securing one at this time.

Peel to Gladstone :

Confidential. Whitehall, Oct. 10, 1842.

My dear Gladstone,

I had seen the enclosed memm before you sent it to me—and I returned it to the Party who shewed it to me, with the observation, that the writing of this memm was a very shabby act on the part of Lord Monteagle—He and his friends did nothing for Mr. Wordsworth—They granted seven or eight hundred per annum last year to the music masters and Dancing Masters who had attended the Queen in her youth—and now Lord Monteagle wants to get for himself the credit of being instrumental in procuring a Pension for Mr. Wordsworth.

I have other instances of the same kind within my knowledge—posthumous declarations of good intentions with regard to Pensions—which there was not a pretence of leaving unfulfilled had they been seriously entertained.

I wish I had never seen this memm of Lord Monteagle—for it is very difficult for me to overcome the obstacle which it presents in my mind to a compliance with the proposal it contains.

I wish you would be good enough to return it to Mr. Wordsworth to say that I have not yet considered what arrangement I shall make with regard to the pittance available this year for the grant of Civil List Pensions—that if the late Govt. had intended to grant a Pension to Wordsworth they had ample means of doing it; that frequent opportunities have presented themselves since the absorption of nearly a years available means in the grant to Sir John Newport—that I do not attach the slightest weight to this memm and that I think it ought not to have been written and sent to Mr. Wordsworth by Lord Monteagle.

So much for this memm and for the claim founded upon it.

The sum really at my disposal for this year is not more than £600 the other moiety is unavoidably engaged.

I wish to appropriate this sum to the reward & encouragement of literary and scientific labours.

The condition & pecuniary circumstances of Parties who may be considered qualified to benefit by it are of course material elements in the Consideration.

Can you tell me confidently what are those of Mr. Wordsworth—If they are very straightened I should be disposed (*forgetting Lord Monteagle & his memorandum*) to recognize Mr. Wordsworth's claim as a very strong one—but I know cases of eminent scientific merit, and literary too, where the means of the Parties are extremely limited—and compara-

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tive necessity as well as comparative distinction & fame must therefore be adverted to in the appropriation of so small a sum as that which is at my disposal.

Has the recent extension of Copyright made any material difference in the position of Mr. Wordsworth?

Can you assist me in procuring, without wounding anyone's feelings, information which it was always painful to seek, but which, in order that I may act *justly*—I must somehow or other procure—I mean information as to the pecuniary circumstances of Mr. Wordsworth.

Ever yours

Rrt. Hon. W. E. Gladstone. Robert Peel [5]

Gladstone replied to this letter on the following day.

Private & *Confidential.*

Whitehall, Oct. 11. 42

My dear Sir Robert Peel,

I have written to Mr. Wordsworth to the effect which you wish, and I have returned to him Lord Monteagles memorandum.

I do not believe that he attaches much weight to that document: I am sure that he must know that it cannot possibly be a foundation for *any* claim upon you. Speaking from my recollections, I am under the impression that he regarded it as a testimonial and nothing more. From putting together the facts and dates I gather most distinctly that Mr. Wordsworth's claim was raised at the time when Lord Monteagle made the arrangement for himself which attracted so much notice under the name of Sir John Newport: he found that claim in competition with his own & threw it overboard accordingly.

With regard to Mr. Wordsworth's circumstances I know that they are straitened: I think I know that he must depend considerably on assistance from his son who now enjoys an income of I think something like £500 a year as Distributor of Stamps; he has an old clerk, who assisted him in his office, & I imagine in various ways as to business, to whom he allows £100 a year: and this he said to me must continue. I will endeavour however to reduce to greater precision, by inquiries where upon reflection I may think it most practicable, my own impressions which are to the effect that he has but *few* hundreds a year.

I do not doubt that his situation is improved by the new copyright act: such improvement however must I think be very limited in its pecuniary effects.

I deem it a great honour to take part, in any manner, in giving effect to ideas so strictly just as those appear to be, upon which you propose

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[5] Copy, the Peel Papers, British Museum Add. Mss. 40, 469, ff. 259-261. Extracts from this letter are printed in Parker, *Peel Papers*, III, 437, 438.

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to proceed: even were the subject of consideration a person of less merit than Mr. Wordsworth.

Of course you will hear from me whenever I have learned anything worth placing before you.

I remain ever
Most truly yours
(Signed) W. E. Gladstone.[6]

Two days later Gladstone was able to supply more definite and detailed information as to the financial affairs of Wordsworth.

Private & *Confidential.*

Whitehall, Octr. 13. 42.

My dear Sir Robert Peel

I have obtained, through Mr. Moxon, Mr. Wordsworth's publisher and friend, information upon which I think you may entirely rely.

1. Mr. Wordsworth's present available income is not more than £300 a year: including an annuity of £100 left him by the late Sir G. Beaumont. This sum does not include the annual premium on a sum of £1000 for which his life is insured.

Out of this income he has to support a sister who is not of entirely sound mind: who is obliged to have an attendant, and has no means whatever of her own.

He lived with this sister for many years, some time ago, in a small house on Grassmere, on £70 a year. He has two sons and a daughter. One son was appointed by you Govt. distributor of stamps at Carlisle. The salary and emoluments amount to £650 per ann.: out of which he defrays the charge of clerks and his office.

The other son he educated at Oxford, at the heavy cost of £1000. He is now a clergyman with a very small living and six children—and has heretofore received assistance from his father.

The daughter is married to a man without property: her father's little fortune is settled on her.

A letter has recently been received from Mrs. Wordsworth, in which—without any reference to inquiries such as I have made—she states that it will be necessary for them to leave their house, unless they are enabled to keep it by aid from their son the Distributor. (I gather from what I have learned that the assistant or clerk whom I mentioned in my last [letter] is probably provided for by some arrangement under Mr. Wordsworth jun.)

Mr. Wordsworth himself is in his 73d year.

2. As to his works.

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[6] Original Ms. Peel Papers, British Museum Add. Mss. 40, 469 ff. 263-265.

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I believe that until within the last six or eight years they were productive of little pecuniary profit.

Mr. Moxon has shown me exactly his receipts since 1836.

They amount to £1423. This has either been spent, or it is included in the small capital from which the income named above is drawn. It is important however to say that the chief part of this sum was paid to Mr. W. in 1836, viz. £1000. There is now an extraordinary deadness in the book trade: & the last edition of Mr. Wordsworth's works has as yet only paid expenses.

During the last summer he was in town: *When he received from Mr. Moxon an advance of £50 on the expected profits of the remainder of the edition*—which was to meet the expenses of his trip. The new act does not in any way increase his immediately available means.

I have told Mr. Moxon nothing of my object: but that I should ask and use his information under the strictest confidence.

If you wish for further explanations I have no doubt they can be had.

I remain

Most faithfully yours
(Signed) W. E. Gladstone.[7]

Right Hon.
Sir Robert Peel

The facts contained in this letter caused Sir Robert Peel to offer immediately a pension for life of £300 a year to Wordsworth. The offer was made in a gracious letter of Oct. 15, 1842,[8] and it was accepted by the poet in a letter to Sir Robert Peel of Oct. 17th.[9]

PAUL KNAPLUND.

University of Wisconsin.

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[7] Original Ms.; *ibid.*, ff. 267-269.

[8] A copy of this letter is found among the Peel Papers in the British Museum; *ibid.*, ff. 272, 273. It is printed in full in Christopher Wordsworth, *Memoirs of William Wordsworth* (London, 1851), II, 388, 389.

[9] Original Ms. Peel Papers, British Museum Add. Mss. 40, 469, ff. 274 275. Printed in Parker, *Peel Papers*, III, 438, 439.

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ANALOGUES OF THE STORY OF CÆDMON

If I understand the note on 'Bede and Pausanias' (*M. L. N.* XLI. 535 f.) aright, a search for further parallels of Bede's famous Cædmon Story is deemed a *desideratum*.

Among my old notes on Cædmon I find some ordinary references to books in which similar legends are mentioned, most of those statements, it seems, going back, directly or indirectly, to that great storehouse of learning known as Grimm's *Deutsche Mythologie* (pp. 659 [579], 859 [755], cf. Vol. III, p. 276). The analogues adduced (varying, indeed, in their closeness to the Bede version) are the stories about Hesiod,[1] Homer, Pindar, Aeschylus; the tale of Hallbjǫrn hali (in *þorleifs þáttr jarlsskálds*, conveniently accessible in Holthausen's *Altisländisches Lesebuch*, p. 85 f.); besides, of course, the account of the *Praefatio* and *Versus de Poeta*, which may be found in editions of the *Heliand*.[2] In the last mentioned instance a literary dependence on Bede has been established.

Bouterwek (*Cædmon's biblische Dichtungen* I, p. ccxxvii) added to his comment the quaint note: "Von einer ganz ähnlichen Vision einer späten griechischen Dichterin erinnere ich mich irgendwo gelesen zu haben." Perhaps he merely had in mind the story of Helena appearing to Homer at night and urging him to compose a poem about the Trojan war (quoted from Isocrates by Grimm, p. 859 [755]). Palgrave (whose paper is out of reach) expressed the opinion: narratiunculam qua Cædmon repente ad carmina facienda aptus evasisse perhibetur, inter eas fabulas habendam quæ per ora hominum volitent, plurimisque eædem locis occurrant (Sandras, *De carminibus Anglo-Saxonicis Cædmoni adjudicatis disquisitio*, p. 32).

In all probability, many more parallels could easily be produced.

Be it remembered that Jacob Grimm's *Mythologie* appeared a good many decades ago.

FR. KLAEBER.

University of Minnesota.

[1] Cf. Plummer's *Baeda* II, p. 254.

[2] On the text published by Cordesius (*Opusc. et Epist. Hincmari Remensis Archiepiscopi*, Paris, 1615), see Schmeller, *Glossarium Saxonicum*, p. xic; Windisch, *Der Heliand und seine Quellen*, p. 1 ff.

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A LETTER BY GEORGE SAND ON WORLD PEACE

In 1846 George Sand was approaching the close of what is generally called her second or socialistic period (1840-1848), during which she came under the influence of sundry sociological, socialistic, and philosophic dreamers—Saint-Simon, Proudhon, Michel (de Bourges), Lamennais, Pierre Leroux, Agricol Perdiguier, Fourier, Louis Blanc,—whose schemes for the regeneration of humanity left a profound imprint on her novels. But, prone as George Sand was to champion divers panaceas for the ills of mankind, there was one remedy at which her common sense rebelled, namely, the abolishment of war, the *idéal de paix chrétienne sur toute la face de la terre,* and the settlement of international disputes by *les congrès des nations.* Her knowledge of European political intrigues was too wide to allow her to put trust in the pacific intentions of Metternich, Nicholas I, and the astute statesmen of Great Britain.

The letter published below was written by George Sand on April 4, 1846, to George Sumner, then a resident of Paris. In addition to Mme Sand's views on universal peace, the letter contains a reference to the Oregon question and a mention of one of the author's intimate friends, the English actor Macready.[1] It runs as follows:

Depuis plusieurs jours je veux vous répondre, mon cher Monsieur Sumner,[2] mais je voulais auparavant lire le discours de Monsieur votre frère,[3]

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[1] I wish to thank my friend Professor Merle Curti, of Smith College, for calling my attention to George Sand's letter. It is virtually inedited. The three sentences published by Edward L. Pierce in his *Memoir and Letters of Charles Sumner,* Boston, 1877-1893, II, 374, were selected by that biographer only because they furnish information concerning Sumner.

[2] George Sumner (1817-1863), younger brother of the American statesman Charles Sumner, made Paris his home from 1838 to 1852. He was a deep student of European politics and contributed to foreign reviews and to American periodicals. Upon his return to the United States, he lectured before lyceums. In 1853 he declined the office of Assistant Secretary of State.

[3] On July 4, 1845, Charles Sumner (1811-1874) delivered in Boston the annual City Oration. His speech, an argument against war, bore the title "The True Grandeur of Nations." For details concerning it, see

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et le tems me manquait absolument. Je n'ai pu encore en connaître qu'une partie, qui me paraît pleine de bonnes idées et de bons sentiments, mais puisque je suis à tout instant interrompue et que je lis si lentement, je ne veux pas tarder davantage à vous remercier et à vous prier de le remercier de ma part. Son idéal de paix chrétienne sur toute la face de la terre est, sans doute, une grande vérité, mais je ne comprendrais pas beaucoup que cela fût applicable à une nation en particulier, même aux États-Unis, lorsque toutes les autres nations sont sur le pied de guerre, et que l'Angleterre, comme un oiseau de proie, plane sur toutes les régions mal gardées.[4] Je ne crois pas que nous touchions à cet âge heureux où les congrès des nations régleraient leurs différends sans se réserver de recourir à l'*ultima ratio*. Voyez donc ce que sont maintenant les gouvernements de l'Autriche et de la Russie, et dites-moi, si, au lieu de profiter des avantages et des douceurs de la paix, toutes les nations généreuses et civilisées ne devraient pas se lever pour les renverser. Nous, nous sommes trop près de la malheureuse Pologne,[5] nous

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Edward L. Pierce, *op. cit.*, II, chap. XXVIII. During his entire lifetime Charles Sumner was an ardent advocate of international arbitration. In a letter to his brother George, dated July 17, 1849, he says: "Most clearly do I see that this cause [Peace] is destined to a triumph much earlier than many imagine. . . . If the friends of progress in Europe would aim at the armies and navies, direct all their energies at these monster evils, all else that can reasonably be desired will soon follow" (Pierce, *op. cit.*, III, 44).

[4] During the ten years previous to the date of George Sand's letter, England had indeed been most active in the four quarters of the globe: she had had trouble with the Irish, with the Boers in South Africa, and with her colonists in Canada and in Borneo; she had seized Aden, and had preferred claims for territory against the Republic of Honduras, in Central America; she had taken a hand in the Turkish-Egyptian War, and had waged war in China and in Afghanistan; she had extended her settlements in Australia, had won Hongkong, and had continued the occupation of India. George Sumner, like George Sand, was a pronounced Anglophobe, whereas Charles Sumner admired both England and France. On July 6, 1842, Charles wrote an interesting letter to his brother, chiding him for his harsh criticisms of England and English society (Pierce, *op. cit.*, II, 213). In this letter, however, Charles Sumner says: "Do you know my opinions of English policy, and of English government? With these I certainly feel less sympathy than with the French."

[5] The inhuman treatment of Poland was the cause of George Sand's hatred of Austria and Russia. The part played by Austria in Italian affairs increased her animosity towards Austria. Her liaison (1838-47) with Frédéric Chopin, a native of Poland, brought her into contact with

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autres, et nous sommes trop indignés contre la conduite du chef de l'Église,[6] pour écouter le conseil de nous croiser les bras. L'Amérique est loin, je le sais, elle n'entend pas le cri des victimes; mais cela s'entend avec le cœur et l'esprit, plus qu'avec les oreilles, et la cause d'un peuple est celle de tous.

Je ne peux pas être juge de la question de l'Orégon.[7] Je ne suis pas assez au courant de la politique et j'ignore les raisons particulières de localité et d'opportunité. Mais, je dis que, si la république américaine a des lois sages et humaines, il vaudra mieux pour les provinces contestées d'avoir affaire à elle qu'à l'Angleterre et à ses *traitans*. Je vois donc là un cas de guerre inévitable, un jour ou l'autre, pour l'honneur national, c'est-à-dire pour la conscience et l'humanité de vos compatriotes.

Peut-être que je me trompe, mais je crois que les nations les plus civilisées ont encore à remplir, envers les nations opprimées et asservies, de grands devoirs, qui ne pourront se passer du moyen de la guerre, car il y a encore des nations rapaces ou tyranniques qui font le métier de voleurs ou d'assassins.

Je suis bien touchée du souvenir que nous garde M. Macready.[8] La tentation d'aller en Angleterre pour l'amour de Shakespere, et par admiration et sympathie pour son noble interprète est bien forte! Mais je crains fort de n'avoir plus la liberté, c'est-à-dire le tems et l'argent qu'il

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the colony of Polish artists and aristocrats who had been driven to Paris by the harsh measures taken by Austria and Russia after the revolution of 1830-1831.

[6] In 1831 Pope Gregory XVI called in Austrian bayonets to quell the revolt against his rule in the Papal States. He promised to make reforms necessary to assure peace in the States, but he did not keep his promise. Subsequent revolts in the States in 1843, 1844, and 1845 were also put down with the aid of Austria. At the time of Pope Gregory's death (June 1, 1846), the papal prisons were filled with conspirators and reformers.

[7] In 1846 the dispute between Great Britain and the United States concerning the northwest boundary of the United States became acute. After a good deal of bickering, with threats of war, the dispute was amicably settled in June, 1846.

[8] William Charles Macready (1793-1873), the noted English tragedian. He played Shakespeare's characters with marked success and made several visits to the United States and to France. In his *Diary*, January 20, 1845, Macready says: "Called with Sumner on George Sand; saw her son and daughter, a sweet, interesting girl; talked much of Shakespeare and of England. I liked her very much. She said she would come to England if I would act in London, though she disliked the country so much." In 1847 George Sand dedicated to Macready her novel *le Château des Désertes*.

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me faudrait.[9] Dites-lui combien nous sommes occupés de lui, mes enfans, mes amis et moi, et quelle place il aura toujours dans nos affections.

Tout à vous

G. SAND.[10]

RICHMOND LAURIN HAWKINS

Harvard University.

VOLTAIRE AND THE QUEEN OF PRUSSIA: A LETTER RECOVERED

Among the letters of Voltaire's correspondents listed by L. Foulet[1] as "à retrouver" is one by Veyssière de La Croze, secretary of the Queen of Prussia, of May 25, 1728, important not only because it shows that as early as 1728 Voltaire had gained the favor of the mother of Frederic II, but also because it rectifies several errors about Voltaire's reply (179 of the Moland ed., reprinted as Letter 55 in the Foulet ed.). Moland believed that Voltaire's letter was addressed to a secretary of Queen Caroline, wife of George II of England and surmised, as did Bengesco subsequently,[2] that this secretary might be Lord Hervey, but Eug. Ritter[3] identified his correspondent as Veyssière de La Croze[4] the mention of whose letter in Charavay's catalogue for Oct., 1906, No. 362, he had noted. He stated, however, that his identification did not seem entirely established, since Veyssière de La Croze

[9] George Sand felt the pinch of poverty more than once. In a letter written on May 6, 1846, in the midst of preparations for her daughter's wedding, she speaks of "la misère qui augmente à Nohant tous les jours," and of the necessity of writing a novel "afin de gagner quelques billets de banque." The novel in question was *le Château des Désertes* (Wladimir Karénine, *George Sand, sa vie et ses œuvres, 1838-1848*, Paris, 1912, pp. 563-564).

[10] Autograph letter, Harvard University Library, Mss. Amer., 1. 4, carton 130, no. 71. George Sand did not date her letter. George Sumner added the date, April 4, 1846.

[1] Lucien Foulet, *Correspondance de Voltaire (1726-1729)*, Paris, 1913, p. 313.

[2] *Bibliographie de Voltaire*, III, 176.

[3] *RHL*, 1907, p. 728.

[4] Moland, *Œuvres complètes de Voltaire*, LII, 9, designates him as an "érudit célèbre, qui de bénédictin s'était fait luthérien, et était devenu bibliothécaire du roi de Prusse."

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mentioned *two* gold medals sent by the Queen of Prussia, and that Voltaire speaks of having received only *one*. Doubts as to the authorship of the letter are dissipated after a reading of the original, which is to be found in the Morgan Collection, bound with some letters of Voltaire which already exist in print. The volume has a binder's title, *Holograph Letters of Voltaire.*

Monsieur,

J'ai l'honneur de vous écrire par ordre de notre incomparable Reine qui a reçu avec plaisir le présent que vous lui avez fait du plus beau Poëme Epique que nous aions encore vû dans notre langue. Elle m'a commandé de vous remercier de sa part, et de vous faire savoir qu'Elle vous a envoié deux médailles d'or, qui vous seront un témoignage de l'estime qu'Elle fait de votre excellent ouvrage, et de votre beau présent. Au reste, Monsieur, ne comptez pas pour mediocre l'approbation que Sa Majesté donne à vos écrits, je veux dire à votre Oedipe, votre Mariamne, et votre Poëme.

Elle les a tous lûs et honnorés de son estime. Que ne puis-je ici vous faire sentir combien cette approbation vous est glorieuse? Autant que notre grande Reine est respectable par son rang, sa naissance et sa vertu, autant est-elle estimable par son bon goût et son discernement. Si votre Muse vous inspire à chanter les Héros, peut être vous dictera-t-elle un jour quelque chose pour une Héroine qui est au dessus de toutes nos louanges.

Après un sujet si sublime. je n'ose vous dire, Monsieur. quelle est l'estime que j'ai pour vous. Je ne fais pas assez de figure dans le monde pour croire que vous puissiez vous glorifier de me compter entre vos admirateurs.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec beaucoup d'estime et de respect, Monsieur,
Votre très humble et très obéissant Serviteur
à Berlin le 25 de mai 1728. M. Veyssière La Croze

Voltaire obviously replies paragraph by paragraph to this letter. There is no contradiction in the fact that the sending of two medals is announced, while Voltaire refers to one only. The reference merely means that a duplicate had been sent him of "la médaille dont sa Majesté a bien voulu m'honorer." It is also shown that already in 1728 overtures were made to Voltaire to eulogize the Queen of Prussia, which he turned to good account by writing: "Je voudrais pouvoir un jour avoir l'honneur de lui faire ma cour; il me semble que mes ouvrages en vaudraient mieux si j'avais de pareils modèles à peindre."[5]

BARBARA MATULKA.

New York University.

[5] Foulet, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

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A REPLY

In the March issue of *M. L. N.* I notice a review of my work: *Le Rôle du surnaturel dans les chansons de geste* (Champion, 1926) by Mr. M. Rudwin, which I cannot allow to go unchallenged. Mr. Rudwin demands an explanation of me: ". . . But what the author owes us, indeed, is an explanation of why he has chosen a subject for his thesis which had been treated only eight years before. He lists Miss Margaret Hallauer's Basle dissertation, which bears almost the very same title as his own, without saying a word as to the reasons which prompted him to do the work over again."

My answer is that Mr. Rudwin, as he admits, "*has not read the Swiss thesis and cannot tell whether or not it sufficiently covers the field.*" How is it possible to compare a work with another and state that the first repeats the contents of the second, when one has not read the second? The little book of Miss Hallauer (*Das wunderbare Element in den Chansons de geste*) is known to all those interested in the Middle Ages particularly in the Chansons de geste. I deemed it useless to refer to it at length. Indeed among the numerous letters which I have received from French and American scholars, none has incriminated me on that account. I thought I had explained my position as regards this and other German theses when I said (pp. 76 and 77) that a great manv German dissertations had cataloged different forms of supernatural in the Chansons de geste, but none of them had ever attempted to examine what *part or rôle* this supernatural plays, what *evolution* its action and presentations undergo as time advances and the public changes. As for Miss Hallauer's book (forty nine pages only) it is a classification, and classification only of *some* supernatural manifestations of the "Wunderbare Element" in the chansons de geste. She considers the plants, stones, weapons, automata, relics, fairies, magicians, animals, wonder of nature, healings, angels. For each topic she gives a few examples taken from the numerous chansons which she has considered. Her examplification is far from being exhaustive. She does not make the distinction which I strove to establish between Christian supernatural and marvellous and her definition of the "wunderbare" is taken from a XXth century book. She does not follow the evolu-

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tion of the "wunderbare" and offers no conclusions of any kind, for such was not her aim. She has no Index.

Mr. Rudwin also suggests that I would have found a far more fruitful field for my investigation had I carried it on in any other form of medieval literature. But he does not realize that it would take more than a lifetime and assuredly more than the few years devoted to researches for Ph. D. work to carry on such investigation in the wealth of medieval literature. The subject as it was seemed limited to a certain aspect, or rather to a distinct literary group. Indeed Mr. M. Wilmotte, when I saw him last summer, suggested that I might extend my investigations into the adjacent field of the *romans,* for he recognizes no limits between the *Chansons* and the *Romans.* But I cannot accept yet such a point of view; and the research that I continue at present only corroborates my thesis.

As to Mr. Rudwin's views on the "composition" of my book, I can answer only that it is a matter of taste. I cannot quite understand the reasons why the Definitions should be made part of the Introduction. This chapter is the original part of the book and one that must serve as a guide to subsequent chapters. It was my own humble contribution, I considered, to the subject. And if the Index is called Part V, in what will this affect the rest of the thesis?

Mr. Rudwin has indeed a few kind words for me and condescends to state that "Dr. Dickman's book is far above the average American thesis (sic) in the modern language field." Such palliatives are ineffective when a reviewer has first doubted the originality, I was going to say the honesty of a man's work.

ADOLPHE-JACQUES DICKMAN.

State University of Iowa.

[Dr. Rudwin writes that it had never been his intention to accuse Dr. Dickman of plagiarizing Miss Hallauer's book, but that he is still convinced that Dr. Dickman should have spoken of it at greater length.

—H. C. L.]

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UNE REPONSE

Je remercie M. Chinard d'avoir attiré mon attention sur les inexactitudes contenues dans mes notes. J'ai examiné celle qu'il visait surtout et j'ai pu y corriger une faute d'impression (interversion de chiffres). J'espère par là avoir libéré les lecteurs de ma seconde édition, si cette édition voit le jour, du sentiment de "défiance" éprouvé par M. Chinard devant mes références.

A son tour M. Chinard a mal lu mon texte. C'est à Swift, non à Collins, comme il me le fait dire, que Montesquieu a emprunté l'irrévérence de la lettre XXIV.

A propos de la lettre XCVII, on sera heureux d'apprendre que le principe fondamental de la gravitation, que j'attribuais à Newton, se trouve déjà, selon M. Chinard, dans Descartes, et que c'est là que Montesquieu l'a trouvé.

Je n'aurais pas cru que l'on pût hésiter sur les phrases de la lettre CIV, où je vois une influence directe de Locke. Que M. Chinard lise ou relise le *Gouvernement civil* de ce philosophe, surtout les objections qu'il dirige contre Hobbes, et il découvrira tout de suite ce qu'il y a de lockien dans le texte de Montesquieu (Barckh. I, 199, 20 et 30).

M. Chinard me plaisante agréablement sur le fait que le Régent a félicité Georges I de son avènement au trône d'Angleterre, fait que je cite, à côté de beaucoup d'autres, comme une preuve de l'anglomanie de Philippe d'Orléans. Il y voit un geste banal. Oublie-t-il dans quelles conditions l'électeur de Hanovre prenait la couronne d'Angleterre? Quelles étaient les traditions de la politique français à l'égard des Stuarts? Cela non plus je n'avais pas jugé utile de le rappeler. Mais je vois qu'il faut tout dire.

Je n'insisterai pas plus longtemps sur le genre d'objections que me fait M. Chinard. Elles ressemblent toutes à celles-là. Mon honorable contradicteur, c'est visible, n'aime ni la méthode ni les conclusions de mon livre. Il a une conception de l'histoire littéraire. J'en ai une autre. J'estime que l'historien de la littérature doit essayer de retrouver le sens des événements et d'en indiquer les conséquences. Je crois même que c'est là l'essentiel de sa tâche. M. Chinard est d'un avis opposé. Il affirme que j'apporte des préventions dans cette étude. On est toujours "prévenu" pour

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les gens qui ne sont pas de votre avis. Le tout est de savoir si j'ai appuyé mon interprétation sur de bonnes raisons, et de cela les lecteurs impartiaux de mon *Romantisme,* si j'ai la bonne fortune d'en trouver en Amérique, jugeront.

LOUIS REYNAUD.

Université de Clermont-Ferrand.

[Je constate avec regret que M. Reynaud ne répond pas aux objections que j'avais soulevées dans le compte-rendu de son ouvrage: *Le Romantisme, ses origines anglo-germaniques* (*M. L. N.* XLII, p. 188, March, 1927). Il triomphe de ce que ce serait à Swift et non à Collins, comme je le lui ai fait dire, que Montesquieu aurait emprunté "l'irrévérence de la lettre XXIV"; qu'il s'agisse de Swift ou de Collins, je n'en maintiendrai pas moins que les railleries de ce genre loin d'avoir une source anglaise étaient communes en France depuis un siècle et demi et que Montesquieu n'avait certainement besoin ni de Swift ni de Collins pour plaisanter, plus ou moins spirituellement, la Trinité et la transsubstantiation. A propos de la lettre XCVII, par contre, je n'ai jamais attribué à Descartes "le principe fondamental de la gravitation." J'ai simplement dit et je répète que les deux lois données par Montesquieu comme expliquant l'univers sont la deuxième loi de la nature et son corollaire, le 58e article de la troisième partie des *Principes de la philosophie.* Il y a là une question de fait et il suffit de se reporter au texte de Descartes, ce que M. Reynaud apparemment n'a pas encore fait. Quant à la lettre CIV, j'y vois une critique et une raillerie du système politique anglais, et c'est ce que la rend tellement intéressante, puisque Montesquieu devait changer totalement d'attitude à cet égard. Dans la reconnaissance de George I par le Régent, je vois une politique réaliste de conciliation, qui s'écarte de la politique de Louis XIV, mais que je ne saurais qualifier d'anglomane.

Si les objections que j'ai faites à M. Reynaud "ressemblent toutes à celles-là," je ne peux que remercier mon honorable contradicteur du compliment qu'il me fait et renvoyer à mon compte-rendu comme il renvoie à son livre. Je suis d'ailleurs entièrement d'accord avec lui sur l'object que doit se proposer l'histoire littéraire; mais nous différons sur les conclusions et l'interprétation.

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Où M. Reynaud affirme, je réserve mon jugement jusqu'à plus ample informé. Je soupçonne que ni l'irrévérence religieuse, ni l'esprit de libre examen, ni le naturisme, ne sont entièrement d'importation anglaise. Et en fait de méthode, je préfère sur ces questions encore fort obscures m'en tenir pour l'instant à la première règle de Descartes dont M. Reynaud ne rejettera pas sans doute l'autorité.—G. CHINARD.]

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REVIEWS

Five Hundred Years of Chaucer Criticism and Allusion, 1357-1900. By CAROLINE F. E. SPURGEON. 3 vols. (5 parts.) Pages cxliv + 504 + 288 + 152 + 109 + 153 + (Index) 87. Cambridge University Press, 1925. Price 50 s. net.

It is nearly forty years since Professor J. W. Bright, commenting on Dr. Furnivall's appeal for "somebody with access to a large library to compile 'The Praise of Chaucer,'" remarked that "a history of opinion relating to Chaucer as a poet, which would be made possible by such a collection of evidence, would constitute a novel and important adjunct to the history of English Poetry" (*MLN*, June 1889, IV, 359). For fourteen years Dr. Furnivall's appeal met with no response, but he was not easily discouraged, and in 1901 he succeeded in inducing a young scholar to undertake the task, which has now been happily accomplished. But I do not think that either Dr. Furnivall or Professor Bright, strongly as they felt the need of such a survey, can have had any clear vision of the manner in which the original plan would grow, in the capable hands of Miss Spurgeon, or of the range of interests and values which the completed task would possess.

The three stately volumes in which Miss Spurgeon's labors are incorporated are far more than a record of fluctuating opinion concerning Chaucer. Valuable as this is to Chaucer enthusiasts, it sinks to a subordinate position in the list of benefits. Professor Bright's prophecy that the survey would "constitute a novel and important adjunct to the history of English poetry" is more than fulfilled. It turns out that the Chaucerian material proves to be a magic touchstone not merely for the testing of individual taste and judgment, but for assaying the standards of taste and of scholarship of each successive generation of English readers and scholars for five hundred years.

It is easy now to see why this is true. Not only did Chaucer's genuine work vary greatly in subject matter, spirit, and quality, but from an early date there was confused with it a large mass of writing belonging to other pens and even to other times. Without the aid of Miss Spurgeon's book it is difficult even for the scholar familiar with the work of purgation accomplished in the nineteenth century to realize the number and range of the productions ascribed to Chaucer in the sixteenth century or the inadequacy of the ordinary instruments and methods of criticism to accomplish the task of separating the genuine from the spurious.

The history of the Chaucer canon illustrates even more strik-

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ingly than that of the Shakespeare canon the fact that when a body of mixed work is traditionally assigned to a certain author scholars and critics inevitably form their conception of that author's style on the basis of the mixed work and are henceforth incapable of distinguishing between the qualities of the genuine work and those of the spurious. Thus not only men of excellent taste, like Hazlitt and Leigh Hunt and Keats, accepted the *Court of Love* and the *Flower and the Leaf* as thoroughly representative of Chaucer, but even after technical scholarship had made the separation, a scholar like William Minto could continue to base his study of the characteristics of Chaucer's poetry upon the spurious poems, and a poet-critic like Sidney Lanier could declare: "Chaucer's poem *The Flower and the Leafe* . . . I do not hesitate to pronounce a far finer poem than any of the *Canterbury Tales*—in fact, to my thinking, worth all the *Canterbury Tales* put together."

On the other hand, it is encouraging to find that men of robuster mind—Dryden, Swift, William Blake, Walter Scott—instinctively preferred those genuine pieces upon which, as we now perceive, Chaucer's claims to greatness really rest.

The reasons why such diverse personalities as Abraham Cowley, Samuel Johnson, Lord Byron, Anna Seward and Sharon Turner "had no taste of him" would also furnish an instructive theme for meditation.

No one familiar with such collections as Miss Spurgeon's will be surprised to learn that some allusions to Chaucer have escaped her attention. I have noted a few and Professor Hyder Rollins has given me a considerable number from the seventeenth century, but no good purpose would be served by printing them here. Later it may be desirable to print a sort of appendix, but meanwhile it should be said that it is not at all likely that anything has been omitted that would in any respect alter the conclusions reached or the picture presented.

In one instance a bit of hasty translation hides a statement which may require investigation. John Bale wrote: "A Guilelmo Whyte atque alijs tunc uerbi ministris talia hausisse fertur, quod monachorum otia, missantium turbam ingentem, horas non intellectas, reliquias, ac ceremonias parum probauerit." This is very different from Miss Spurgeon's free version of it: "It is related by William White and other contemporary divines that Chaucer by no means approved of the idleness of that great crowd of mumblers, the monks," etc. The William White from whom Bale asserts that Chaucer drank draughts of true religion was probably that zealous Wiclifite who was burned at Norwich in 1428, but we have no other information of any connection between him and Chaucer; and Bale's next statement, that "Chaucer is said to have

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lived until 1450," may well justify the suspicion that he was not reporting records or traditions but guessing.

Although most of the contributions of American scholars to the elucidation of Chaucer's life and work come after 1900 and consequently lie beyond the range of Miss Spurgeon's survey, we may well be proud of the American record. James Russell Lowell wrote an essay that has become a classic; George P. Marsh in 1859 and 1862 expressed views which need scarcely any correction after the lapse of more than half a century; and Francis James Child not only made possible the foundation of the Chaucer Society, but by his correspondence with Bradshaw and Furnivall and above all by his essays on the language of Chaucer and Gower almost made it inevitable. That Mr. Child did not carry out the project of an edition of Chaucer, in which he and Charles Eliot Norton and A. H. Clough were so keenly interested in the early fifties, can only be a matter of vain regret. It is true, as Child said, that the time was not ripe for a definitive edition, but the time is not yet ripe for that, and there can be no question that if Mr. Child had annotated Chaucer as all his students know he could have done, future editors would have found little left to do in this field.

In general Miss Spurgeon seems to have known all the discussions pertinent to her task, but there is one very regrettable oversight. Her discussion of Deschamps' *Ballade*—the earliest literary allusion to Chaucer—would have been largely rewritten had she known the article by Professor T. A. Jenkins in *Mod. Lang Notes,* XXXIII, 268-78. Not only has Jenkins given a greatly improved text, he has accompanied it with a commentary far superior to any that preceded. In particular, his identification of *anglux* (Auglus) of l. 2, with Aulus Gellius emphasizes notably the esteem in which Deschamps held Chaucer for his learning and his skill in practical affairs; cf. the *Ballade* (III, 182): *Où est Auglas, le bon practicien?* Jenkins's reading in l. 31: *loënge d'escuirie* also removes a much discussed crux.

But these suggestions are not made in a spirit of carping. It would be difficult to find a large task executed with fewer blemishes or oversights.

Not the least interesting part of Miss Spurgeon's work is her full and suggestive discussion of the collected material from many points of view. The following headings will indicate the range of interest: 1. Outlines of the fluctuations of the literary reputation of Chaucer; 3. The various classes of qualities ascribed to him; 5. A note on some Chaucer lovers and workers of whom we get glimpses; 7. Birth and growth of criticism as an art; 8. The evolution of new senses; 9. The evolution of scholarship and accuracy in literary matters.

Finally the volumes are rich in reproductions of interesting and important pictures and pages of manuscripts.

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To the student of Chaucer the volumes are an indispensable tool; to the lover of literature who, like Dr. Johnson, cares most for the anecdotal they may safely be commended as even more fascinating than Nichols' *Anecdotes* or Disraeli's *Curiosities of Literature.*

JOHN M. MANLY.

University of Chicago.

Ben Jonson. Edited by C. H. HERFORD and PERCY SIMPSON. Volumes I and II, *The Man and his Work.* Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1925.

It is no credit to modern scholarship that Jonson, the most remarkable and perhaps the greatest of the Elizabethans next to Shakespeare, should have had to wait one hundred and ten years for editors courageous enough to undertake a new edition of his works. Nor can he yet rest easy, for who knows what may happen to prevent the completion of the task so well begun. Indeed, none of his works appear in the two volumes we have before us, which contain: A Life of Jonson, with four appendices (Contemporary Notes and Records; Letters; Legal and Official Documents; Books in Jonson's Library); separate Introductions to the plays (with various appendices discussing particular problems); Introductions to the *Masques* and *Entertainments,* the *Poems,* the *English Grammar,* and the *Discoveries.* There are eight illustrations, including several reproductions of designs by Inigo Jones. The amount of genuinely new material relative to Jonson's life is somewhat disappointing, though students should be grateful for the publication *in extenso* of various documents known to exist but hitherto printed only in part or not at all, and for the critical text of *Conversations.* Yet this collection of documentary material is not complete. "One collector in America, who owns an unprinted letter of Jonson, has refused to answer an inquiry about it; one collector in England has withheld a manuscript note of a contemporary of Jonson giving a new fact about his life" (I, VII). I regret that the editors did not think it proper to publish the names of these churls. Statements in the Preface indicate that Professor Herford is chiefly responsible for these two volumes. Mr. Simpson supplied some of the Appendices, and the results of his steady and systematic studies are of course utilized at every turn.

These volumes contain much of the best writing that has ever appeared on the subject of Jonson's character, his artistic genius, his methods, and the enduring value of his work., I hardly feel it an exaggeration to say that we are given as close an approach to a

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final judgment upon Jonson as we are likely ever to get. It is true that the general features of Jonson's character and writings are fairly obvious to any really competent observer, but never before has Jonson been interpreted with equal thoroughness and subtlety. Nowhere, in all that has been hitherto written about him, is there displayed an equal ripeness of scholarship, an equal balance and sanity of judgment. Every page exhibits the sympathetic understanding without which all criticism is vain, and, at the same time, a freedom from prejudices and exaggeration. Particularly admirable is the really profound analysis and criticism of Jonson as a dramatic artist (not merely as a practising dramatist) and as a portrayer of human nature.

Three chapters in the *Life* I found particularly interesting. In chapter IV, *Jonson's Society, 1603-12,* is brought out with force and clearness what must have been the remarkable personal attraction that Jonson had for so many persons of both sexes and of all ranks. Chapter VII, *The Last Phase: Jonson and his Friends,* is notable for its emphasis on the "refining and humanizing detail" that modifies the painful impression otherwise made by his last years. I quote in passing a sentence on *Discoveries* that embodies the conclusive answer of those who really understand this work to the unsympathetic criticism of it made by Castelain in his edition:

> But in a great proportion of these pregnant jottings we have to recognize, not the kind of laborious compilation from many sources which the successful hunting down of these sources is liable to suggest, but the spontaneous outflow of a brain charged with classical memories, and largely Latin in its stylistic instincts and proclivities (I, 104).

Nor can I forbear quoting a sentence than which a better or more profound has never been written about Jonson:

> A temperament of immense expansive and contagious force, a character of imposing weight, these demonic or titanic traits added apparent significance as well as real momentum to what he spoke or wrote, made his wit appear wittier, and his wisdom yet more wise (I, 106).

But these sentences are mere samples of a chapter replete with fine and just remarks, as is also the case with chapter VIII, *Final Appreciation,* from which I quote nothing, because the chapter should be quoted almost entire. If it has any defect, it lies in rating Jonson's creative achievement in drama just a shade lower than seems to me quite just. I wish that Professor Herford had seen fit to add to the *Life* a chapter, which he of all men would have been most competent to write, on Jonson's opinions, beliefs, prejudices, in which there should have been brought together his *obiter dicta* in plays, prefaces, poems, masques, and notes to masques.

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The Introductions to *Every Man in his Humour, Volpone,* and *The Sad Shepherd* seemed, as I read them, to merit particular praise. Extremely good is the Introduction to the *Poems,* which admirably discriminates the kinds of feeling that Jonson's poems contain and the sources in his character whence those feelings arose. In more than one of the Introductions, however, important topics are either passed over or else insufficiently developed. In regard to *Sejanus* and *Catiline* there is not recognized the fact that Jonson had all, or nearly all, of the qualities of a great historian; little is said about the sources of these plays as influencing their *structure* nor anything about the profound impression that they made, especially *Sejanus,* on other dramatists. (The suggestion in the Introduction to *Sejanus* that the play was written in rivalry of *Julius Caesar* is admirable, as are the inferences drawn from it.) So in the Introduction to the *Poems* I miss a discussion of the various stylistic features in Jonson's lyrical verse that made him, on the one hand, anticipate and help to form the Cavalier School, and on the other, have a strong influence in developing a style of plain and weighty expression in verse, antagonistic to the style of the Metaphysical School. In fact, all through these volumes the influence of Jonson is a topic insufficiently dealt with. Even so important a study as Schelling's *Ben Jonson and the Classical School* is mentioned only in a footnote in connection with the unusual number of caesural pauses in Jonson's verse (II, 412). But I take it that these volumes are designed to interpret to us "*The Man and his Work.*" Is not some light cast by the effect produced upon contemporaries by the man and the work? Certainly I, pp. 111-114, and II, pp. 409-413, though excellent in other respects, are inadequate from this point of view.

Of *The Devil is an Ass* Professor Herford says (I, 70):

> Such a decline [of genius], however, can hardly be ignored in *The Devil is an Ass,* which followed two years later; an experiment in the antiquated devilry which had once made *Dr. Faustus,* and which the author of *Every Man in his Humour* had begun his career by renouncing. The vein of comic invention here ran palpably thin.

To call this play an experiment in antiquated devilry is quite misleading, unless, what is not the case, a proper interpretation of the phrase is given. At least a cross-reference should be made to the Introduction in the second volume, telling the reader that there such an interpretation may be found. (It is a notable fault of these introductory volumes that they are markedly deficient in explanatory and referential footnotes.) It is, no doubt, somewhat a matter of opinion whether *The Devil is an Ass* shows a decline in genius (cf. II, 165) or merely exemplifies the principle that we cannot expect a writer, even during his mature period, always to maintain his previous level of achievement. Swinburne's ver-

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dict seems to me more sound, and I see nothing in the play that would justify surprise if Jonson had produced, say in 1618, a play equal to *Epicoene* or *Bartholomew Fair*. If we had of Jonson's work only his first three acknowledged dramas, would we not be saying that *Cynthia's Revels* shows a decline of genius? The only reason we do not is that we *know* from the later plays that no such decline took place. At any rate is it not strange that in the two years between *Bartholomew Fair* and *The Devil is an Ass* a noticeable decline should occur whereas during the ten years between the latter play and *The Staple of News* the decline should apparently be arrested?

The ten years that had passed since *The Devil is an Ass* had not in any degree withered or staled his powers; at fifty-three his vein was as rich as it had been at forty. *The Staple of News* was, beyond question, a greater and stronger drama than its immediate predecessor. *The Devil* is not without some marks of weariness; of the two, it prophesies far more obviously of the decadence which, almost on the morrow of *The Staple*, was to become disastrously clear. His record during the interim suggests flagging interest in the drama, but not decline of dramatic power.

In other words, at forty (or forty-one) Jonson wrote *Bartholomew Fair;* at fifty-three he wrote a play in as rich a vein; between forty and forty-two a noticeable decline occurred in dramatic power; but between forty-two and fifty-three we see flagging interest, but not decline; the play written at forty-two, betraying "a more than incipient decadence of constructive power," (II, 165) begins the decadence which is not apparent at fifty-three, but is apparent after that age. I confess myself bewildered.

Professor Herford takes the view (II, 237-45), advocated with equal force and acuteness of argument, that Jonson did not write the Additions to *The Spanish Tragedy*. He seeks to prove, not that Jonson *did* not write these Additions (this cannot be proved) but that he *could* not have written them, that the psychological processes, the modes of thinking and feeling, of which they are the outcome, were such as Jonson could not at any time or under any circumstances have entertained. I have not found myself convinced, and I may repeat a statement made many years ago, namely, that the problem is one that can be solved only by adducing the Jesuit doctrine of probable opinions. We have on the one side Symonds, an excellent critic; on the other stands Herford, a critic of equal excellence, if not equal versatility. As for myself, I wish to believe that Jonson wrote the Additions, and therefore I choose to follow Symonds.

In spite of the great critical excellence of the Introduction to the *Poems*, there are deductions to be made.

With regard to *Underwoods*, the editors say (II, 337):

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Some of these were no doubt collected by Jonson; but many must have been added by his editor Digby, who was doubtless also responsible for the arrangement—or confusion—of the whole, as well as for the revision of the printed text.

We are not told just how these conclusions are reached; they seem to me not quite in accord with the evidence: a) It is clear that Jonson had begun to collect his poems for publication, had selected the title 'Underwoods' for the collection, and had provided an explanation of the title; b) the poems are not arranged in exact chronological order, nor are they systematically grouped according to subject or form; c) but they are not in 'confusion,' for any *systematic* distribution into groups would be inconsistent with the general title of the collection (note the phrase 'promiscuously growing'), traces of an *unsystematic* distribution into subordinate groups are obvious (cf. *Anglia,* XXXVII, 492), and there are also traces of a semi-chronological order; d) the Folio text displays numerous variant readings that must be due to Jonson himself, and presumably to revision for publication (*ibid.,* 486 ff.). We are entitled, I think, to draw the following inferences: (a) That Digby found *Underwoods* largely arranged for publication among Jonson's papers; (b) That not merely some, but most of the poems were collected by Jonson; (c) That Digby probably did not in any great degree disturb the collection already formed; (d) That he probably placed his added poems at the end; (e) That this is the reason why the collection tails off in so lamentable a fashion; and, (f) That his additions perhaps begin with the *Elegy on Lady Pawlet* (*or* with *Eupheme*). These inferences are not presented as incontrovertible; it is admitted that they are somewhat vague. They have a degree of probability, however, and, in the absence of further knowledge, which we are not likely ever to gain, should guide us in any discussion of the text of *Underwoods.* (*Discoveries* is in much the same case as *Underwoods.* It likewise was partly arranged by Jonson for publication. It likewise tails off lamentably. The undisguised quotations from Heinsius with which it ends would almost certainly not have been included in their present form by Jonson. Our editors say of it (II, 439): "Jonson left behind him in manuscript a miscellaneous collection of notes, jottings, and miniature essays which were published in the 1640 Folio without any attempt to sort them out or group them." The implication is that Jonson had nothing to do with the arrangement. Yet the editors believe (II, 440) that Jonson "planned to publish a selection from his note-books," for they very properly accept the title of the collection as, "substantially at least" Jonson's own. But they do not remark that the title, like that of *Underwoods,* quite closely de-

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scribes just such an unsystematic arrangement as *Discoveries* actually exhibits.

The group of love poems called *Charis* is treated excellently with regard to their poetical quality, but unsatisfactorily in other respects. In the *Life* (I, 53), the explanation of their origin is found in what seems to be a cautiously guarded form of Fleay's theory, though Fleay is not mentioned and his extravagant inferences are avoided. *Charis* is probably "the unidentifiable lady" who played Venus in *The Hue and Cry after Cupid* in 1608; it is implied that most of the poems were written about that time, and it is stated that "fourteen or fifteen years later he wrote a proem to the series, still 'celebrating,' at fifty, her who 'shall make the old man young!" The account given in the Introduction to the *Poems* (II, 387 f.) is different, and seems to show some influence from Johnson's discussion in his edition of *The Devil is an Ass* (1905), though again Johnson is not alluded to. "With the completion of the first Folio Jonson's career as a poet of Love might seem to be closed. Yet few of his lyric verses had danced more eloquently from his pen than those which he devoted, a dozen years later, to the celebration of 'Charis'." No allusion is here made to the masque of 1608: Nos. 4 and 7 are separated from the main group and placed, as indeed external evidence unquestionably places them, before 1616 and 1619 respectively; no years are mentioned in connection with the 'main group,' except the "dozen years later" of the passage quoted. From the whole discussion the reader is justified in believing that the date and identification in the *Life* have been abandoned and that most of the poems are now placed much later. But how much later? A dozen years later than the publication of the Folio would bring us to c. 1628; a dozen years later than the time when Jonson had, the editors think, begun to prepare the Folio would give us c. 1624; the fifty years of *Charis* would give us 1622; Johnson's date for most of *Charis* is 1622-3.

Whalley noticed that *Underwoods* lviii was printed in the 1669 edition of Donne, and Gifford pointed out that it had been already printed in the 1633 edition, but no attempt was made to deprive Jonson of the authorship. Fleay (*Biog. Chron.*, I, 328) asserted that the group of four elegies, nos. lvii-lx, was by Donne, but gave no reasons. Chambers and Grierson, accepting *Underwoods* lviii as Donne's as a matter of course, apparently paid no attention to the other poems of the group. The present editors, like Fleay, deprive Jonson of all four and assign them to Donne; they justify this action (II, 384; cf. 388) by a discussion of the style of the elegies, which, they say, reveals mental processes different from Jonson's. To me, on the other hand, the style does not suggest Donne's authorship, but rather that of an imitator, and I

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am confident that at times I can detect the genuine accents of Jonson. Besides these 'subjective' arguments, at present somewhat out of fashion, there are one or two important bits of quasi-objective evidence that Professor Herford has apparently overlooked. It was pointed out some years ago (*Mod. Phil.*, xv, 289 f.) that *Underwoods* lvii borrows a considerable amount of material from several passages in Seneca's *De Clementia*. In other words, the writer of the elegy, praying that his mistress forgive his fault, takes a number of his ideas from a treatise on pity and forgiveness by a Stoic philosopher. This fact is strongly in favor of Jonson's authorship, because he is constantly borrowing from the ancients, because he was specially fond of Seneca, and because he was just the kind of man to do just this kind of thing. But Donne? Would not the proceeding be quite out of character? In *Underwoods* lviii (the piece occurring in Donne's poems) we have borrowings from Catullus, Seneca, and Ovid, and, not improbably, reminiscences of Tibullus and Propertius. *Underwoods* lix is an elaborate development of the amoristic commonplace, already prominent in Tibullus and Propertius, that the lover, even if favored by his mistress, must conceal his love and act as though he were not in love; moreover, in this same elegy occur two lines,

> They looke at best like Creame-bowles, and you soone
> Shall find their depth; they're sounded with a spoone,

which are closely paralleled in Discoveries:

> You may sound these wits and find the depth of them with your middle finger. They are cream bowl-, or but puddle-deep (ed. Schelling, p. 25).

That one of these elegies should be ascribed to Donne is in no way surprising, partly because they are all somewhat in his style (I cannot accept any stronger statement), and partly because, as everybody knows, such transferences of authorship were then common, even in the absence of similarity of style. The very fact that these poems are in *Underwoods* is itself weighty, for it cannot be too much emphasized that the canon of *Underwoods* has never been proved untrustworthy. The problem of the canon is one that the editors have nowhere properly grappled with, and they seem to have followed Gifford's lead in assuming the untrustworthiness of the Folio without due consideration.

There are less important points with regard to which mistakes or oversights have been committed, and a number of them may be briefly mentioned. It is no longer necessary to discuss seriously (I, 34, n.) the *supposed* claim of Samuel Sheppard to a share of some kind in the composition of *Sejanus*. Sheppard made no such claim.

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The statement (I, 54) that "Overbury charged" Jonson "with intending an unlawful suit" to Lady Rutland seems to me mistaken, since I have always read the corresponding passages in *Conversations* (I, 138) differently. If we take it as meaning that Overbury was in love with the countess and desired Jonson to further his suit to her, whereupon Jonson quarrelled with him, the perplexity complained of in the note, I, 163, vanishes. Such is the natural interpretation of the passage and I find it is apparently made by Rimbault in his edition of Overbury (xxxii-xxxiii) and certainly by Sidney Lee (D. N. B., *s. v.* Overbury). Cannot a man "intend" another man's suit? Lee, by the way, adds details which *Conversations* does not warrant.

I do not quite understand what is meant by the statement (I, 115) that the chorus in *Catiline* is an actor in the play. Is not Gifford's remark that the chorus is "spoken by no one and addressed to no one" nearer the truth?

The assertion (I, 61, cf. II, 374) that Epigrams CXV and CXXIX are on Inigo Jones is based on an unwarranted identification, unless evidence is reserved for the notes). It may be said (I, 66) that no one has ever drawn a conclusion "as to the grounds of his previous abandonment of Protestantism or of his recent return to it" from the *mere* fact that Jonson heard Featley's disputation and "certified the accuracy of a report" of it. The statement (I, 73; cf. II, 339) that Jonson wrote an epic on Proserpine is not correct. The "most systematic comparison of the two texts" of *Every Man in his Humour* (I, 358, note) is that of Carter, in his edition of 1921. It was Cunningham who first pointed out that Jonson "dated the year from January to December" (I, 394, note 1). The character of Crites in *Cynthia's Revels* should be interpreted from the point of view of the Stoic *sapiens* (I, 411). It is, to say the least, extremely doubtful whether Swinburne is correct in regarding the passage from Chapman quoted II, 5, as a "direct protest against the principle of monarchy" (and, if it is not so to be interpreted, one of the two arguments advanced for Chapman as the 'second pen' in *Sejanus* loses its force).

This review may conclude with a pregnant sentence from *Discoveries:* "If in some things I dissent from others, whose wit, industry, diligence, and judgment, I look up at and admire, let me not therefore hear presently of ingratitude and rashness."

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Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Europäischen (Germanischen, Romanischen und Slavischen) Wörter Orientalischen Ursprungs. Von KARL LOKOTSCH. (Indogerm. Bibliothek, hrsg. v. H. Hirt u. W. Streitberg †. Erste Abteilung. II. Reihe: Wörterbücher. 3. Bd.) Heidelberg, C. Winter, 1927. xvii + 243 pp., roy. 8°. M. 13.

Having made his debut, as it were, not long ago with an Etymological Dictionary of American (Indian) words received into German, the author now has ventured upon the more comprehensive and more difficult task of compiling an Etymological Dictionary of words of Oriental origin found in the leading Modern European languages. On 174 large size pages 2235 Oriental words are recorded in alphabetical order, accompanied by the corresponding European words. The rest of the book consists largely of indices: a brief 'Sach- und Namenverzeichnis' of but two pages, followed by copious word indices to the various languages (or most of the languages) referred to in the etymological portion of the dictionary.

Concerning the scope of the work the author states in the preface (p. vii): "Gewöhnlich wird ein orientalischer Abkömmling nicht gleichzeitig in alle europäischen Sprachen aufgenommen, vielmehr von einer Einzelsprache ihrem nationalen Lautbestande angeglichen und so an die Nachbarsprachen weitergegeben. Im Altertum sind es natürlich vorwiegend das Griechische und Lateinische, die diese Durchgangsstation bilden. Ich konnte mir nicht die Aufgabe stellen, alle griechischen und lateinischen Wörter, die seit den ältesten Zeiten jemals dem Orient entlehnt wurden, aufzuzählen; vielmehr sind nur diejenigen Wörter hier verfolgt worden, die in den modernen in Europa gesprochenen Sprachen des indogermanischen Sprachstammes, nämlich in den romanischen, germanischen und slavischen Sprachen, lebendig sind." Persons, then, consulting this Etymological Dictionary in the case of Oriental words occurring, *e. g.*, in Middle High German or Old French authors or in Latin or Greek are likely to be disappointed unless the words they are interested in happen to survive in present day usage. Nor would we advise them to feel safe with regard to words of the latter description. To choose a few examples at random, they will find the information they desire in the case, *e. g.*, of *camel, jackal, jungle,* not, however, in that of *elephant, panther, leopard, tiger.*

The preface is followed by a list of abbreviations, part of which ("Bücher und Zeitschriften," pp. xiii-xvi) must serve at the same time as a bibliographical list. It might have been added to, conveniently, without increasing the size of the work, considering that

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part of p. xvii and the whole of p. xviii, remain empty. I would suggest the addition, *e. g.*, of H. Lewy's monograph *Semitische Fremdwörter im Griechischen* (Berlin, 1895), of O. Schrader's *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte.* (3. ed. in two vols., Jena, 1906-1907; note in the first vol. the appendix to ch. III: 'Über die Erforschung der Lehnwörter in den indog. Sprachen,' pp. 76-84, and the special chapter 'Das Lehnwort," pp. 191-199); and the well-known Etymological Dictionaries of Prellwitz, Boisacq, Walde, Feist, Skeat, Weekley. As regards Modern German, the author seems to have concentrated his attention on Kluge's *Etymological Dictionary,* whereas the new edition (by Hirt and others) of Weigand's *Deutsches Wörterbuch* (5th ed., in 2 vols., Giessen, 1909-10) conveys in many instances more detailed information.

If the material on hand had to be cut short somewhere we should have advised rather to omit words loaned from Turkish by one or several of the Balkan languages after the Turks had occupied part of Eastern Europe, and also words loaned from Arabic by Spaniards or Portuguese at the time when the Southern part of Spain was held by the Moors. As it is, the dictionary seems somewhat over-stuffed with Turkish and Arabic words which can hardly claim to be of general interest.

Waiving, however, the question as to the advisability of modifying the general plan and scope of the work, we feel that the author is entitled in any case to much credit for what he has accomplished. Not satisfied with compiling from dictionaries, monographs and periodicals a bare list of Oriental words with their European equivalents he has added an ample amount of bibliographical references as well as of interesting and useful information gathered from many sources. He has made, moreover, an earnest endeavor to contribute on his part to the advancement of etymological research.

While in a work of this kind we naturally must expect to find not a few doubtful etymologies, instances are comparatively rare in which we could say that the explanation given by the author is open to criticism. I would reckon here, *e. g.*, his comment (nr. 1817) on the term "Sanskrit." The word, no doubt, is derived from the root *kṛ* 'to make' and belongs more particularly to the compound verb *saṁs-kṛ* 'to prepare, adorn' etc.[1] Scholars, moreover, are at present agreed in holding that the term *saṁskṛtam* was meant in contradistinction to *prākṛtam*, the latter (based on *prakṛti* 'nature') being the name of the vernacular dialects. To this extent Dr. Lokotsch is correct. The question, however,

[1] Instead of giving a reference for the use of *saṁs-kṛ* in the meaning of 'gut oder genügend kochen' the author might have referred, e. g., to A. A. Macdonell's *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* s. v. *kṛ* or Ch. R. Lanman's article 'Sanskrit language' in *Johnson's Universal Cyclopædia*, vol. 7.

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remains as to the exact meaning of the term *saṁskṛtam*. In the opinion of Bopp and his contemporaries the word was chosen to designate Sanskrit as the 'perfect' language. The pioneers in the field of comparative philology were ready to confer this epithet of distinction on a language which to them appeared exceptionally helpful for the study of linguistics. This view seems to be responsible for the author's interpretation of *saṁskṛta bhāṣā* as "vollkommene Sprache," whereas the term obviously was meant to distinguish the literary language as a 'refined' or 'polished' or 'elaborate' form of speech from the low vernaculars. Instead of quoting "Hobson-Jobson," the author should have referred for additional information to articles like O. Franke, "Was ist Sanskrit," Bezz. Beitr. 17 (1891), pp. 54-90, or Walter Petersen, "Vedic, Sanskrit and Prakrit," JAOS. 32 (1912), pp. 414-428.

The work is dedicated to the Nestor of German Orientalists, Professor Theodor Nöldeke, at the occasion of his ninetieth birthday on March 2nd, 1926.

HERMANN COLLITZ.

La Formation de la Doctrine Classique en France. Par RENÉ BRAY. Paris, Hachette, 1927. 389 pp.

La Tragédie cornélienne devant la critique classique d'après la querelle de Sophonisbe (1663). Par RENÉ BRAY. Paris, Hachette, 1927. 60 pp.

French classicism can be understood only by studying both the fiction and the theory of the period in which it flourished. Though the first is more important, the second is of value both in explaining literary productions and in constituting a chapter in the history of criticism. The Italian back-ground, certain French critics and theories had been studied, but no one had treated as a whole the development of classical doctrine in France. M. Bray's two dissertations consequently represent a highly creditable undertaking.

In the larger work he distinguishes three periods: (1) the second half of the sixteenth century, when a somewhat undiscriminating imitation of the ancients was preached, but no body of doctrine was formulated; (2) the period from 1600 to 1660, in which Chapelain, La Ménardière, d'Aubignac, and Corneille are the chief theorists and the classical principles are clearly laid down; (3) the period after 1660, dominated by Boileau, who accepted the doctrine of his predecessors, but differed from them by placing his emphasis upon taste. The second is, from the stand-

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point of doctrine, by far the most important of the three and consequently the one to which M. Bray chiefly devotes himself. He finds that Malherbe, while most influential in diction and versification, served the theorists not so much by contributing rules as by walling off the sixteenth century with its obedience to Ronsard from the seventeenth. Chapelain and his contemporaries drew their rules, as is well known, chiefly from the Italian interpreters or misinterpreters of Aristotle, but they gave them greater precision, emphasizing the rational as well as the traditional justification for them, and assisted in their application to works of greater value than those produced under similar tutelage in Italy. M. Bray discusses theories concerning the aims of poetry, the rôle to be assigned to genius, art, and science, the imitation of nature and of the ancients, *vraisemblance, les bienséances, le merveilleux,* the unities, the distinction of *genres,* etc. As he possesses to a high degree the classical virtues of clarity and orderliness, his work is most serviceable. The few errors I have found in it do not diminish to any considerable degree its general excellence.

In demonstrating (p. 17) the loss of reputation sustained by Ronsard during the seventeenth century M. B. might well have referred to the ridiculous poet of Desmarets's *Visionnaires.* M. B. infers from Castelvetro's remarks about time that he favored the unity of place (pp. 258, 259), but he does not quote the convincing passage in which the Italian critic limits it

> non solamente ad vna citta, o villa, o campagna, o simile sito, ma anchora a quella vista, che sola puo apparere a gli occhi d'vna persona . . . ella [la tragedia] non rappresentare attione auenuta se non in vn luogo, & in termine di dodici hore.[1]

Chapelain's letter of Nov. 30, 1630, concerning the unity of time may have been "retentissante" (p. 266), but I should like some other proof of it than the fact that it was not published for two and a half centuries. Mairet's *Virginie* is not the first tragi-comedy to observe the unities (p. 269), for they had already been followed by Du Ryer in his *Alcimédon* and, for the unity of time, by Corneille in *Clitandre.* To say that Dalibray in the preface to his *Pompe funèbre* (1634) was the first to formulate in France "dans toute sa brièveté la règle des trois unités" (p. 276) is to forget the prefaces of Mareschal (1630) and Isnard (1631), with both of which M. B. is familiar. The statement that "les genres mixtes disparaissent vers 1640" (p. 305) is misleading, for the pastoral had practically disappeared five or six years before and more tragi-comedies than tragedies were produced in 1640-1641.

[1] *Poetica d'Aristotele vulgarizzata et sposta,* Basilea, 1576, p. 535. The passage seems to have inspired one quoted from Ménage by M. B. (p. 283).

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The *genre* began to decline only after these years, but a number of tragi-comedies were still written some fifteen years later.

The subordinate dissertation is an interesting study of the altercation between Corneille, d'Aubignac and de Visé over the former's *Sophonisbe, Sertorius,* and *Œdipe.* It is, perhaps, too much to say that this dispute was as important as the quarrel over the *Cid,* but it was valuable as showing clearly the difference between Corneille's theories and those of d'Aubignac. Both were convinced classicists, but Corneille was more independent in his interpretation of the doctrine, while d'Aubignac in arguing for the *vraisemblable* rather than the *vrai,* for stricter observance of the unities, the emphasizing of character rather than events, love rather than other emotions, prepared the way for the tragedy of Racine.

H. Carrington Lancaster.

Les Comédiens français en Hollande au XVII^e^ et au XVIII^e^ siècles. Par J. Fransen. Paris, Champion, 1925. iv + 472 pp.

To anyone interested in the study of unpublished documents concerned with French actors this dissertation is a delight. Dr. Fransen has examined with great care and discrimination the municipal archives of Amsterdam, the Hague, five other Dutch cities, Brussels, Paris, and Rouen, and notarial documents in Paris and Bordeaux. He has studied these in the light of what was already known concerning the movements of French strolling players and has written their history in Holland from 1605 to 1789. One cannot read his book without learning much about life at the Dutch court and in Dutch towns, the kindly reception accorded French players by the princes, the opposition of the Calvinistic church, the general interest taken in French culture and language in the Low Countries. He has been able at the same time to add to our knowledge of French plays by his discovery of leases of the Hôtel de Bourgogne to several French troupes, documents that display the signatures of the dramatist, Alexandre Hardy, and of many actors, including Bellerose and—to adopt the player's own spelling—Montdory. No one can now make a thorough study of the French drama in these two centuries without using this book, which is, moreover, by its form, its numerous illustrations, and its facsimiles of signatures an attractive volume for others than specialists in dramatic matters.

The only fault I have to find is that the author in a very few

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cases fails to show the same knowledge of plays that he does of players. *Alboni* (p. 10) must be a misprint for *Albouin*. In spite of Beauchamps's statement to that effect, Beys's *Hôpital des fous* is not an imitation of "la pièce italienne *Hospitale de Pazzi*" (p. 70) for the excellent reason that there is no evidence to show that any such Italian play ever existed. Beauchamps probably had in mind Garzoni's *Hospidale de' Pazzi* (Venice, 1589), which is not a play and had no influence of any consequence upon Beys. A more serious blunder is the acceptance (p. 62) of M. Dorchain's date, 1625, for *Mélite*, although M. Fransen himself proves that Mondory's troupe, to whom, according to M. Dorchain and many others, Corneille gave it, was not formed at Paris until about 1630.[1] These are, however, very pardonable slips in a book that makes such a substantial contribution to dramatic history. The article that the author promises, *Documents inédits sur l'Hôtel de Bourgogne*, will be awaited with interest by all who have read M. Fransen's dissertation.

H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER.

The Character of King Arthur in English Literature. Door Dr. E. VAN DER VEN—TEN BENSEL. H. J. Paris, Amsterdam, 1925. f. 3.75.

This book suffers from the failure of the author to define accurately her aim. It purports to be a study of the character of King Arthur in English literature, but it is in large measure concerned with the origin of the legends about Arthur and their handling by early writers, Latin, Welsh, French, and German, as well as English. The latter part which does deal with the character of Arthur as treated by the later English writers, does so from the points of view of "the time when the literary work in which the character

[1] M. Dorchain's arguments are expressed in his preface to Lyonnet, *les Premières de Corneille*, Paris, Delagrave, 1923, and in *La Première de Mélite*, Rouen, Lafné, 1925. He relies upon Fontenelle without realizing his obvious inaccuracy and answers none of the arguments advanced long ago by Dannheisser (*RF*, v (1890), 42, 43, Rigal (*le Théâtre fr. avant la période classique*, Paris, Hachette, 1901, pp. 71-74), Marsan (preface to his edition of Mairet's *Sylvie*), and myself (*MLN*, 1915, pp. 1-3). To these the reader is referred, for my space does not allow me to give here a complete refutation of the hypothesis. One example will, however, suffice. Many scholars, including M. Dorchain, believe that *Mélite* followed Mairet's *Silvanire*. M. Dorchain dates the latter play 1625, but Mairet tells us that it is derived from d'Urfé's play of the same name and from an episode in the fourth part of the *Astrée*, both of which were published in 1627. How then can *Mélite* have been acted in 1625? As a matter of fact, the proper date of its first performance is early in 1630.

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appears, was composed, and the abilities of its author, especially with reference to his power of delineating character." The work thus divides into two distinct parts and of these the one implied by its title is the subordinate one.

Dr. Ten Bensel first examines in a somewhat cursory fashion the evidence for an historical Arthur, and then decides, following John Rhŷs, that many of the elements of the story can be explained only on the supposition that with this historical Arthur has been confused a culture hero of a similar name. We have recently been told (*Transactions of the . . . Cymmrodorion* for 1914-1915, p. 224) that Rhŷs upon more mature consideration abandoned this earlier theory, but Dr. Ten Bensel goes much further than Rhŷs ever did, for she believes that the romances may be interpreted from parallels in the folk-lore and practices of any nation, and her own contribution to the subject consists of adducing certain customs which she has observed in Teutonic countries. She explains Chrétien's strange device of letting Lancelot mount a tumbrel as a degraded version of the sun-god or sun-hero driving his cart because, "in Greek mythology the sun-god drives in a chariot, and Cuchulain in Irish mythology usually fights from a chariot as Dr. E. Krause remarks. . . . In Krause there is indeed a remarkable picture of the Egyptian sun-god with a wheel. In this connection it is interesting to call to mind the present day custom in some parts of Germany to roll burning wheels down hill in midsummer." But some of the parallels are by no means so definite as this—for example the following which must be left just as the author wrote it lest a summary misrepresent it.

Another fairy-tale also offers a curious analogy with Chrétien's version of the legend. "In dem Hanauischen Märchen vom Glasberg (Gebr. Grimm Hausmärchen Bd. III Nr. 25) sammelt der junge Gesell alle Knöchelchen eines Hühnchens und macht daraus eine Leiter um den Berg zu ersteigen. Oben aber fehlt eine Sprosse, und er musz sich den kleinen Finger abschneiden, um zum Gipfel zu kommen um die Prinzessin erlösen zu können." ibid., p. 137. This certainly reminds us of Lancelot breaking away the bars of Guinevere's window and wounding himself so badly that drops of blood are found in the queen's chamber. This resemblance becomes more striking, when we consider that this barred window was the only access for Lancelot to the queen's chamber and when we read of this barred window in another connection. W. Pastor speaks of "Tanzbergen", "Wallburgen" on which solar rites were performed in the form of dances, and continues: "Von einem der bekanntesten norddeutschen Tanzberge, dem bei Jüterbog, berichtet eine Mitteilung aus dem 16. Jahrhundert . . . es habe in heidnischer Zeit dort ein Tempelchen gestanden, in welchem sie die Göttin der Morgenröte anbeteten. Das Tempelchen habe kein Fenster gehabt, sondern nur ein rundes Loch mit einem eisernen Gitter verwehrt, gegen morgen, und zwar genau gegen Sonnenaufgang zur Nachtgleiche."

It seems improbable that even ardent upholders of the mythological theory will be convinced by parallels like this. Much light

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may undoubtedly be thrown upon the question of Arthurian origins by the trained folk-lorist, but the matter is not so simple as Dr. Ten Bensel would have us believe.

Her conclusions from evidence such as this are that Krause was right in seeing in the story of Guinevere the "Befreiung einer göttlichen Jungfrau aus einer Trojaburg oder einem Labyrinth"; that "the primitive nations [die Urgermanen] built these labyrinths or Troy-towns in imitation of and to a certain extent to get power over the course of the sun which they worshipped at the same time"; that these Troy-towns are "responsible for the fabled descent of many nations from the Trojans and for the frequent occurrence of the name Troy for old towns." Chrétien, whose Troyes perhaps represents an ancient Trojaburg, has preserved its legend in his country "dont nul estrange ne retorne." His Kingdom of Gorre and Île de Verre, like the Welsh Ynys Witryn and the English Glastonbury, represent another type of structure devoted to sun worship—the Wallburg "mit im Feuer verglasten Wänden." Guinevere, like another Brünnhilde, is the sun-maiden captured by the powers of darkness and held prisoner in the Wallburg until she is released by the culture hero. Dr. Ten Bensel's identification of Mordred with the powers of darkness is made easier—for her—by applying to him the Welsh triad referring to the ugliness of Morvran ap Tegid, a very different person, but Celtic names convey little meaning to her.

Of the second part of the study, that dealing with the character of Arthur in later English literature, it is hardly an exaggeration to say that she has added nothing to our knowledge of the subject. She has, it is true, read the works she discusses and she gives extracts from them and summaries of the king's character. Sometimes this is very well done but there is little in them that the intelligent reader could not gather for himself. Many authors important in the development of the theme are omitted entirely: the works of Blackmore and Heber were not, she regrets, accessible to her, and the equally important *Arthur* of Richard Hole is not even mentioned, probably because neither Maccallum nor Maynadier, her guides for this part of the work, mentions it. Recent works on King Arthur she ignores entirely; J. Comyns Carr's *King Arthur,* Henry Newbold's *Mordred,* Richard Hovey's series of plays, R. R. Buckley's *Arthur of Britain,* E. A. Robinson's *Lancelot,* Laurence Binyon's *Arthur,* Francis Coutts' *Romance of King Arthur,* and Arthur Dillon's *King Arthur Pendragon,* to mention only a few of the most important, had all appeared in time to be included in this study, but for her Arthurian literature apparently stops with Tennyson.

One must not, of course, overlook the difficulties under which the work was written. The author is using a language in which

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she is not perfectly at home, as her deviations from English idiom indicate, and occasionally (for example on p. 132, l. 11, and p. 141, l. 28) she seems to say exactly the opposite of what she means. She is handicapped, too, by her ignorance of Celtic which forces her to seek for her parallels among the Slavs and Teutons rather than where these parallels would be most significant. Finally she has done her work in a library lacking many of the books she needs, and with no adequate bibliographical guides to recent English and American literature. But while these things may to some degree excuse the author for her shortcomings they also raise the question whether there is justification for publishing a work so far from satisfactory, especially when the work has already been better done by others.

JOHN J. PARRY.

University of Illinois.

Antología de la Literatura Española. Por J. HURTADO y A. G. PALENCIA. Madrid, 1926. vi + 586 pp.

Con un texto castellano del siglo XII y no con unas sentencias de Séneca en latín debiera principiar esta Antología. Es un poco absurdo pretender que nuestra literatura sea más antigua que nuestra lengua. Escritores españoles son solo aquellos que escriben en español. Sobran por lo tanto las traducciones en una "selección de clásicos castellanos." Las omisiones no son muchas, pero pueden señalarse algunas graves en el siglo XIX: Clarín, la Pardo Bazán y Palacio Valdés entre las más chocantes. De obras como la *Celestina* y el *Lazarillo* se transcribe página y media. Espronceda en cambio ocupa once. La desproporción salta a la vista. Los contemporáneos tienen pobre y mala representación. Es difícil juzgarlos ahora pero hay que creer que por mucho que la posteridad enmiende nuestros juicios siempre quedarán como valores positivos—o negativos—en la lírica Machado, Baroja en la novela, Benavente en el teatro, Ortega en el ensayo, Azorín en la crítica y Unamuno en todo. Cualquiera de los nombres elegidos caerá en el olvido antes que éstos. La selección poética está en general hecha con más acierto, lo cual no quiere decir que sea perfecta. Resulta impropio por ejemplo que Gallardo, Fernández y González, Milá, Ganivet y los Quintero, figuren solo como líricos. No obstante los reparos puestos, la *Antología* de los señores H. y G. P., nutrida, metódica, erudita y amena, merece recomendarse como excelente complemento de su *Historia de la Literatura,* ya reseñada en el tomo XLI, núm. 7, de esta revista.

JOSÉ ROBLES.

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Early Tudor Drama. A. W. REED. London, Methuen, 1926. 246 pages.

Since the discovery of Henry Medwall's lost play, *Fulgens and Lucres,* the history of Tudor drama has needed revision. In his recent *Early Tudor Drama,* Dr. A. W. Reed has collected in one volume the facts about the chief writers of drama in the early Tudor period. Much that is known about dramatic conditions in this period we owe to Dr. Reed's painstaking research, the results of which he had made available by periodical publication before the appearance of *The Early Tudor Drama.* The book, however, is not an orderly presentation of the development of English drama, up to Elizabeth, as the title might indicate, but is chiefly concerned with the lives and works of the early playwrights, particularly those connected with the household or circle of Sir Thomas More: the Rastells, John Heywood, and Henry Medwall. In fact, Dr. Reed presents More as the central influence and stimulater of the young writers around him.

As interesting and as new as are the general facts about the Rastells presented by Dr. Reed, students of the drama will be disappointed that so little new information regarding their connection with the drama is set forth. John Rastell's stage in Finsbury Fields also remains buried in intriguing obscurity.

Perhaps Dr. Reed's most valuable contribution to dramatic history lies in his efforts to establish the canon of John Heywood's plays. He corrects a Collier myth which led Professor C. W. Wallace to assign *The Four PP., The Pardonere and the Frere,* and *Johan Johan* to William Cornyshe. Dr. Reed shows that six of the plays commonly assigned to Heywood fall into two trilogies, represented by *The Play of Love* and *The Four PP.,* trilogies which are unlike in tone and spirit. He argues skillfully that *The Four PP.* trilogy was probably written under the influence of More, an influence which was responsible for the dissimilarity in the tone of the *Love* and the *Four PP.* trilogies. Incidentally, a fresh conception of the lighter side of More's character is presented. Although not conclusive, the arguments for Heywood's authorship of *The Four PP., The Pardonere and the Frere,* and *Johan Johan* show keen critical judgment which cannot be easily put aside.

Dr. Reed rejects the generally unaccepted hypothesis of Professor Wallace that Cornyshe was the author of *Gentleness and Nobility, The Four Elements,* and *Calisto and Meliboea.* The two former plays he assigns definitely to John Rastell; the latter, he also tentatively assigns to Rastell.

Dr. Reed, who with Professor F. S. Boas, recently edited Medwall's *Fulgens and Lucres,* properly evaluates this play as one of

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the earliest and most significant of English secular dramas. Medwall he redeems from the ignominy to which Professor Wallace assigns him, and rightly places him at the head of the procession of early Tudor playwrights.

Much of the material in *The Early Tudor Drama* has little connection with drama, but the facts presented give valuable insights into the lives and times of the men who were making dramatic history. Especially worthwhile is the chapter on the regulation of the book trade before the proclamation of 1538. It is unfortunate that a book containing so much valuable material for the student of early drama should be so clumsy in its bibliographical apparatus. A comprehensive bibliography in an appendix would have been of great service to laborers in the same field.

University of North Carolina. LOUIS B. WRIGHT.

Die Englischen Kalenderstäbe, von Prof. Dr. E. SCHNIPPEL. *Beiträge zur englischen Philologie,* Heft V. Leipzig, Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1926. M. 5.

Professor Schnippel, already known as an authority on folk-calendars through earlier treatises, now gives us the first exhaustive and authoritative study of the folk-calendars of post-medieval England, the so-called Clog Almanacs. Not that he is the first worker in the field. The sticks or clogs in question were briefly described by R. Verstegan in 1634, and Robert Plot in 1686 published a study of the matter so good that Mr. Schnippel describes it as "for that day a truly classical piece of work." Other workers in the field have been Richard Gouch (1778), Llewellyn Jewitt (1865 ff.) and, last but not least, J. Barnard Davis (1867). None of these students of the old school, however, had the technical equipment and the scientific training necessary for truly authoritative work, and their treatises have an amateurish flavor. Mr. Schnippel, on the contrary, is a philologist and folklorist trained in scientific method, and he has given us an admirable study. After a survey of what is already in print on the subject, he lists the surviving "clogs" and gives some account of the history of the name and the distribution of the thing. Next comes a minute description of the clogs, and a comparison of their calendar with the church calendar. This leads to a systematic presentation of the calendar, by months and feast-days. The author concludes with his *ergebnisse* (pp. 88 ff.), from which I quote the following: *und so zeigen denn auch die Clogs ein deutliches und lehrreiches Bild des allmählich entstandenen, im Volke noch lebendig gebliebenen alten [Kirchen]-kalenders.* By way of appendix we are given some convenient tables and eight photographic plates of specific 'clogs." An interesting and instructive book.

KEMP MALONE.

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Répertoire Général des Ouvrages Modernes Relatifs au Dix-Huitième Siècle Français (1715-1789). By Vicomte Charles du Peloux. Paris: Ernest Grund, 1926. 306 pp.

The author well deserves the gratitude of "ceux qui, par goût ou par nécessité veulent étudier le XVIII^e siècle français sous l'un quelconque de ses aspects." Undertaking to list "tous les ouvrages de quelque valeur propre ou documentaire," he has drawn up an alphabetical list, by names of authors, of the writings dealings with the period 1715-1789, published since 1789, as well as the more important editions of works of this period. The first 264 pages are devoted to this list. On page 265 are mentioned the principal *mémoires* and *correspondances* of the XVIII^th century. Pages 266-300 are taken up by a useful index, wherein are named the chief literary figures of the eighteenth century, concerning whom studies have been published, together with names of the authors of the studies. By means of this system of reference the user may quickly find the notation of all the writings devoted to a certain man of letters of the period. The book is invaluable for a student of the eighteenth century, and will save him many hours of searching. While one can not but welcome the work, one must regret that it is not more complete. In the *avertissement* the author requests to be informed of errors and omissions and at the end of the book a leaf of *errata et addenda* has already been added. The question may well be asked if the author has paid enough attention to the scholarship of nations other than France. In fact in the list of abbreviations (pp. 301-305) American scholars will be surprised to note no mention of any of the standard American research journals. If the author had taken the trouble to consult the annual *American Bibliography* in the *P. M. L. A.* he would have found listed many important articles and books which have escaped his attention. Furthermore an acquaintance with foreign scientific journals would have enabled him to give more definite information concerning the place and date of publication of some of the works he has listed. As a case in point only seven of the studies on Rousseau by Professor Schinz are named (p. 233). One notes the absence of this scholar's study in *P. M. L. A.* of 1913, as well as several other important articles dealing with Rousseau. Such works as *Le Mouvement rousseauiste du dernier quart de Siècle* (*Modern Philology*, 1922) and *J. J. Rousseau devant l'érudition moderne* (*Modern Philology*, 1912) are merely listed "1922, s. l., in-8" and "1912, s. l., in-8" respectively. It is greatly to be hoped that scholars will co-operate with the author and that following editions of this valuable reference work will be even more useful.

G. B. WATTS.

Davidson College.

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La Question de la langue en Italie, examen critique des données du problème (Strasbourg, Commission des publications de la Faculté des lettres, 1925), xiv + 136 pp.; *La Question de la langue en Italie de Baretti à Manzoni, l'unité linguistique dans les théories et les faits . . .* Par THÉRÈSE LABANDE-JEANROY. Paris: Champion, 1925 [vi] + 264 pp.

These two doctoral theses of Madame Labande-Jeanroy deal with the much-disputed questions which she formulates thus (*examen*, p. 6): "la langue littéraire de l'Italie est-elle l'un des dialectes italiens, le florentin ou le toscan, ou au contraire une langue indépendante de tous les dialectes, y compris le toscan, et de tous les sous-dialectes, y compris le florentin?" The *examen* treats of the older writers, beginning with Dante, but chiefly of the sixteenth century, who have dealt with the question. They are divided into three groups, those who represent "l'anti-toscanisme archaïsant," who maintain that the only standard of literary Italian is found in the writers of the fourteenth century, and that these writers used, not Tuscan, but a literary dialect common to all Italy; those who favor "l'anti-toscanisme anti-archaïsant," who insist that the standard is to be found in the contemporary usage of cultivated people elsewhere than in Tuscany; and, finally those who are partisans of "la florentinité," the doctrine that literary Italian represents the speech of Florence. The author's position is clear; she definitely aligns herself on the side of the latter group. Her perspicuous and penetrating analysis of the various errors and misunderstandings which led to the long debate makes it evident that Machiavelli and Varchi and Davanzati were right. In the second volume, which represents an enormous amount of labor, she demonstrates with precision that the various anti-Tuscan writers of the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century used in their writings words and forms which make it plain that their opposition to Florentine Italian is due at least in part to their incomplete mastery of it, since there existed no uniform linguistic standards outside of Tuscany. The bibliographies in the two theses might profitably have been made more complete. More attention to the biography of the various writers concerned would have been of service to those who are interested in the linguistic issues involved without being specialists in Italian literature.

D. S. BLONDHEIM.

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Neusprachliche Studien, Festgabe Karl Luick zu seinem 60. Geburtstage dargebracht von Freunden und Schülern. Die Neueren Sprachen, 6. Beiheft, Marburg, Elwert, 1925. Pp. 279.

This *festschrift* in honor of Professor Luick covers a wide range, as indeed its title indicates. The contributions are arranged into five groups: *Experimentalphonetik und Phonetik* (pp. 7-59); *Schallanalyse und Metrik* (pp. 60-101); *Sprachgeschichte* (pp. 102-182); *Literaturgeschichte* (pp. 183-268); *Pädagogik* (pp. 269-279). By another classification we have 13 contributions in the field of English, 4 in German, 3 in Romance and 4 of a more general nature. Of the general papers, the most interesting to the reviewer were those of Funke and Meyer-Lübke, on *Sprachkörper und Sprachfunktion* and *Passivum* respectively. Fritz Karpf contributes a paper on the teaching of modern languages in Austrian schools, and E. W. Scripture has a short paper with the ambitious title, *Das Wesen des Verses.* The three papers in the field of Romance Philology are by Karl Ettmayer (*Zur Intonation der Romanen*), Emil Winkler (*Ein Innsbrucker Exemplar der Erstausgabe des Don Quixote*) and Walter Küchler (*Malbrough s'en va-t-en guerre*). Küchler's paper will have some interest for Anglicists too. Of the contributions dealing with German, Herbert Koziol's *Zur Betonung im Wiener Deutsch* records results obtained by instrumental phonetic experimentation; Konrad Zwierzina gives us various examples of an unfamiliar sound-change *aget* > *ait* in MHG; Rudolph Priebsch prints a satirical poem, *Von der Beicht,* of the sixteenth century; Walther Brecht tells us something of the early nineteenth century German poetess Annette von Droste-Hülshoff. The contributions to English philology are varied. Robert Lach makes an interesting comparison of *Sprach- und Gesangsmelos* in English; he prints words and music of four English songs of various dates and discusses them briefly. Sievers applies to Cynewulf his well-known recent metrical tests, with startling results. Karl Brunner gives us some Lancashire dialect in phonetic transcription. Friedrich Wild (the editor of the volume) examines the *Verstechnik des Verfassers der me. Umdichtung von Boccaccio's De Claris Mulieribus.* Holthausen has some textual notes to offer on *Sir Tristrem* and *Sir Perceval.* Zachrisson offers some interesting evidence on the pronunciation in English of Greek *y* and French *oi.* Pogatscher gives us the shortest paper in the volume, and one of the best; it is a new and convincing etymology of *Grendel.* Ekwall continues with success his studies in English place-names. Otto Strauss makes an in-

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teresting study of certain syntactical points in OE. Max Förster contributes an important paper on the *weltzeitalter* as conceived in OE times. Rudolf Hittmair studies the *Begriff der Arbeit bei Langland.* Albert Eichler goes into stage history with his *Shakespeares Tempest als Hofaufführung.* Finally, Helene Richter takes us to the nineteenth century with her study of the *Selbstcharakteristik Lord Byrons.* All in all, the volume is a worthy tribute to the great grammarian in whose honor it was published.

KEMP MALONE.

A Dictionary of the Low-Dutch Element in the English Vocabulary, by J. F. BENSE. Part I, Aam-Dowel. Oxford University Press, American Branch. New York. 1926. $3.50.

The first instalment of a work which "will probably be complete in four Parts" includes a discussion of 665 words; the discussion occupies 80 pages in double column. There are in addition xxxii pages of introductory matter. The author in 1925 prepared the way for his dictionary by his monograph on *Anglo-Dutch Relations,* which gives the historical setting for his study of Dutch and Low-German loan-words in English. The author is concerned primarily to give the evidence in favor of the "Low-Dutch" origin of the English words taken up, and even this only when there is some doubt about the origin of the word. The work is therefore, first of all, an attempt to give a complete list of English words for which such an origin can be claimed, and, secondly, a presentation and discussion of the evidence in all doubtful cases. In other words, we have here an etymological dictionary. Dr. Bense is a careful scholar and has done a useful piece of work. We look forward to the appearance of the three Parts yet unpublished.

KEMP MALONE.

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Edited by EDWIN GREENLAW

WITH THE COÖPERATION OF

GUSTAV GRUENBAUM W. KURRELMEYER

H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER

CONTENTS

PAGE

SNYDER, ALICE D.—Coleridge on Giordano Bruno, - - - - - 427
MORRILL, DOROTHY I.—Coleridge's Theory of Dramatic Illusion, - 436
LOVEJOY, A. O.—"Nature" as Aesthetic Norm, - - - - - - 444
BLANKENAGEL, J. C.—Titus in Hebbel's 'Herodes und Mariamne,' - 451
GRAY, A. K.—The Song in 'The Merchant of Venice,' - - - - 458
TURNER, R. E.—An Early Edition of the 'Geta' of Vital de Blois, - 459
HARPER, G. M.—Wordsworth's "Vast City," - - - - - - 464
WALZ, J. A.—Fynes Moryson and the Tomb of Till Eulenspiegel, - - 465
VAN ROOSBROECK, G. L.—Neglected Strophes by Saint-Amant, - - 467

REVIEWS:—

PAGET TOYNBEE, Satirical Poems Published anonymously by William Mason. [*J. W. Draper.*] - - - - - - - - - 468
ALLARDYCE NICOLL, A History of Late Eighteenth Century Drama, 1750-1800. [*D. MacMillan.*] - - - - - - - - - 472
GEORGE LAFENESTRE, La Légende de St. François d'Assise; LOUIS GILLET, Sur les pas de Saint François d'Assise. [*Maud E. Temple.*] - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 475
CARL STOLLE, Fritz Stavenhagens *Mudder Mews.* [*E. Feise.*] - - 476
CARL VON KRAUS, Mittelhochdeutsches Übungsbuch. [*A. L. Andrews.*] 477
JOHN W. DRAPER, William Mason: A Study in Eighteenth-Century Culture. [*A. D. McKillop.*] - - - - - - - - - 478
WILLIAM P. DUNN, Sir Thomas Browne: A Study in Religious Philosophy. [*A. C. Howell.*] - - - - - - - - - 479
ARMAND RASTOUL, Pierre-Simon Ballanche, *La Ville des Expiations.* [*L. Landré.*] - - - - - - - - - - - - 481
E. M. BUTLER, The Saint-Simonian Religion in Germany. [*W. Kurrelmeyer.*] - - - - - - - - - - - - 482
MORRIS P. TILLEY, Elizabethan Proverb Lore in Lyly's *Euphues* and in Pettie's *Petite Pallace.* [*R. Jente.*] - - - - - - - 484
A. BELIS, La Critique française à la fin du XIXe siècle. [*H. Peyre.*] 486
FREDERICK TUPPER, Types of Society in Medieval Literature. [*G. R. Coffman.*] - - - - - - - - - - - - 489
ROSE MARY DAVIS, Stephen Duck, the Thresher Poet. [*J. C. Pope.*] 492
LUDWIG MÜHLHAUSEN, Die Vier Zweige des Mabinogi. [*Kemp Malone.*] - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 494
KATHARINE C. BALDERSTON, A Census of the Manuscripts of Oliver Goldsmith. [*R. D. Havens.*] - - - - - - - - - 494

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Modern Language Notes

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COLERIDGE ON GIORDANO BRUNO

In the course of a study centered on Coleridge's manuscript *Logic* and other philosophical remains in the British Museum, and some unpublished sections of his "Magnum Opus" put at my disposal by the Rev. G. H. B. Coleridge, great-grandson of the poet, I have come across several pieces of material essential to any consideration of Coleridge's interest in Giordano Bruno. Although Bruno has always been recognized as one of Coleridge's philosophical sources,[1] the subject has never received the attention that it deserves—and must inevitably have if one may judge from the recent interest in the Platonic and Neo-platonic as well as the German influences on Coleridge's thought.[2] I submit the following by-products of my more general work, therefore, in order that as much as possible of the Bruno-Coleridge material may be available. I am prefacing the unpublished material with a short resumé of significant references to Bruno in Coleridge's published works, since very few of them are to be found through the index to the so-called *Complete Works,* and the various editions in which they appear are often inadequately annotated.

[1] See, for instance, among earlier writers, F. J. A. Hort, *Cambridge Essays*, 1856, p. 325; and on Coleridge's attitude to Bruno, C. Carlyon, *Early Years and Late Reflections*, 1836-58, I, 195; among recent writers, H. Richter, Die philosophische Anschauung von S. T. Coleridge . . . , *Anglia*, 44 (1920), especially pp. 276 and 306.

[2] In addition to H. Richter, *op. cit.*, see N. Wilde, The Development of Coleridge's Thought, *Philos. Rev.* 28, p. 147-163 (1919); C. Howard, *Coleridge's Idealism*, 1924; M. H. Nicolson, James Marsh and the Vermont Transcendentalists, *Philos. Rev.* 34, p. 28-50 (1925); A. E. Powell, *The Romantic Theory of Poetry* . . . , 1926, chap. 4. This list does not pretend to be comprehensive.

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References in Published Works.

(1) In a notebook entry for April 1801, quoted in ***Anima Poetæ***, p. 16-17, Coleridge writes that he has been reading Bruno's ***De Monade*** and *De Innumerabilibus*, "two works . . . with one title-page," Frankfort, 1591. The editor notes that after the comments printed in ***Anima Poetæ*** there stood, in the original notebook, "the passage, '***Anima sapiens—ubique totus***, quoted in *The Friend* (*Coleridge's Works*, ii. 109), together with a brief *résumé* of Bruno's other works." (See note to item 4). The printed comments include reference to a Latin ode that follows the general index to the volume of Bruno's works. This ode proves to be the one quoted in Coleridge's essay *Magnanimity* (Southey's *Omniana*, 1812, i, p. 241-5), and there attributed to a rare work by Bruno which Coleridge does not name.[3]

(2) July 13, 1802, writing to W. Sotheby about the possibility of translating Gesner's *Der erste Schiffer*, Coleridge refers to Bruno casually, quoting two lines taken—though altered, as the editor notes—from the epilogue to *De Immenso et Innumerabilibus*.[4]

(3) An *Anima Poetæ* entry for April 19, 1804 (p. 71-3), refers to Bruno by way of illustration for some theorizing about the contingent and the transitory. An 1805 entry (p. 151-2), includes the following: "And so shall Dante, Ariosto, Giordano Bruno, be my Italy."

(4) The 1809-10 *Friend*[5] contains the "***Anima sapiens . . .***" quotation referred to in 1.[6] It appears in the issue of Sept. 21, 1809, but as a note pertaining to page 80 (issue of Sept. 14). The quotation is followed here, as in later editions of *The Friend*, by Coleridge's translation, a short account of Bruno's life and work, and the statement that Coleridge had had the opportunity of perusing six of Bruno's works. It seems probable that the six referred to were the following, which are mentioned by title in the course of his published works: ***De Umbris Idearum***, containing the *Ars Memoriæ* (see below, item 9); ***De la Causa, Principio et Uno*** (see below, item 11); ***Cena de le Ceneri***, referred to in this note to *The Friend* as *Ember Week; Spaccio de la Bestia* (see below, item 6); ***De Progressu et Lampade Venatoria Logicorum*** (see below, item 13); and the volume containing ***De Monade, Numero et Figura*** and ***De Immenso et***

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[3] Dædaleas vacuis plumas nectere humeris. . . ." The British Museum copy of *De Monade etc.*, 1591, is imperfect, but the ode will be found in the copy at the Bodleian, following the index.

[4] *Letters*, ed. E. H. Coleridge, 1895, p. 371. *De Immenso etc.*, p. 654-5. My references are always to the 1591 edition containing both ***De Monade*** *etc.*, and *De Immenso etc.*

[5] 1812 reprint, p. 89-9; see also Ed. of 1818, i, 193-7, and *Works*, 1884, ii, 109-11.

[6] ***De Immenso*** *etc.*, p. 151-2.

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Innumerabilibus, mentioned in item 1. The 1812 and 1818 editions of *The Friend* contain Coleridge's proposal to write a life of Bruno, omitted in later editions.[7] The 1812 edition includes some interesting parentheses inserted in the translation of the: "*Anima sapiens . . .*" quotation, omitted in 1818 and later: following the words *Thunder-stricken*, Coleridge writes, "(i. e. minds stunned and stupified by superstitious fears. BRUNO here alludes, doubtless, to the gross absurdities of Transubstantiation)"; after the passage ending with the words *abiding Being of all things*, "(I have thought myself allowed thus to render the less cautious expressions of the original, because the very same Latin words are to be found in the writings of Joannes Scotus Erigena, who was doubtless a sincere Christian; and equivalent phrases occur in the mystic theology of one at least, if not more, of the early Greek Fathers. It is most uncharitable to accuse a writer of pantheism for a few overcharged Sentences; especially as the Writer may have thought himself authorized by certain texts of St. John and St. Paul.)"; and after the words *guardian Deities*, the explanation "(presiding Angels)."

(5) In the same issue of *The Friend* Coleridge quotes the passage "*Ad isthæc quæso . . .*"[8] used later as the motto to *The Statesman's Manual*, 1816.

(6) For the ode quoted in Southey's *Omniana*, 1812, see above, item 1. The comments on Bruno that follow the ode include reference to the interpretation of the *Spaccio de la Bestia* in the *Spectator*, an interpretation which Coleridge attributed to Addison, though the essay (No. 389) has since been assigned to Budgell. He thinks it totally wrong.

(7) In the essay *On the Circulation of Blood* (*Omniana*, 1812, I, p. 234-6) Coleridge quotes from *De Innumerabilibus* lib. vi, cap. viii and IX,[9] suggesting that Bruno possibly anticipated later scientific discoveries on this subject. He further comments on Bruno's priority in attributing infinity to the universe.

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[7] The 1818 edition makes the proposition very definite: "In the last volume of the work, announced and its nature and objects explained, at the close of the present, I purpose to give an account of the life of Giordano Bruno. . . ." The announcement is not to be found, but see *Memorials of Coleorton*, 1887, II, 107: "If it please God, I shall shortly publish, as a supplement to the first volume of *The Friend*, a work . . . entitled *The Mysteries of Religion*. . . . Either in this, or in some after number of *The Friend* I shall give the character of Jacob Böhme, and compare him with John Fox, and both with Giordano Bruno."—Letter to Lady Beaumont, Jan. 21, 1810.

[8] *De Immenso etc.*, Lib. I, Cap. II, p. 154-5.

[9] "Ut in nostro corpore sanguis . . .
. . . quam deinde recedat." p. 524-5.
". . . . . Quid esset
. . . non inde resumat." p. 528.

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(8) In the essay *Egotism*[10] (*Omniana*, I, p. 216-17), Coleridge cites Bruno among instances of men persecuted into habits of egotism.

(9) The Preliminary Essay *On the Principles of Sound Criticism* (Felix Farley's Bristol Journal, 1814—see Cottle, *Early Recollections*, 1837, II, p. 202), commences with a quotation from Bruno's *De Umbris Idearum*. The passage ("*Unus ergo idemque . . . inventiones pertinare*") is taken, with omissions and some alterations, from the opening pages of Bruno's work.

(10) For the motto to *The Stateman's Manual*, 1816, see item 5 above. Coleridge refers to the motto also in an appendix (App. E, p. xlvi).

(11) Chapter IX of *Biographia Literaria*, 1817 (I, p. 138), contains the often cited reference to Coleridge's study of Bruno's *De Immenso et Innumerabilibus* and *De la Causa*. See also I, p. 150 on Coleridge's and Schelling's obligations to Bruno.

(12) The 1818 *Friend* (I, p. 155), contains a foot-note on "the universal Law of Polarity or essential Dualism, first promulgated by Heraclitus, 2000 years afterwards re-published, and made the foundation both of Logic, of Physics, and of Metaphysics by Giordano Bruno."

(13) The 1820 series of notes on Baxter's Life (*Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*, 1696), includes the following statement: "I have not indeed any distinct memory of Giordano Bruno's *Logice Venatrix Veritatis*, but doubtless the principle of Trichotomy is necessarily involved in the Polar Logic . . ."[11]

(14) The notes on Samuel Noble's *Appeal*, 1826, contain a proposal to write a *Vindiciæ Heterodoxæ*, Bruno to be among those whom Coleridge wishes to defend.[12]

Unpublished Material.

(1). From the British Museum manuscript Egerton 2801, a collection of philosophical and theological remains, purchased from E. H. Coleridge in 1895. Ff. 15-17, entitled in the catalogue *A Note on Giordano Bruno*. This fragment, wholly in S. T. Coleridge's hand, was evidently intended for a philosophical work, and is marked, like some others in this collection, "Copied." It bears the watermark 1821. With the exception of a penciled note on Subject and Object with which the first of the two double sheets

[10] Not marked with an asterisk in Southey's table of contents, as are most of Coleridge's contributions, but signed "S. T. C." by Coleridge himself in the annotated copy in the British Museum, and accepted as his by H. N. Coleridge (Lit. Rem., 1836-9, I, 291-2).

[11] *Lit. Rem.* IV, 141; see also *Notes on English Divines*, 1853, II, 107.

[12] *Lit. Rem.* IV, 422. Cf. H. Richter, *op. cit.*, p. 276.

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comprising the fragment begins, I print the whole. The style is characteristically involved—an excellent instance of what Coleridge himself describes as his "stately piling up of *story* on *story* in one architectural period"[13]—but in addition to the material on Bruno, it affords important evidence on the subject of Coleridge and evolution, corroborating interestingly some of the conclusions reached by George R. Potter in his recent study.[14]

And here[15] once for all, I beg leave to remark that I attach neither belief nor respect to the Theory, which supposes the human Race to have been gradually perfecting itself from the darkest Savagery, or, still more boldly tracing us back to the bestial as to our Larva, contemplates the Man as the last metamorphosis, the gay *Image*, of some lucky species of Ape or Baboon. Of the two hypotheses I should indeed greatly prefer the Lucretian [a] of the Parturiency of our Mother Earth, some score thousands years ago, when the venerable Elder was yet in her Teens, and her human Litter sucked the Milk then oozing from countless Breasts of warm and genial Mud. For between an hypothetical *απαξγιγρομενον*, or single Incident or Event in a state and during an epoch of the Planet, presumed in all respects different from it's present condition & the laws of Nature appropriated to the same, a difference, for the historic verity of which in a smaller extent the metals and their positions have been taught [*sic*, thought?] to furnish a plausible argument,—between a single and temporary Event, anterior of necessity to all actual experience, & an assertion of a universal process of the Nature now existing (since there is the same reason for asserting the progression of every other race of animal from some lower species as of the human race) in [b] contradiction to all experience, I can have no hestitation in preferring the former—, that for which Nothing can be said to that *against* which Every thing may be said—. The History, I find, in my Bible, is in perfect coincidence with the opinions which I should form on Grounds of Experience & Common Sense—. But our belief, that Man first appeared with all his faculties perfect & in full growth, the anticipation exercised by virtue of the supernatural act of Creation, in no wise contravenes or weakens the assertion, that these faculties, maturely considered, presupposed, and in each succeeding Individual born according to nature must be preceded by, a process of growth, and consequently a state of involution or latency

[13] *Letters*, p. 551 (to Poole, Oct. 9, 1809).

[14] Coleridge and the Idea of Evolution, *PMLA*, 40, 379-397 (1925). See especially the discussion of Coleridge on the Lucretian and Darwinian hypotheses.

[15] The manuscript contains numerous corrections and directions for copyist or printer, all in Coleridge's hand. In my text I follow these directions, but do not reproduce them.

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correspondent to each successive Moment of Development. A rule abstracted from uniform Results, or the Facet of a Sum put by the Master's indulgence at the head of the Sum to be worked, may not only render the Boy's Task shorter and easier; but without such assistance he might never have mastered it or attained the experience, from which the Rule might

The fragment ends here at the bottom of a page, but the following were to be inserted or printed as footnotes:

[*Note a*] Coleridge's reference stands at the point I have marked [a], after the word *Lucretian.*

A modern Philosopher and Poet, and in both characters a man of vigorous and original Genius, no Epicurean but in as ill odour with Divines as Epicurus himself (I mean, the Philosopher of Nola, Giordano Bruno, whom the Idolators of Rome burnt for an Atheist in the year 1600, assigns the same origin to the human Race & supports his opinion both in his Latin Poems & the Prose annotations at great length. It is indeed a natural consequence of his Dogma, that the Earth is "etherogeneum integrum animal." The following quotations will acquaint the reader with Bruno's views in this respect. . . . "Quod si Astra seu Mundi essent contigui *sicut Uxor et Vir*, qualia etiam sunt Soles cum suis Telluribus singuli, non tamen idcirco partes unius effluunt aut alterius,—The worlds in imitation of the Platonists he calls Gods, Angels, or informing Spirits —"Differentia inter conjugium et coitum Deorum et nostrum. *Coit enim cum Sole Tellus* et concipit continuè et successivè *ex omni parte* corporis atque parit. Animalia verò minora ex unâ et intermissè.

Lib. vi, Cap. 5.[16]

In his seventh book, however, he either contradicts himself or (as is more probable) uses coitûs in it's ordinary sense—for at the end of the Book he vehemently attacks the doctrine of the derivation of all the different races of men from one Pair—and asserts that if the whole Earth were by some planetary accident or revolution depopulated, the Soul of the Earth would replace them—Præbit Natura. Parens perfecta Animantum,

Absque ministerio coitûs. . . .[17]

Bruno adopted, corrected and extended the Astronomical System of his great Contemporary, Copernicus—and was himself the first who asserted the infinity or immensity of the universe against Aristotle. He contended that the Fixed Stars were Suns, each the Center of a Planetary System, and endeavoured to deduce this a priori from the centro-peripheric Process, or primary Law of Matter: which he elsewhere calls the Law of Polarity, in this as in many other instances anticipating the Ideas &

[16] *De Immenso etc.* pp. 517 and 518.

[17] P. 620 (Cap. XVIII).

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discoveries generally attributed to far later Philosophies, even those of the present age. It is but justice to a great man to declare that tho' burnt for an Atheist, it is not clear even that he was a Deist—tho' if we reflect on the gross & mischievous Superstitions which a Neapolitan of the 15th Century had from his childhood been taught & accustomed to consider as Christianity, no candid mind will place him in the same moral rank with an Unbeliever of the 18th century, born and bred in a Protestant Country—but as to the charge of Atheism, it is sufficient to observe that in all these fancies respecting the souls and properties of the Earth, the Birth of Animals, & the like, he everywhere considers these planetary Souls, as mere ministerial powers, and Nature, their collective Name, as the Delegate, Servant & Creature of the one Supreme Being and all-originating *Opifex* tho' the Earth is represented as our immediate "maternal Fount."

> Spiritus et vita e materno fonte recepta est,
> De quo viventem jussit, producier omnem
> Ille Opifex Animam; Quia princeps est anima illi,
> Et princeps illa est Animal, venerabile Numen,
> Fortunatum Astrum, Splendescens, incola cœli,
> AUTHORI LAUDES DECANTANS ATQUE MINISTRANS,
> Qualem non credunt sine sensu pectus adepti. [b]

Indeed, through all Bruno's philosophical works, not even excepting the trifling Apologue, the purport and true object of which Addison,[18] on a slight and hurried Perusal as it is [*sic*] appears, utterly misconceived, & to whose maltreatment of the little Jeu d'esprit in the Spectator our luckless Sage of Nola is indebted for his bad name in this country (or rather, with the great majority of English Readers, for having any Name at all) there reigns a Principle, Spirit, and Eloquence of Piety and Pure Morality, not surpassed by Fenelon, and which fully explains the impression made by him on the mind of Sir Philip Sidney and of Fulk Greville, who received lessons from him in private and frequented his society both in England & in Germany. How carelessly Addison read Italian Literature, is proved by the well-known fact of his attributing to Tasso himself, the superabundance of Conceits, which exist only in Fairfax's licentious tho' beautiful Translation, or rather rifacciamento of the Italian Poem.

[*Note b*] The reference stands at the point I have marked [b], after the parenthesis "(since . . . race) in."

When experience is possible, and in points that are the fit subjects of experience, the absence of experimental proof is tantamount to an experi-

[18] Lib. VI. Cap. XIV, p. 540-1.

[19] See above, item (6) of published material.

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mental proof of the contrary. Ex. gr. If a man should seriously assure me, that he had in the course of his Travels seen a Tree, that produced live Barnacles as it's fruit, I could not in strict logic declare it contrary to all experience; for he would be entitle to reply, No! for I believe it on my own. But if a Theorist should assert such a fact, only because in his opinion it would be a rational account of the present parentage and existence of Barnacles, in this case I should have a right to characterize his conjecture as against all experience.

(2). From Coleridge's annotations to the first volume of Jacob Behmen's *Works* (London 1764-81). This is the copy of Behmen presented to Coleridge by De Quincey. Most of the notes are undated, but one, dated 1818, refers to others as having been written earlier, probably about 1809. I print from Ernest Hartley Coleridge's transcript of the original, loaned me by the Rev. G. H. B. Coleridge. The annotated volume is now, I believe, at Ottery.[20]

(a). Note to p. xii (*The Life of Jacob Behmen*), working out the chronological relationship of Behmen and Bruno, apparently for the purpose of item (b).

Elizabeth began to reign 1558. Shakspere born 1564—about 11 years before Behmen who was born in 17th of Eliz. Shakspere died in 1616, in the 14th year of James I. Behmen in the 22nd year—Giordano Bruno died 1601 when born I do not recollect—32 years after the first printing of Copernicus' Works in 1543.

(b). Note to the same page, suggesting that a passage from the narrative Life is an allegory referring to Bruno.

Text: . . . in the Heat of Mid-Day, retiring from his Playfellows to a little Stony Crag just by, called the Lands Crown, where the natural situation of the Rock had made a seeming enclosure of some Part of the Mountain, finding an Entrance, he went in, and saw there a large wooden Vessel full of Money, at which Sight, being in a sudden Astonishment, he in Haste retired, not moving his Hand to it, and came and related his Fortune to the rest of the Boys, who coming with him,

[20] See J. L. Haney, *A Bibliography of . . . Coleridge*, 1903, p. 103; and for the tentative dating of the notes, *De Quincey Memorials*, 1891, I, Chap. xii; De Quincey, *Works*, 1890, V, 183, and *Memorials of Coleorton*, II, 105 ff.: "Of Jacob Böhme I have myself been a commentator. . . ."—Letter to Lady Beaumont, Jan. 21, 1810. At the beginning of E. H. Coleridge's transcripts stands a reference to C. M. Ingleby's interesting query about the Behmen volumes (Trans. R. S. Lit., 2nd series, IX, 132).

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sought often and with much Diligence an Entrance, but could not find any. But some Years after, a foreign Artist, as *Jacob Behmen* himself related, skilled in finding out magical Treasures, took it away, and thereby much enriched himself, yet perished by an infamous Death, that Treasure being lodged there, and covered with a Curse to him that should find and take it away.

Coleridge: Was this an allegory of Behmen's expressing that a Treasure had been discovered to him which none of his Fellows could find out even the entrance to—but that as far as mere Philosophy was concerned, Bruno who was burnt alive at Rome, and who published several of his works in Germany had mastered it?

(c), Note to p. 41 (*The Aurora*) commenting on the principle of the Synthesis of Opposites.

Text: All Power and Virtue is in God the Father; and proceeds also forth from him, as Light, Heat, Cold, Soft, Gentle, Sweet, Bitter, Sour, . . . But the Powers in God do not operate or qualify in that *Manner*, as in Nature. . . .

Coleridge: By Quality Behmen intends that act of each elementary Power, by which it energizes in its peculiar kind. But in the Deity is an absolute Synthesis of opposites. Plato in Parmenide and Giordano Bruno passim have spoken many things well on this aweful Mystery—the latter more clearly.

(d). Note to p. 125 (Chap. xiii of *The Aurora—The Horrible Fall of Lucifer's Kingdom*), referring to Coleridge's early reading of Bruno. The note is dated 27 Aug., 1818. After defining the two types of error that he finds in Behmen, "the occasional substitution of the Accidents of his own peculiar acts of association . . . for the laws and processes of the creaturely Spirit in universo" and "the confusion of the creaturely Spirit in the great moments of its renascence . . . for the deific energies in Deity itself," Coleridge writes:

In the first instance his error is radically the same as that of Spinoza, and in both instances the same as that of Schelling and his followers—What resemblance it may have to the system of Giordano Bruno, I have read too few of Bruno's writings to say, and read them at a time, when I was not competent to ask the questions, but was myself intoxicated with the vernal fragrance and effluvia from the flowers and first-fruits of Pantheism, unaware of its bitter root, pacifying my religious feelings in the meantime by the fine distinction, that tho' God was = the World, the World was not = God—as if God were a whole composed of Parts, of which the World was one!

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(3). Annotations to Vol. IX (published 1814) of Tennemann's *Geschichte der Philosophie,* 1798-1817, copy in the S. T. C. marginalia collection of the British Museum. I print only the notes referring to Bruno.

(a) Note to p. 414.

Text: Bei allen diesen wahren oder eingebildeten Vorzügen täuschte sich doch Bruno in Ansehung des Verhältnisses seiner Philosophie zur Moralität. Denn bei seinem Pantheismus hätte nothwendig die Substantialität der vernünftigen Wesen, und die Selbstständigkeit, welche die Entschlieszungen der Freiheit voraussetzen, gänzlich aufgehen und in die unendliche Kraft der einzigen Substanz, welche die Materie und Form alles möglichen und wirklichen Seyns enthält, verschlungen werden müssen, wenn er sich das Verhältnisz des Einzelnen zu der allgemeinen Substanz deutlich und bestimmt gedacht hätte.

Coleridge: Why so? a mournful truth it were, if truth it were! For who that believes an Almighty, all wise, all-gracious omnipresent God dare or can attribute absolute self-subsistence to any creature?

(b). Note written on a fly-leaf at the end of the Volume.

It grieves me to say that this Volume is a mere Bookseller's Order executed in the true book-making style—in short, with the exception of the account of Pompanatius, it is a poor compilation from common books, and the article of [on?] Giordano Bruno especially heartless & superficial—a mere skim from one or two only of Bruno's writings—while his interesting attempts of [on?] Logic and Maemonic are passed over altogether—tho' they would have thrown a light on his whole philosophy.—O for a real Life of Bruno, and analysis of his writings! . . .

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COLERIDGE'S THEORY OF DRAMATIC ILLUSION

It was in accord with Coleridge's habit of mind to attempt—although he did not always succeed—to reduce his ideas on any subject to a definite system or theory which he could apply in specific cases. Coleridge's theory of dramatic illusion is not only interesting in itself and in its connection with the famous definition of poetic faith in the fourteenth chapter of the *Biographia Literaria,* but the growth of this theory in his mind is very typical of his mode of thought and of the way in which his ideas were

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developed and expanded by his reading. As a typical instance of this sort, the theory is worthy of examination.

In the note entitled *Progress of the Drama* (one of the notes obviously written out in preparation for lectures and left among Coleridge's literary remains), we find a fairly full discussion of the subject of stage illusion. Coleridge begins his explanation of illusion by contrasting the reaction of the mind at the sight of a picture with its reaction to a scene on the stage. "Claude," he says, "imitates a landscape at sunset, but only as a picture: while a forest scene is not presented to the spectators as a picture, but as a forest; and though, in the full sense of the word, we are no more deceived by the one than by the other, yet are our feelings very differently affected; and the pleasure derived from the one is not composed of the same elements as that afforded by the other, even on the supposition that the *quantum* of both were equal. In the former, a picture, it is a condition of all genuine delight that we should not be deceived: in the latter, stage-scenery (inasmuch as its principal end is not in or for itself, as is the case in a picture, but to be an assistance and means to an end out of itself), its very purpose is to produce as much illusion as its nature permits. These, and all other stage presentations, are to produce a sort of temporary half-faith, which the spectator encourages in himself and supports by a voluntary contribution on his own part, because he knows that it is at all times in his power to see the thing as it really is."[1]

Pictures, as Coleridge then goes on to observe, produce a much stronger effect upon the impressible minds of children than they do in the case of adults, a fact which he illustrates by describing the behavior of his little boy when suddenly confronted by an engraving from Rubens. "Now what pictures are to little children," he explains, "stage illusion is to men, provided they retain any part of the child's sensibility; except, that in the latter instance, the suspension of the act of comparison, which permits this sort of negative belief, is somewhat more assisted by the will, than in that of a child respecting a picture.

The true stage illusion in this and in all other things consists—not in

[1] *Lectures and Notes on Shakspere and Other English Poets* by Samuel Taylor Coleridge, collected by T. Ashe, London, 1883, pp. 205-206.

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the mind's judging it to be a forest, but, in its remission of the judgment that it is not a forest.[2]

This idea of the suspension of the judicial power, both on the part of the spectator at a dramatic performance and on the part of the reader of a poem, was a thought which held a prominent place in Coleridge's mind for many years. The term *illusion* as used by Coleridge is to be distinguished, as he himself tells us in his note on *The Tempest*, from *delusion* as used by Dr. Johnson, and is to be understood as referring to an "intermediate state" between the two extremes of perfect delusion as upheld by the French critics and the absolute denial of any deception as maintained by Johnson.[3] In this note on *The Tempest* Coleridge speaks of having previously discussed illusion and of having illustrated it "by reference to our mental state when dreaming."[4] "In both cases," he says, "we simply do not judge the imagery to be unreal; there is a negative reality, and no more."[5] Again, in a letter to Daniel Stuart, May 13, 1816, the effect upon us of suspending the comparing power is likened to our state of mind in dreams. "The truth is," he writes, "that images and thoughts possess a power in, and of themselves, independent of that act of the judgment or understanling by which we affirm or deny the existence of a reality correspondent to them. Such is the ordinary state of the mind in dreams. It is not strictly accurate to say that we believe our dreams to be actual while we are dreaming. We neither believe it, nor disbelieve it. With the will the comparing power is suspended, and without the comparing power, any act of judgment, whether affirmation, or denial, is impossible. The forms and thoughts act merely by their own inherent power, and the strong feelings at times apparently connected with them are, in point of fact, bodily sensations which are the causes or occasions of the images; not (as when we are awake) the effects of them. Add to this a voluntary lending of the will to this suspension of one of its own operations (that is, that of comparison

[2] *Lectures and Notes*, pp. 206-207.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 274.

[4] This statement would seem to indicate that the subject was treated in some other lecture or lectures of which no record has been preserved.

[5] *Lectures and Notes*, p. 274.

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and consequent decision concerning the reality of any sensuous impression), and you have the true theory of stage illusion."[6]

It is probable that the dream figure was suggested to Coleridge by his reading of Herder and Schlegel, but he has so expanded the idea and employed it for his own purposes, that, instead of feeling that he is dependent on his German predecessors, we are impressed by the fact that, both in his conception of illusion and in his expression of the idea, he has gone far beyond them. Herder, in his essay on Shakspere, was the first of the German critics to grasp the idea that the imagination makes the observance of the unities of time and place unnecessary. In the course of his discussion he explains that space and time are merely relative matters which are under the control of the imagination. He reminds us that in real life there are frequently circumstances in which hours are reduced to minutes and days to hours, and that *vice versa* there are times when hours become days and night vigils, for instance, seem years. In like manner we can send our thoughts in fancy to any place we wish, no matter how remote, so that, as Herder says, we seem to be dwelling entirely outside ourselves. If this ability to pass rapidly over space and time is true of our waking thoughts, how much more true is it of our dreams?[7]

Hast du nie gefühlt, wie im Traum dir Ort und Zeit schwinden? was das also für unwesentliche Dinge, für Schatten gegen das, was Handlung, Würkung der Seele ist, sein müssen? wie es blos an dieser Seele liege, sich Raum, Welt und Zeitmaass zu schaffen, wie und wo sie will? Und hättest du das nur Einmal in deinem Leben gefühlt, wärest nach Einer Viertheilstunde erwacht, und der dunkle Rest deiner Traumhandlungen hätte dich schwören gemacht, du habest Nächte hinweg geschlafen, geträumt und gehandelt!—dürfte dir Mahomeds Traum als Traum, noch Einen Augenblick ungereimt sein! und wäre es nicht eben jedes Genies, jedes Dichters, und des Dramatischen Dichters insonderheit Erste und Einzige Pflicht, dich in einen solchen Traum zu setzen? Und nun denke, welche Welten du verwirrest, wenn du dem Dichter deine Taschenuhr, oder dein Visitenzimmer vorzeigest, dass er dahin und darnach dich träumen lehre?

Im Gange seiner Begebengeit, im *ordine successivorum* und *simultaneorum* seiner Welt, da liegt sein Raum und Zeit. Wie, und wo er dich hinreisse? wenn er dich nur dahin reisst, da ist seine Welt. Wie schnell

[6] *Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, ed. by E. H. Coleridge, II, 663.

[7] *Werke*, ed. by Suphan, V, 227.

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und langsam er die Zeiten folgen lasse; er lässt sie folgen; er drückt dir diese Folge ein: das ist sein Zeitmaass — und wie ist hier wieder Shakespear Meister![8]

In a word, then, the state of mind of an audience in the theater is likened to the condition of the mind in a dream. Dramatic illusion consists in our being placed for the time being, as it were, in a dream in which we take no account of space or time. All that is necessary for the dramatic poet is that he be able to carry us with him throughout the course of his action, and that he make clear to us the sequence of cause and effect. It matters not how much time may elapse between two actions, if, as Dr. Johnson said, "nothing but time can be supposed to intervene."

While I have been unable to find any reference by Coleridge to Herder's Shakspere essay, I believe there can be little doubt that he knew the essay, or at least, that he was acquainted with Herder's critical ideas. There are numerous instances in Coleridge's critical works where the similarity to Herder both in ideas and in the mode of expression is so striking as to make external evidence almost unnecessary.[9] Moreover, we do know that Coleridge was familiar with many of Herder's writings, which renders it all the more probable that he knew the Shaksperean criticism. In a note dated Dec. 19, 1804 and bound into Coleridge's copy of Herder's *Kalligone,* we have the following reference to other works of Herder which he had read: "I always, even in the perusal of his better works,—the 'Verm. Blätter,' the 'Briefe des Stud. Theol.," and the 'Ideen zur Gesch. der Mensch.,'—thought him a painted mist, with no sharp outline,". . .[10] It hardly need be said that Coleridge's detraction of Herder in this note did not prevent him from coming under his influence.

In comparing Coleridge's remarks with the passages just quoted from Herder, it will be noticed that the two critics used the dream

[8] Herder, *Werke,* v, 228.

[9] This paper, of course, touches the subject of the German influence on Coleridge at only one point. The whole subject as far as Coleridge's dramatic criticism is concerned has been treated in my unpublished dissertation, *German Influence on Coleridge's Dramatic Criticism,* Radcliffe College, 1921. See also articles by A. C. Dunstan, *MLR,* XVII (July) 1922 and XVIII (April) 1923.

[10] *Blackwood's Magazine,* 131 (1882), p. 120.

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figure to illustrate quite different points. Herder used it in showing that it is possible for us to be placed in such a state of mind that we are unconscious of the passage of time, and are undisturbed by changes of place. Coleridge, however, used it to explain the circumstance of our being affected by scenes which are actually unreal. This, to be sure, is the connection in which it was used by Schlegel, and in all probability the latter's recognition of the part played by the will in submitting to illusion had some influence in shaping Coleridge's ideas.[11]

Schlegel refers to the neo-classic requirements regarding the duration of the action, pointing out that, if we are to regard the represented events as reality, the stricter critics who would confine the length of the action to the time required for representation are the more consistent. But this idea that the represented action is reality is erroneous. "Die theatralische Täuschung," says Schlegel, "wie jede poetische, ist eine wache Träumerei, der man sich freiwillig hingiebt."[12] In contrast with Herder's conception, Schlegel's addition to the dream idea is worthy of notice. According to him it is not a dream such as those which come to us in sleep without any exercise of the will, but a *waking* dream to which we *voluntarily* submit ourselves.[13]

But in spite of this obvious German influence, it is clear that there are elements in Coleridge's illusion theory for which he was

[11] Coleridge's acquaintance with Schlegel's Vienna lectures is too well established to need proof here. See Coleridge's own statement in the ninth lecture of the course delivered in 1811-12. *Lectures and Notes*, pp. 126-127.

[12] *Werke*, ed. by Böcking, VI, 24.

[13] Compare the discussions by Coleridge, above, p. 438. It is interesting to notice in this connection that Lord Kames in his *Elements of Criticism*, ch. xxiii, uses the terms *impression of reality*, *dream of reality* and *waking dream* with reference to theatrical representations. Whether or not some recollection of Lord Kames' discussion may have lingered in Coleridge's mind and influenced his idea of illusion in a question which might be raised. However, there is so much evidence of the influence of Herder and Schlegel on Coleridge's dramatic criticism as a whole, that it is more than probable that Coleridge had the Germans in mind in this case. In fact the influence of Schlegel seems certain, since no other critic before Coleridge had expressed the idea that the submission to illusion is voluntary, an idea which is one of the most important points in Coleridge's discussion.

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not indebted to Schlegel or any other critic. The idea that it was possible for the power of judgment to be temporarily suspended was present in Coleridge's mind long before Schlegel's lectures were ever written and before Coleridge had studied German criticism, with the possible exception of Lessing, to any extent. Clement Carlyon, in whose company Coleridge made a foot-tour through the Harz in the spring of 1799, relates that, during their ascent of the Brocken on the 12th of May, a long discussion was held upon the sublime and the beautiful, and that after many attempts had been made by the several members of the party to define sublimity, Coleridge "pronounced it to consist in a suspension of the power of comparison." [14]

On the 14th of January, 1799 Coleridge wrote to his wife from Ratzeburg a charming description of the island town and of the lake in the midst of which it is situated. That portion of the letter which described the lake in winter was later re-written and published in No. 19 of the *Friend,* Dec. 28, 1809. In the extract as it then appeared, occurred the following significant sentence:

> About a month ago, before the thaw came on, there was a storm of wind; during the whole night, such were the thunders and howlings of the breaking ice, that they have left a conviction on my mind, that there are sounds more sublime than any sight *can* be, more absolutely suspending the power of comparison, and more utterly absorbing the mind's self-consciousness in its total attention to the object working upon it.[15]

In the light of these statements, it is interesting to recall the exact phraseology of Coleridge's description of illusion in the note on the *Progress of the Drama* and in the letter to Stuart. In the former case he speaks of illusion as produced by "a suspension of the act of comparison," and in the latter refers to the fact that in dreams "the comparing power is suspended." This virtual repetition of phrases makes one point entirely clear, namely, that

[14] *Early Years and Late Reflections,* I, 51.

[15] The *Friend,* ed. of 1818, II, 323-324. It is interesting to note that in the original letter, as printed in full by E. H. Coleridge in the *Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge,* I, 271-277, the sentence quoted above does not occur. The later version, however, antedates Coleridge's acquaintance with Schlegel's lectures by two years. The extract as it appeared in the *Friend* has been reprinted by Turnbull in the *Biographia Epistolaris,* I, 163-164.

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when Coleridge in preparing his lectures came to the problem of stage illusion, he dealt with it in terms of a concept which had been deeply impressed upon his mind at least as early as 1799. But in the discussion of illusion, both in the lecture notes and in the letter to Stuart, another element is combined with the idea that the mind may become so completely absorbed in the objects working upon it that the powers of comparison and subsequent judgment are suspended. This additional factor is the idea that we are brought into this condition of mind by an act of the will, and for this Coleridge was without doubt indebted to Schlegel. Hence Coleridge's theory of illusion is seen to be composed of three elements: the dream figure which he knew first in Herder and later in Schlegel, the concept of the suspension of the comparing power which antedates his acquaintance with the German critics; and the idea that the suspension of the act of comparison, which produce our negative belief, is assisted by the will, a thought which again was suggested by Schlegel.

The principle of illusion was, of course, applied by Coleridge, not only to explain our attitude toward scenes upon the stage, but to account for our acceptance of ideal or supernatural elements in poetry in general. It is an interesting question whether anything like the theory of illusion ever entered into the conversations of Coleridge and Wordsworth over the plan of the *Lyrical Ballads*. In other words does the definition in the fourteenth chapter of the *Biographia Literaria* of poetic faith as consisting in the "willing suspension of disbelief for the moment"[16] represent in any measure an idea which the two men had discussed together twenty years before? Or are we dealing here with the application to an earlier piece of work of a theory which was evolved later? It seems fairly certain that the latter is the case. No contemporary evidence is at present forthcoming to prove that this question was ever considered by Coleridge and Wordsworth while the *Lyrical Ballads* were in making. All the evidence, on the other hand, goes to show that the theory of illusion did not become fully developed in Coleridge's mind until after he had studied the German critics, particularly Schlegel. But even though Coleridge was undoubtedly indebted to the Germans for help in working

[16] *Biographia Literaria*, ed. by J. Shawcross, II, 6. For other applications of the principle, see the same vol. pp. 107, 187, 189.

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out his theory, the fact remains that no one before him had been able to expound the principle so clearly, or to give it such complete and consummate expression.

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"NATURE" AS AESTHETIC NORM

"Der Begriff und das Wort 'Natur' ist ein wahrer Scherwenzel," observed Friedrich Nicolai more than a century ago. The remark was then obvious, and has by this time become trite; yet there have been few, and, so far as I know, no adequate attempts to exhibit completely and connectedly the manifold historic rôles played by this verbal jack-of-all-trades. Nothing, however, is more needful, especially for the student of the literature and philosophy of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, than a thorough understanding of the diversity of meanings of the word, at once the most sacred and most protean in the vocabulary of those periods. What is requisite is, of course, not a mere list of lexicographer's definitions, but such an analytical charting of the senses of the term as will make clear the logical relations and (what is historically still more important), the common confusions between them, the probable semasiological development of one out of another, and the doctrines or tendencies with which they are severally associated. To read eighteenth-century books (in particular) without having in mind such a general map of the meanings of "nature" is to move about in the midst of ambiguities unrealized; and it is to fail to observe an important causal factor in certain of the most momentous processes of change in opinion and taste. For "nature" has, of course, been the chief and the most pregnant word in the terminology of all the normative provinces of thought in the West; and the multiplicity of its meanings has made it easy, and common, to slip more or less insensibly from one connotation to another, and thus in the end to pass from one ethical or aesthetic standard to its very antithesis, while nominally professing the same principles.

In what follows I have attempted to give in concise form such an analytical enumeration of the purely aesthetic uses of the term—

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i. e., its meanings in the formulas that art should "imitate" or "follow" or "keep close to Nature." The references given under I, A. B. D. and E. are, with a few exceptions, limited to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and are not, of course, intended to be exhaustive. Under C illustrations seem hardly necessary. The list of senses is, no doubt, incomplete, and some of the distinctions indicated may be inexact; I shall be grateful to the learned readers of this journal for corrections and additions. The appended "Remarks" are merely fragments of the skeleton of what should have been, and perhaps may some day be, a somewhat extensive study in the history of the appeal to "nature" for the norms of art. The evidence available in support of the generalizations propounded is, I think, abundant—much too abundant to be presented here.

I. *Senses of "Nature" as Aesthetic Norm.*

A. *"Nature" as objects to be imitated (in the sense of "reproduced" or "represented") in art.*

1. "Nature" as empirical reality. *E. g.*, D'Alembert, *Disc. Prélim.*; Goldsmith, *Cultivation of Taste;* Granville, *Essay upon Unnatural Flights in Poetry;* Reynolds, *Disc. on Painting, XII, ad fin.* Especially:

(a) Human nature, *i. e.*, possible or usual human behavior, the "natural" expression of the passions, in possible situations. *E. g.*, Shakespeare, *Hamlet, III.* 2; Dryden, Pref. to *Tyrannic Love;* Pref. to *Fables* (on Chaucer); Molière, *Misanthrope,* I, 388; Boileau, *Art poét.* III, 360-370, 414-420; Fénelon, *Lettres sur les occupations,* VI; Diderot, *Lettre à Mlle Jodin* (*Oeuvres,* XIX, 388); Johnson, *Lives* (*ed.* Hill, 1908) III, 255; H. Walpole, Pref. to second ed. of *Castle of Otranto.*

(b) Real interconnections between facts, especially the relations of cause and effect in human experience. *E. g.*, Dryden, Pref. to *The Rival Ladies; cf.* Diderot, *Encyclopédie,* art. "*Beau.*"

2. "Nature" as the essence or Platonic Idea of a kind, imperfectly realized in empirical reality; hence, idealized type-form, *la belle nature.* *E. g.*, Sidney, *Apology for Poetry;* Du Fresnoy, *De arte graphica;* Molière, *La gloire du Dôme de Val-de-Grace;* Dryden, *Parallel of Poetry and Painting;* Addison, *Spectator,* 418; Mingard, Arts "Beau" and "*Beaux Arts*" in *Encyclopédie.* éd. d'Yverdun (1777); Batteux, *Les Beaux Arts réduits, etc.;* Diderot, *Avant-propos du Salon de 1767;* Hurd, *Notes on the Art of Painting;* Arteaga, *La Bellezza Ideal considerada como objeto de todas las*

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artes de imitación. (For another sense of imitation of *la belle nature,* cf. Diderot, *Encyclopédie,* art. "Beau").

3. "Nature" as the generic type, excluding the differentiae of species and individuals. *E. g.,* Johnson, *Rasselas,* ch. X.; *Pref to Shakesp.;* Reynolds, *Discourses,* III and VII.

4. "Nature" as the average type, or statistical "mode," of a kind (no. 2 interpreted in a way which makes it approximate no. 1). *E. g.,* Reynolds in *Idler,* 79 and 82; *cf.* Buffier. *Tr. des premières, vérités* I, ch. 13, and Lessing, *Hamburgische Dramaturgie,* 95.

5. "Nature" as antithetic to man and his works; the part of empirical reality which has not been transformed (or corrupted) by human art; hence, the out-of-doors "natural" sights and sounds. *E. g.,* Shaftesbury, *Char.,* "The Moralists," III, § 2 (ed. Robertson, II, p. 125; Akenside, *Pleasures of the Imagination,* first ed., III, *passim;* Langhorne, *Vision of Fancy,* El. 3, and *Inscription, etc.;* Beattie, *Minstrel,* I, 9; Fr. Schlegel, *Werke* (1825) VI, 223, 280; X, 71.

B. *"Nature" (i. e., the "nature of things") as the system of necessary and self-evident truths concerning the properties and relations of essences;* hence, with respect to aesthetic judgments:

6. Intuitively known principles or standards of "taste" (analogous to the "law of nature" in morals), whereby that which is objectively and essentially (*i. e.,* "by nature") beautiful is recognized. *E. g.,* Shaftesbury, *Char.* (ed. Robertson, "Soliloquy," III, 3 (vol. I, pp. 216-220); "Moralists," III, 2 (vol. II, p. 137); "Inquiry," II, 3 (vol. I p. 251); André, *Essai sur le Beau,* I; Balguy, *Foundation of Moral Goodness,* II, a. 21.

C. *"Nature" in general, i. e., the cosmical order as a whole, or a half-personified power (natura naturans) manifested therein, as exemplar, of which the attributes or modes of working should characterize also human art.*

These attributes were variously conceived to be:

7. Uniformity (*cf.* 6 and 17).

8. Simplicity.

9. Economy of means in achieving a given end.

10. Regularity: nature as "geometrizing."

11. Irregularity, "wildness."

12. "Fullness," abundance and variety of content, insatiable fecundity —and as consequence of these, as sometimes conceived, juxtaposition of sharply contrasting features.

13. (In the later eighteenth century only). Progressive diversification of types in the order of time, continuous evolution.

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D. *"Nature," i. e., naturalness, as an attribute of the artist.*
This commonly conceived as consisting in:

14. Freedom from influence of convention, rules, traditions (antithesis of "nature" and "custom"). *E. g.*, J. Warton, *The Enthusiast.*

15. Self-expression without self-consciousness; freedom from premeditation or deliberate and reflective design, artlessness (antithesis of "nature" and "art"; cf. 5). *E. g.*, Boileau, *Épitre* IX, 81-90. Hence:

16. The qualities exemplified by primitive man or primitive art. *E. g.*, Dryden, *Essay on Satire;* Addison, *Spect.* 209; Johnson, *Rasselas*, Ch. X; J. Warton, *The Enthusiast;* Diderot, *De la poésie dramatique*, XVIII.

E. *"Nature" as manifested in the artist's public, and therefore as determining the appeal of the work of art.*
Sometimes with the same implications as 14, 16, but much more commonly, in this use, with the following connotations:

17. The universal and immutable in thought, feeling, and taste; what has always been known, what everyone can immediately understand and enjoy. (Cf. 6, 7). *E. g.*, Boileau, Préf. VI (*Oeuvres*, ed. Gidel, I, 19); Dryden, *Parallel of Poetry and Painting;* Pope, *Essay on Crit.*, 297-300; Addison, *Spect.*, 253; Fénelon, *Lettre sur les occupations*, V; Diderot, *Oeuvres*, XIV, 432; Hurd, *Disc. on Poetical Imitation;* Johnson (*loc. cit.* under 3); J. Warton, *Essay on Genius and Writings of Pope*, I, 86, 1806 ed.); Rousseau, *Émile*, IV (*Oeuvres*, ed. Auguis, IV, 317-320); Reynolds, *Disc.*, III; T. Warton, *On Sir Joshua Reynolds's Window, etc.;* Schiller, *Ueber Matthisons Gedichte.*

18. The familiar and intimate: the "natural" as that which is most congenial to, and immediately comprehensible and enjoyable by, *each* individual—this conceived not as uniform in all men, but as varying with time, race, nationality, and cultural tradition (*cf.* 12). *E. g.*, Alfonso Sanchez in Saintsbury, *Loci Critici*, 137; Herder, "Shakspear" in *Von deutscher Art und Kunst; Ideen zur Philos. der Gesch. der Menschheit*, IX, ch. 4, § 3. *Cf.* Fr. Schlegel, *Werke* (1825), VI, 253; X, 103; Scott, *Misc. Prose Works* (1847), I, 749.

II. *Implied Desiderata in Works of Art* (if they are to "accord with Nature" in one or another of the above senses).

a. Literal realism, fidelity of reproduction of object imitated; usually in the sense of adherence to probability (sense 1).

b. Verisimilitude, adherence to apparent or supposed probability. (Modification of *a* under the influence of the assumption that a work of art must be judged by its effect on the beholder, reader, *etc.* Associated in thought with 17).

c. Restriction of employment of supernatural apparatus or mytho-

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logical figures to "that which is universally agreed upon"; or inner consistency even in the portrayal of the unreal. Cf. Granville, *Unnatural Flights*, n. 1; Addison, *Spect.*, 419; Hurd, *Letters on Chivalry*, x. (An extreme attenuation of *a;* cf. also *o*, below).

d. Restriction of (all or certain) arts or *genres* to depiction of ideal types (sense 2).

e. Depiction of general types, only, not of individuals (sense 3).

f. Depiction of average types (sense 4).

g. Adherence to standards of "objective" beauty (sense 6); these commonly identified with one or both of the two following.

h. Simplicity, *i. e.*, sparseness of ornament and avoidance of intricacy in design (sense 8, 9).

i. Symmetry, balance, definiteness and regularity of form (sense 10).

k. Irregularity, avoidance of symmetry, of fixed, recurrent forms, *etc.* (sense 11).

l. Preponderance of feeling (as the spontaneous and therefore more "natural" element in human nature) over intellection or deliberate aesthetic design (sense 15).

m. Naïveté, unsophistication, likeness to the primitive; or representation of the life and emotions of primitive or unsophisticated persons or societies (sense 16; *cf.* also 11 and 17).

n. Disregard of rules and precedents, free self-expression of the artist—often, but not necessarily, identified with *m* (sense 14).

o. Universal aesthetic validity, capacity for being immediately understood and enjoyed by all men (whose "natural" taste has not been corrupted). (Sense 17). Often construed as implying *e*.

p. Adherence to rules and precedents, or imitation of models, of which the "conformity to nature" (*i. e.*, their universal validity, and appeal to that which is immutable in human nature) has been shown by their general and long-continued acceptance (sense 17).

q. Expression of that which is most distinctive of, or most intimately familiar to, the artist and his immediate public; hence (1) racialism or nationalism in art; or (2) expression by modern art of ideas or feelings that are distinctively Christian; or (3) expression by the art of each period of its own distinctive *Zeitgeist* (sense 18).

r. Completeness of representation of human life or of the aspects of the sensible world; expression of their "fullness," diversity and richness of contrasts. Conceived as a program for art as a whole, this included both *a* and *n* among its implications; it also suggested the doctrine of the greater value of 'content' than of 'form' in art. Conceived as an ideal to be approximated in an individual work of art, it implied, *inter alia*, the mixture of *genres* (sense 12).

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s. Progressive diversification and expansion of the content and forms of art, continuous aesthetic evolution. Hence the cult of originality and novelty. (Sense 13).

t. *Naturgefühl;* expression of emotions derived from the contemplation of the sensible world external to man, especially when this is conceived as a source of moral teaching or as a manifestation of, or means of contact with, some pervasive spiritual Presence ("Nature" as in sense 5; but the function of the artist is here conceived to be, not "imitating" the external world, but expressing his subjective response to it or interpreting its supposed inner meaning).

III. *Remarks.*

(1) The principle of "imitating" or "following" or "keeping close to nature" was primarily the maxim of neo-classicism; but it was also fatal to that creed, since nearly all forms of the revolt against neo-classical standards invoked the same catchword. The justification of new tendencies by the old rule was made possible partly by the substitution (conscious or unconscious) of other meanings of the multivocal terms "nature" and "natural," partly by the emergence of latent logical implications of certain already accepted neo-classical senses of the formula.

(2) The strictly neo-classical meanings of the rule were *o* (often with the implication of *g*), *p*, *h*, *i*.

(3) While neo-classical theorists often tended to construe the rule as implying *d* or *e* (*i. e.*, the duty of art to portray ideal types not found in empirical reality, or to represent only the generic characters of things, not individuals) these tendencies were counteracted by the realistic connotation (*a* or *b*) implicit in the Aristotelian formula as commonly construed. Much neo-classical criticism constantly wavers between *a* and *d* or *e* or *f*.

(4) Sense 1, and the corresponding conceptions of the "imitation" of nature (*a* or *b*), were common to orthodox neo-classicists and to their opponents. *E. g.*, the unities and other features of the classical drama were by the one side defended on the ground that they were favorable to realism or verisimilitude, by the other side attacked as inconsistent therewith. But the preponderant influence of this sense of the formula was adverse to neo-classical standards, and especially to the assumption that imitating ancient models was equivalent to imitating "nature" (*i. e.*, empirical reality) at first hand. The same sense was also conducive to nationalism in art, on the ground that only the life and the types of feeling most familiar to the artist can be faithfully represented by him.

(5) Sense 16, and the primitivistic strain associated therewith (*m*), were deeply implanted in the neo-classical tradition, especially in

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the theory of the epic and the assumption of the superiority of Homer in that *genre*. They were also closely connected logically with the fundamental neo-classical ideal of immutability and universal aesthetic validity (*o*); primitive man must, it was generally assumed, have manifested most clearly, simply, and uncorruptedly those elements in human nature which are universal and fundamental. But this element of the tradition (becoming increasingly identified with *k* and *l*, *sc.* the ideas of irregularity, wildness, and uncontrolled feeling) was at variance with *i* and *p*, and in general with the high valuation of "elegance" and "correctness"; and this opposition in the eighteenth century became acute. Aesthetic primitivism even in its later forms was thus not a direct reaction against neo-classicism but a natural development of one of the elements of that complex compound of aesthetic ideas.

(6) The conceptions of the characteristics of "nature" which were relatively novel in the eighteenth century were 12, 13, 18; and the aesthetic ideals associated with these (*q*, *r*, *s*), together with *n*, were (though all but *s* had found some earlier expressions) essentially revolutionary, since they implied a rejection of the most fundamental of the neo-classical meanings of the formula (*o*, *p*, *g*, *h*, *i*). The former ideals were the essential novelties of early German Romanticism and were embodied in Fr. Schlegel's definition of *die romantische Poesie* as *eine progressive Universalpoesie* (*Athenaeum*, *Frag.* 116), and in other manifestos of the school; and, if the term "Romantic" is to be given any one historical meaning, these four ways of conceiving of an art in harmony with Nature best deserve to be called the essentials of the aesthetic creed of Romanticism.[1]

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[1] On this last, *cf.* Lovejoy, "The Meaning of Romantic," *etc.* (*MLN*, 1916, 1917), "Schiller and the Genesis of Romanticism" (*ibid.*, 1920), "On the Discrimination of Romanticism" (*PMLA*, 1924), and a forthcoming paper in *PMLA*, on "Optimism and Romanticism."

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TITUS IN HEBBEL'S *HERODES UND MARIAMNE*

The error into which critics often fall when endeavoring to describe an individual by a word or phrase is strikingly illustrated by characterizations of the Roman captain Titus in Hebbel's *Herodes und Mariamne*. Richard Maria Werner pronounces him the sternest representative of the Romans, one who views the struggles merely as an indifferent observer.[1] Professor E. S. Meyer regards Titus as the cold and triumphant representative of Rome.[2] Much the same terms are employed by Paul Bornstein who writes of Titus as "der gelassen teilnahmslose Beobachter der dramatischen Geschehnisse, als strengster Vertreter der triumphierenden römischen Welt."[3] Such characterizations are necessarily brief, but they are utterly inadequate in that they omit significant traits which serve a very important purpose in Hebbel's motivation of the drama. To be sure, the dramatist did at first emphasize almost exclusively Titus' outward sternness, his apparent indifference to human suffering and his seeming contempt for the Jews as beings whom a Roman could regard with but little more feeling than plants, stones and lifeless objects. Yet this is not the real Titus as he is subsequently portrayed. Hebbel's technique in presenting Titus does not consist in giving a complete picture of him from every angle at once, as might be done in prose narrative or even in lengthy descriptive stage directions common in later German drama. Nor does Titus' character necessarily change during the comparatively brief time required for the action of the last three acts. What strikes the more casual reader of drama as character development is frequently no change or development at all; the narrow confines of plays whose action covers a few days, weeks or even months are insufficient to permit of significant and profound change of character as determined by habit unless one conceives of the possibility of vital transformations occurring in the wake of a cataclysmic experience. In his portrayal of the

[1] R. M. Werner: *Friedrich Hebbel—Sämtliche Werke.* Berlin: Behr, 1904, vol. 2, p. xxxix.

[2] E. S. Meyer: *Herodes und Mariamne.* New York, 1905, p. xxxv.

[3] Paul Bornstein: *Hebbels "Herodes und Mariamne."* Hamburg and Leipzig, 1904, p. 17.

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Roman captain, Hebbel has subtly revealed character trait by trait as occasion and situation demanded, thereby heightening the interest in this significant secondary personage. Moreover, Titus plays an important role in serving to explain some phases of Herod's attitude, and thereby illustrates Hebbel's tendency toward objectivity in the conflict of major characters.

The Roman captain is first portrayed as utterly indifferent to the fate of the Jews, who, at the instigation of Mariamne's mother Alexandra, are revolting in Herod's absence. Titus appears before Joseph, the temporary regent, to ascertain whether the latter desires the rebels to be taken prisoners or to be slain. He adds in a cold, matter-of-fact manner that the Roman eagle seizes or tears to pieces equally well, and that Joseph must know which he prefers (l. 1199 f.). This impression of the impersonal, inhuman attitude of the Roman toward the Jew is heightened by the statement of Herod who, on his return, remarks that Captain Titus has captured Sameas, the tool of Alexandra. The unfeeling Roman has tied Sameas to the tail of his steed and is pulling him about on the market place so that the captive is compelled to run as he has never run before if he is to avoid falling and being dragged along on the ground (1450 f.). The practical Latin viewpoint of Titus manifests itself in the assumption that human conduct is determined largely by personal advantage; consequently he concludes that if Mariamne belongs to the enemies of Herod she is dancing upon receiving the news of his death merely in order not to suffer with his friends now that he is gone (2459 f.). The first indication of any emotion on the part of Titus is found in an aside in which he admits that he does, after all, shudder at the conduct of these women. One of them, Judith, he says, first lulls her victim into a sense of false security with hypocritical kisses and then slays him in his sleep, whereas Mariamne dances madly on the grave of her husband in order to preserve her crown (2462 f.). That Titus is not as insensitive as he had seemed is brought out by his remarks on Mariamne as she is dancing. His reflections grow out of careful observation of her and reveal a thoughtful mind. He notes that her mood is not a flippant light-hearted one, for she grows pale as if she were but involuntarily following the cadence of the music while her thoughts are elsewhere. It seems to him that she must still feel the last kiss of her husband whom as yet

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she has not seen dead and whom she is now disavowing so solemnly (2480 f.).

On seeing Herod return, Titus concludes in a matter-of-fact manner that Herod has saved his life merely by forsaking Anthony before the battle of Actium and by joining forces with Caesar (2540 f). In spite of this common-sense conclusion his disapproval of such mercenary conduct voices itself in the words:

> Nun wohl!
> Ich—wünsch dir Glück!

A mere dash here indicates Titus' real opinion of Herod's course of action. The same cool disapproval manifests itself subsequently in Titus' statement to Herod who has told of his agreement with Octavio:

> Das—hätt' ich nie gedacht. Auch preis' ich nichts
> Als deinen Stern! (2582 f.)

The general conception of Titus held by other personages of the drama is that he is indifferent, cold and dispassionate. Consequently Salome, who is bent on accusing her enemy Mariamne, can scarcely find a stronger denunciation of the latter's conduct than by telling Herod that even the Roman, "der eh'rne Titus," was horrified (2668 f.). Salome's accusation calls forth the following characterization of Titus by Herod:

> Ja wohl, und der wiegt schwerer, als du selbst,
> Denn wie er keinen liebt, so hasst er keinen
> Und ist gerecht, wie Geister ohne Blut. (2670 f.)

Titus has somewhat the same attitude toward the life of subordinates as Herod, for he recognizes that the king could not have permitted Soemus to live, once the latter had received command to slay Mariamne and had refused to comply (2703 f.). The hard practical common-sense of Titus leads him into error when he regards material advantage as the basic factor in determining the conduct of Soemus. For he assumes that Soemus revealed Herod's command to Mariamne in order to win the queen's favor when the king's power seemed at an end (2708 f.). Yet in spite of this misjudgment of Soemus Titus is a good enough judge of Herod's character to realize that it is too late to warn Herod to desist from issuing the order for Mariamne's execution. Since

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he knows of no means of clarifying Herod's thoughts and emotions, he does not venture to urge the king to pause (2741 f.).

It is significant that while sitting in judgment over Mariamne Herod commands Titus to sit at his side (2794). This command may arise out of Herod's desire to give Mariamne's trial at least an outward semblance of justice through the presence of the seemingly dispassionate Roman. The latter's sense of justice, however, is so offended by this unfair trial that he rises and is about to leave, saying that this is no court of justice. Strangely enough the terseness of this declaration is softened by his addition of the word "Verzeih!" (2919 f.). Nevertheless, at this juncture Titus himself holds that Mariamne is in the wrong, and insists upon Herod's putting an end to her (2940 f).

The most revealing passages as regards other qualities of Titus are found in the sixth and eighth scenes of the last act. Even the hitherto stoical Roman is astounded at Mariamne's apparent fortitude as she goes to her death. Though her actions and her nature are uncanny to him, he nevertheless honors her heroic courage which allows her to part with life as if the beautiful world were not worthy of even a fleeting glance. How deeply Titus himself had been offended by Mariamne is disclosed by his exclamation (2972):

> Und dieser Mut versöhnt mich fast mit dir!

Titus marvels at Mariamne's ability to restrain her grief outwardly, and compares her with Caesar, who, though too proud to show his grief at Brutus' betrayal, was nevertheless not strong enough to stifle it.

It is worthy of note that Mariamne's conception of Titus somewhat resembles that of Herod (2671 f.) in its emphasis upon the Roman's cold indifference (3002-3010):

> Dich aber hab' ich darum auserwählt,
> Weil du schon immer, wie ein eh'rnes Bild
> In eine Feuersbrunst, gelassen—kalt
> Hinein geschaut in unsre Hölle hast.
> Dir muss man glauben, wenn du Zeugnis gibst,
> Wir sind für dich ein anderes Geschlecht,
> An das kein Band dich knüpft, du sprichst von uns,
> Wie wir von fremden Pflanzen und von Steinen,
> Parteilos, ohne Liebe, ohne Hass!

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Titus protests that this portrayal is exaggerated (3011) and finally confesses that he is deeply moved by Mariamne's account of the tragedy in her relations with Herod. He does not accuse her of wrongdoing, but is compelled to admit that she had deceived even him, and that her dancing, when others assumed that Herod was dead, had filled him with horror and loathing just as she now inspires him with shuddering admiration. Then follows an apology for Herod's misunderstanding of Mariamne, a justification of the king's conduct for which Hebbel could not have chosen a better exponent than this just, unbiased Roman. For Titus affirms that if even he had been deceived in Mariamne and in her motives, why should not the same have happened to Herod, why should not Herod have been deceived all the more readily since his heart, troubled as it was by passion and jealousy, could impossibly mirror things as they actually were. And now Titus manifests profound sympathy for Herod as well; Mariamne's revenge he considers too severe (3047 f.). Consequently he pleads with Mariamne to release him from his promise of keeping her secret until after her death (3063). If possible, he desires to prevent her execution. Her determination to leave this life wrests from him the admission that he himself has testified against her (3078). How deeply Titus has been stirred by Mariamne's tragic narrative and how keenly he feels that Herod alone can prevent Mariamne from going to a voluntary death in case she is not executed is summed up in his exclamation (3093 f.):

> O, fühlt' er das, und käm' von selbst und würfe
> Sich dir zu Füssen!

Titus admits that Mariamne's view of the situation is convincing and that she could never rest assured that Herod would not again place her under the sword (3112). And through Titus' admission Hebbel has succeeded in convincing the reader and spectator as well, so great has become their confidence in Titus' judgment and fairness.

Subsequently Titus' compassion for Herod finds expression in words which are indicative of genuinely refined sentiment. After Mariamne's execution he announces that his mission is much more terrible than that of Joab, who had carried out the bloody sentence, for it now becomes his duty to tell Herod that the queen was inno-

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cent (3180 f.). Titus complies with his promise to Mariamne in no cold, perfunctory, indifferent manner; but in fulfilling her wishes he nevertheless desires to spare Herod all the suffering he can. He realizes that his mission destines him to become even worse than a hangman for the king but he is likewise aware of his sacred duty to purge the memory of the dead queen from all disgrace (3185 f.). In this scene Titus virtually becomes Hebbel's mouthpiece in voicing the dramatist's idea of the nature of tragedy. For the Roman maintains that this tragic outcome was inexorably necessary (3206 f.) in that it grew directly out of Mariamne's character and out of the relationship in which she was placed. More clearly than any other personage in the drama Titus was privileged to see the queen as she truly was and to comprehend that her character determined her destiny. He says of her (3212 f.):

> Sie wollte sterben, und sie musste auch!
> Sie hat so viel gelitten und verziehn
> Als sie zu leiden, zu verzeihn vermochte:
> Ich habe in ihr Innerstes geschaut.
> Wer mehr verlangt, der hadre nicht mit ihr,
> Er hadre einzig mit den Elementen,
> Die sich nun einmal so in ihr gemischt,
> Dass sie nicht weiter konnte. Doch er zeige
> Mir auch das Weib, das weiter kam, als sie!

The above lines bespeak Titus' rare insight into the character of Mariamne, his comprehension of the situation which had made her reckoning with life one of inexorable necessity, and his sympathetic appreciation of her qualities, of her nature and of what she had endured. Titus serves as a mediator by appraising Mariamne's conduct in appearing at the dance after the manner in which Herod had conceived of her. He regards this a severe punishment of Herod but not as unjust (3221 f.).

The real depth of Titus' compassion and kindness is to be found in his retort to Alexandra's statement to Herod in which she tells him that Mariamne had sworn unbeknown to her husband that she would voluntarily follow him in death. For though Titus, too, knows of this oath he would have kept it from Herod forever; his desire was to clear her name and not to torture Herod after her death (3263 f.). Surely these words are not those of a cold,

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indifferent observer as Titus has frequently been characterized. Moreover, Titus voices genuine grief in saying that he as well as Herod suffers from this terrible blow. It is significant, furthermore, that at the end of the tragedy, Herod, who has sown no love and affection among his own people, calls upon Titus, the foreigner, to support him as he collapses at the thought of interring his wife.

That part of the action in which Titus figures has been reproduced here in some detail in order to set forth that much of the current characterization of Titus is entirely inadequate. Furthermore it becomes evident that it was a masterstroke of Hebbel to endow Titus at the outset with qualities which would establish him in the minds of all as just and impartial. As a consequence it was possible for him to become a trustworthy ambassador of Mariamne, one who could clear her of guilt even in the eyes of her jealous husband. Not only was he enabled to rehabilitate her name and reputation but also to grant her some solace in the hour of her death. It is Titus who sets forth the objectivity of Hebbel in the conflict between Herod and Mariamne by justifying her conduct, as well as by comprehending the reasons for Herod's action. Titus also points out the inexorable necessity of the tragic outcome in a convincing manner. In addition he introduces a more human note of justice, understanding, compassion and sympathy into a world honeycombed with suspicion, fear, jealousy and with disregard of human life and of human suffering. Strangely enough, this Roman, who at first blush seemed as devoid of feeling as bronze, embodies virtues which, though outwardly stern, nevertheless at times approach the human sympathy which is foreshadowed in Hebbel's reference to the dawn of a new era—an era in which regard for one's fellow beings is to be the dominant ideal. Nevertheless, Titus looks upon the Jews as a whole with the disinterested eye of one who is conscious of belonging to a conquering, superior nation. While he manifests scorn for a fanatical zealot like Sameas and for the revolting mob, he does respect and honor human greatness.

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THE SONG IN *THE MERCHANT OF VENICE*

In Act III, Sc. 2 of Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice,* as Bassanio stands before the Three Caskets of Gold, Silver and Lead, hesitating which to choose, Portia calls for music, and one of her household servants strikes up the song "Tell me where is Fancy bred," to which there is a refrain sung in chorus by the other servants. Scholars have asked why these particular words should be sung at this juncture in the play. They are all agreed on one thing—through this song Portia meant to convey a hint to Bassanio, but how do these words or the idea they clothe help Bassanio to make the right choice?

I suggest that the hint reaches Bassanio's ear, not by word or idea, but even more simply by sound. This song is an Echo Song —a type of song, which in varying forms occurs often enough in Elizabethan drama. The chorus here repeats in dying echoes the last word of the soloist, first at end of the first stanza, after the soloist's injunction "Reply, reply!," and then at the end of the second stanza. Finally, I think, in proper glee-song style, the chorus (probably three or four voices), plus the soloist, split into two sections, each taking a different stanza and both chanting together, until the song dies away on a double echo.

Let us see how the song goes now as an Echo Song.

Soloist. Tell me where is Fancy brED,
Or in the heart, or in the HEAD,
How begot, how nourishED?
Reply! reply!

Chorus (dying away) NourishED- rishED- shED- ED . . .

Soloist. It is engendred in the eyes,
With gazing fED; . . . . . and Fancy dies
In the cradle where it lies.
Let us all ring Fancy's knELL;
I'll *begin* it—Ding, Dong, BELL

Chorus (dying away) Ding-Dong-BELL—Dong-BELL—BELL-ELL

Then the chorus divides in two, each section taking a different stanza, till the song closes on the double echo,

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Ding-dong-BELL———NourishED.
-dong-BELL———rishED
-BELL———shED
-ELL———ED. . .

The song, dying away thus on the sound LED, Bassanio takes the hint and chooses the LEAD casket. In other words, Portia was a woman, and where Bassanio was concerned, took no risks and evaded the terms of her father's will with feminine subtlety.

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AN EARLY EDITION OF THE *GETA* OF VITAL DE BLOIS

The *Geta* of Vital de Blois, the earliest existing derivative of Plautus' *Amphitruo,* is thought to have been preserved only in manuscript. During the course of the nineteenth century it was published no less than five times.[1] As perhaps the best known of the early examples of medieval drama[2] it has attracted considerable attention and has been repeatedly studied, most recently by E. Faral,[3] who recognizes in it certain characteristics indicating that it is an adaptation of a fourth-century reworking of the *Amphitruo.* But an early edition of the *Geta* in the possession of the National Library of Paris has gone unnoticed evidently because it is incorrectly catalogued. It is to be found under the name of Andreas Heinrici and bears the number Rés. m. Yc. 95, (s. l. n. d. in-4°). This book appears to have been published in

[1] By Angelo Maï in *Classicorum auctorum e vaticanis codicibus,* vol. 5, Rome, 1833; by F. Ozam, Darmstadt, 1836; by Thomas Wright, London, 1838, (a reproduction of the foregoing edition); by Karl W. Mueller, Bern, 1840; and by A. de Montaiglon, Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes, 2e série, tome IV, Paris, 1848. Mueller's edition is the most useful, as it is based on a greater number of manuscripts than any of the others, and is, on the whole, the most scholarly presentation of the poem.

[2] The *Geta* is more properly a poem in dialogue, for the narrative verses outnumber the dramatic by far. It may be called a comedy only in the medieval sense of the word.

[3] "Le Fabliau latin au moyen-âge," *Romania,* L (1924). Faral finds much to praise in the poem and calls it "une adaptation d'un rare bonheur." I think that the literary merit of the work of Vital de Blois has been greatly overstated by all of its critics.

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western Germany or Switzerland between 1490 and 1500 and is a remarkably fine example of the printing of the period. If not unique, this edition is extremely rare. It was included in the inestimable Soleinne collection (number 277 in the catalogue), but aside from this notice, so far as I know, there is no mention of it but that of Hain and of other bibliographers who rely upon his brief description or upon that of the catalogue of the Soleinne collection.

The book has no title page, the heading being simply "Comedia Amphitrionis," but the editor precedes the play itself with the following epigram and epistle:[4]

Magistri Andreae heinrici arctogenensis epigramma

Ad lectorem

Qui formam speculo spectas examine certo
Virtute et faciem qui superare petis
Huic assis vitae modulo quo prendere mores
Iustos ac reprobos indice lance potes
Nam vitae exemplar referunt sub imagine ficta
Socci pervigiles et fera facta domant
Sed quia proposuit perdelectare poeta
Hinc stili modici temperat apte modos
Namque expers cithare molles non percipit ictus
Quos agili nimium pollice plectra ferunt

Domino Vulfgango artium liberalium Magistro perspicacissimo ac Canonico ecclesiae Furstenvoldensis dignissimo Magister Andreas heinrici Arctoginensis. S. P. D.

Cum identidem cogitabundus animo volutabam: qua in re animum erga te meum significarem vir integerrime. Profecto eam quam mente conceperim munificam beneficentiam: ob copie penuriam affatim facto exequi haud potui. Cum persertim totum quod meae salutis est tibi acceptum referri iudico. Utque igitur abdita gasarum perlustraverim penetralia non potui non te isto condonare libellulo. Quo: cum sacrarum litterarum lectitatione te penitus exhaurieris: animi macillentiam perinde ac quodam revocillamento restaurare posses. Velim igitur ut cum vacuum tibi quinquidem[5] esset ocium hac lectitatione te occupatum fore non dedigneris. Qua usus ut cibi horridioris degustatione tandem ad delicatioris sacrepagine esculenta faucibus hiantibus possis excitari. Cum natura ipsa

[4] In transcribing the Latin I have not reproduced the numerous abbreviations, nor the contraction of *ae* to *e*, and I have avoided the confusion of *u* and *v*.

[5] *qñquidē* in the text.

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duce rerum quarumcumque delectamur varietate. Suscipe igitur queso animo benigno non munusculi pregnantiam, sed animum intimum affectum numquam oblitterandum. Quem si excutere atque pleno dimetiri volueris iustiori[6] etiam sollicito admisso meditationum comitio non poteris non dicere ni me fore observantissimum.

Vale.

Inasmuch as the idiom of Master Andrew Heinrici is often obscure in its remoteness from Ciceronian standards, I offer a somewhat halting translation:[7]

Master Andrew Heinrici of Bern's[8] epigram to the reader.

You who look at your reflection in a mirror with an examination that is sure, and who seek to surpass your face by the quality of your manhood, give your attention to this measure of life, through which you can attain character that is upright or the opposite, according as the scale (in which you are weighed) may indicate; for writers of comedy who are thoroughly alive to their task give us a transcript of human life under the form of fiction, and bring under control the harsh facts of life. But since the poet has proposed to give the maximum of pleasure, he fitly tempers the measures of his modest pen from this point of view. For, being ignorant of the lyre, he fails to catch those soft fingerings that the quill produces under the touch of an unusually nimble thumb.

Master Andreas Heinrici of Bern salutes Father Wolfgang, most learned master of liberal arts and most worthy canon in the church of Fuerstenwald.

Often when my mind was busily occupied in speculating how as a man I might most honestly show my feeling toward you, surely I was hardly able to repay fully and in deed abundant the kindness which my mind only has acknowledged, on account of my abundant poverty; especially when I consider that all my welfare is owed to you. In order therefore that I may cast light through the hidden resources of the treasure house (of your benefits), I have not been able to restrain myself from presenting to you this little book. When you are drawn deeply into it by the perusal of the sacred letters, you may be able to restore the poverty of your mind as if by means of a restorative. I could wish therefore that when you have vacant leisure for five days you will not disdain to occupy

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[6] *iustorio* in the text.

[7] I am indebted to Professor W. B. MacDaniel for valuable suggestions for the translation of difficult passages of the epigram.

[8] Arctogenensis is doubtless from Arctopolis, the Latin name for Bern. On the other hand it is barely conceivable that it is a cognomen assumed by Heinrici to indicate that he was born under the constellation Ἄρκτος, the Bear.

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yourself with the perusal of this book. When you have used this as the degustation of somewhat harsh food, you may at length be excited with gaping jaws by the succulent sacred page of some more delicate food. With nature herself as a guide in these matters, whatsoever they be, we are delighted by variety. Take up therefore with a tranquil and kindly mind not the fruitfulness of the little gift, but the deep affection of my heart, which can never be obliterated. If you wish to criticize it and test its worth in full, giving it the more weighty and careful assemblage of your meditations, you will only be able to say that I shall be most grateful. Farewell.

From the dedicatory epistle it is evident that our Master Andrew Heinrici wishes to assume the doubtful honor of the authorship of the poem and it is probable that his limited public credited him with it. But the work that follows is Vital's.

It is an interesting commentary on the limit of the influence of the *Geta* that this early edition should have attracted practically no attention, and that it should have had no appreciable effect upon the literature of its time. The twenty-nine known manuscripts of the poem date from the twelfth to the beginning of the sixteenth century. Eustache Deschamps translated it into French,[9] and Ghigo (or Filippo) Brunelleschi and Domenico da Prato adapted it to the form of a mock epic in *ottava rima*.[10] Up to this point the influence of the *Geta* can be felt to some degree. The number of manuscripts alone indicates its popularity in the medieval universities, and the accident which decreed that it should serve as the theme of a mock epic in the Pulci style determined that it should enjoy a certain vogue in Italy. It is doubtless in this form that the *Geta* was best known.[11]

At the beginning of the sixteenth century it fell into oblivion, not to be resurrected until its rediscovery by the research workers of the nineteenth century. The contemporaries of Heinrici were, as it seems, better aware of its inferiority than the critics of our own day. As a matter of fact, its literary value has been greatly

[9] *Le Traicté de Getta et d'Amphitrion*, published by the marquis de Queux de Saint-Hilaire, Paris, 1872. The preface of this edition presents an excellent and fairly complete outline of Amphytrion in the drama.

[10] Five editions beginning with 1478, and republished by C. Arlì, Bologna, 1879.

[11] The Deschamps translation is hardly significant because it remained unpublished until 1872.

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overstated. Its originality is slight, its language rough, its composition crude and artificial. Its one saving grace lies in the central idea behind the whole plot—that of a satire on scholasticism. Yet even this theme is not well worked out, but is handled clumsily, without verve, and in a fashion hardly worthy of a modern schoolboy. In short, if we are to judge Vital's "comedy" by purely literary standards, we can accord it but a modicum of praise.

To return to Heinrici, if that scholar had not set himself up as an author, he might have won considerable esteem as an editor. Not only did he choose a printer who left to posterity a most beautiful book done in large, concise Roman type, and with astonishingly few errors, but the text which he offers is perhaps better than that of any of the manuscripts. He has eliminated most of the copyist's mistakes—largely errors of agreement, which are quite common in the manuscripts—and at many points has attempted to smooth out obscurities of syntax. At rare intervals he changes the sense of the original, and occasionally he does it with a sense of humor. For example, in the passage describing the toilet of Alcumena, who is hastening to make ready to receive Jupiter disguised as Amphitryon, Vital de Blois wrote:

> Culta forma nitet; hac femina dote superbit.
> Hac placet ipsa sibi, plus placet ergo viro.[18]

Heinrici changes the words only a little, but adds a sting:

> Culta forma nitet hac femina dote superbit
> Sic placet ipsa viro plus placet ipsa sibi.

There are many variations in the manuscripts, but all have the sense of Montaiglon's reading.

Heinrici follows no one of the manuscripts which figure in the modern editions of the *Geta,* although the first 181 verses are almost an exact reproduction of MS. 8207 of the National Library of Paris, which is the work of a fifteenth century copyist according to Montaiglon, and which Mueller places in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The remaining 359 verses resemble fairly closely Bern MS. 702, of the twelfth century, but have certain variants in common only with MS. 8430 of the Bibliothèque

[18] Lines 245-246 in Montaiglon's edition. This edition, though not the most scholarly, is perhaps the most easily accessible.

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Nationale.[13] However, as only thirteen of the twenty-nine known manuscripts are utilized in the critical editions, it is conceivable that Heinrici's source is one of those not yet studied, presumably a fifteenth century manuscript. Or our excellent editor might even have burned the parchment which he copied in order to remove such decidedly incriminating evidence of plagiarism!

ROBERT E. TURNER.

University of Pennsylvania.

WORDSWORTH'S *VAST CITY*

Many efforts have been made to explain Wordsworth's phrases "escaped from the vast city," in *The Prelude,* I. 6-7, and "the City's walls" in VII, 3. Trouble began with a note in the 1850 edition, either by Christopher Wordsworth the poet's nephew or by John Carter his clerk, which reads: "The City of Goslar in Lower Saxony." This erroneous statement was accepted by Christopher in the "Memoirs," 1851, and went unchallenged for many years. Professor Garrod in his "Wordsworth: Lectures and Essays" has clearly shown that the opening lines of the poem were written upon leaving Bristol on the way to Racedown in the autumn of 1795, and this view is approved by Professor de Selincourt. I am glad to observe, however, that both of these critics consider "the vast city" to be London, not Bristol, and I have found what is possibly a confirmation of this opinion in Milton's use of the same phrase with reference to London. In the *Areopagitica* we read: "Behold now this vast city, a city of refuge, the mansion house of liberty, encompassed and surrounded with his protection," and the rest of that soaring passage about writers "sitting by their studious lamps, musing, searching, revolving new notions and ideas."

Wordsworth, as his pamphlet on the Convention of Cintra redun-

[13] The last two lines of the poem, which discloses its authorship, are of course omitted. But the omission is not particularly significant inasmuch as these verses appear only in certain manuscripts. Nearly all of the texts vary as to the number of verses, and with regard to the order in which certain verses come.

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dantly proves, was an assiduous student of Milton's prose, imitating not only the swelling thunder of his tones, but his niceties of diction.

GEORGE MCLEAN HARPER.

Princeton University.

FYNES MORYSON AND THE TOMB OF TILL EULENSPIEGEL

Fynes Moryson passed through Mölln near Lüneburg in the year 1591. In his *Itinerary* he gives the following account:[1]

> From Lubeck we tooke our journey to Luneburg, being tenne miles distant, and the first night we lodged in a Village called Millen [i. e. to-day Mölln], where a famous Jester Oulenspiegell (whom we calle Owlyglasse) hath a monument erected: he died in the yeere 1350 and the stone covering him is compassed with a grate, least it should bee broken and carried away peece-meale by Passengers, which they say hath once already been done by the Germanes. The Towns-men yeerly keepe a feast for his memory, and yet shew the apparell he was wont to weare.

The oldest authentic reference to Eulenspiegel's tomb at Mölln is found according to Lappenberg[2] in Reimar Kock's *Lübscher Chronik* of the middle of the 16th century and refers to the year 1503. The next reference according to Lappenberg is in the journal of Michael Heberer of Bretten who visited Mölln in 1592. Moryson's visit was a year earlier. Heberer gives the German inscription on the tombstone and mentions the owl and the looking-glass that were cut into the stone. Moryson unfortunately does not speak of that. Merian's *Topographie von Niedersachsen* mentions in connection with the year 1614 Eulenspiegel's grave "so voriger Zeit renovirt worden."[3] This may refer to the same renovation of which Moryson had heard, but it seems more likely that

[1] Glasgow reprint I, T. For Fynes Moryson and his *Itinerary* see the references at the beginning of the article *An English 'Faustsplitter'* on p. 353 of the current volume of *M. L. N.*

[2] *Dr. Thomas Murners Ulenspiegel*, Leipzig 1854, p. 326.

[3] Lappenberg, *ib.* p. 327.

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the stone had to be renewed more than once. Zeiller's *Reiszbuch* in 1674 repeats Merian's statement.[4]

The manuscript chronicle of Dethlev Dreyer of the year 1631[5] speaks of a "holtzern Stacket" protecting the tombstone. This "Stacket" or picket fence had been renewed a few years before, as the old fence had been cut to pieces by visitors who used the splinters as a charm against tooth-ache. As the English word "grate" used by Moryson meant "the railing round a monument," which might be of wood or of metal,[6] there is substantial agreement on this point between Moryson and Dreyer.

Moryson's statement that the townsmen "yet shew the apparell he was wont to weare" is also supported by Dreyer who relates that Eulenspiegel's "gross und kleiner Pantzer" may be seen at the city hall of Mölln as a souvenir of olden times and as a curiosity. Zacharias Conrad vonUffenbach of Frankfort during his stay at Mölln in 1710 was shown an old armour at the city hall supposed to have been "Eulenspiegel's Kleidung."[7]

Moryson's further statement that the townsmen had an annual celebration in memory of Eulenspiegel is not confirmed, so far as I can see, by any German source, but it is doubtless correct. Such an annual celebration is almost suggested by the jocose remark in Reimar Kock's *Lübscher Chronik* directed against Cardinal Raymond that, if the cardinal had understood the German language, and if he had heard of the holy life of Saint Ulenspegel, and if money had been forthcoming, Ulenspegel might have been canonized by the Pope.[8]

JOHN A. WALZ.

Harvard University.

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[4] Lappenberg, *ib.* p. 330. (Eulenspiegel's) "Monument, so neulich renovirt worden."

[5] Lappenberg, *ib.* p. 327.

[6] Cf. *N. E. D.* under grate 3.

[7] Lappenberg, *ib.* p. 332.

[8] Lappenberg, *ib.* p. 326.

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NEGLECTED STROPHES BY SAINT-AMANT

In Saint-Amant's *Œuvres Complètes* (*Bibl. Elzév.* II, p. 502) Livet has published a *Chanson sur le Grand Prince de Condé,* which he discovered in the manuscript *Chansonnier de Maurepas,* and which he found, with the exception of the first strophe, in *Recueil F. 214* of the Bibliothèque du Louvre. However, he was not the first to discover these verses. Sautereau de Marsy in his *Nouveau Siècle de Louis XIV ou Poésies-Anecdotes du Règne et de la Cour de ce Prince,* 1800, (2nd edition, 1804) had already printed a variant version of the same song about the Prince of Condé from a contemporary manuscript. The first two strophes of the Sautereau de Marsy version are not found in the edition of Saint-Amant's complete works published by Livet:

Levée du Siège de Lérida par le Prince de Condé

Ils s'en reviennent nos guerriers,
Mais fort peu chargés de lauriers;
Car la couronne en est trop chère,
Lère la, lère lanlère,
Lère la, lère lanla.

Les ennemis sont plus mutins;
Ils sont plus noirs que des lutins,
Et leur ont taillé des croupières,
Lère la, lère lanlère, *etc.*[1]

Sautereau de Marsy adds the following footnote, which, although partly erroneous, is interesting because of its reference to the poem, *La Lune parlante,* recently discovered by F. Lachèvre: "Saint-Amand, fils d'un chef d'escadre, est le même que Boileau peint si désavantageusement dans sa première satire. Il mourut en 1660 (*Sic*) du chagrin de ce que Louis XIV n'avoit pu supporter la lecture de son poème de *La Lune,* dans lequel il louoit ce prince de savoir bien nager."

G. L. VAN ROOSBROECK.

Columbia University.

[1] I, 60.

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REVIEWS

Satirical Poems Published anonymously By William Mason. With Notes By Horace Walpole Now first printed from his Manuscript. Edited, with an Exposé of the Mystification, Notes and Index, By PAGET TOYNBEE, M. A., D. Litt.; Hon. Fellow of Balliol College; Oxford, 1926.

Mason's satires against the Tory policy of George III and against the literary adherents of his court are full of interest both to the student of eighteenth century literature and to those who concern themselves with many famous, and infamous, personalities whose short-comings are so pithily described. These poems have not been reprinted for a century,[1] and have never previously been subjected to critical editing. The format of Dr. Toynbee's volume is sumptuous, and the illustrations are admirably reproduced. One is, to be sure, disappointed that it does not contain the later satires of the series;[2] but Walpole did not annotate these pieces, and the editor is concerned with the poems chiefly as the basis for Walpole's comment. Dr. Toynbee's own notes seem to embody vulgate doctrine as it appears in the usual books of reference; and his introductory *Exposé of the Mystification,* although lacking in a number of pertinent quotations,[3] is a clear, condensed statement of the methods by which Walpole and Mason strove to conceal their authorship of the poems. The existence of these notes has for some time been known to scholars; and, although they are, especially the political *dicta,* often a rather close re-working of material in *The Last Journals,* the new volume will undoubtedly attract considerable attention.

Dr. Toynbee's connection with Oxford, his repute as a Dante scholar, and his previous editing of Walpole, give one every reason to expect the happiest results. In his *Preface,* furthermore, the editor assures the reader that Walpole's notes "*are now printed* verbatim et literatim *from his MS., together with the text of the*

[1] The last edition of *The Heroic Epistle,* the most popular of Mason's satires, seems to have been that in *The British Satirist,* 1826.

[2] One especially regrets the omission of *The Dean and the 'Squire* and *The Archæological Epistle to Dean Milles.* For proof of Mason's authorship of the latter, see Walpole's *Letters,* Oxford, 1903-1905, XII, 217, 227, 241, 246, 328 etc.

[3] The editor, for instance, did not consult *The Harcourt Papers,* VII, 46-47. For further references, see the reviewer's *William Mason, a Study in Eighteenth Century Culture,* New York, 1924, p. 251 *et seq.* The satires seem actually to have been written by Mason; but Walpole doubtless supplied much of the material.

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[Mason's] *poems . . .*" In such matters as this, the editor has the public very much at his mercy: there is but one copy of the original manuscript; and, indeed, most of the new letters and other Walpole material that Dr. Toynbee has of recent years been publishing are in private collections, closed to general inspection. It happens, however, that, as the editor remarks, the present manuscript has recently come into the possession of Harvard University; and a comparison of the original with the reprint may not be amiss.

On opening Walpole's introduction, where the manuscript begins, one finds that on the first page, the editor has, without remark, added a comma in one place, and substituted "to" for "on" in another.[4] In the first line of the following page, he omits "to" before "revise," thus changing both the syntax and the sense of the passage; he omits Walpole's first hyphen from "once-high-spirited," and he changes the *H* of Walpole's "He" into lower case, thus depriving it of the emphasis apparently intended.[5] On the next page, the editor introduces commas around "Dean of Gloucester," capitalizes "mr," substitutes "deny" for "decry," and quite changes the sense of Walpole's characterization of Johnson's *Lives of the Poets:* the original refers to Johnson's "pages of bombast biography"; the editor has inserted an "&" between the last two words, and so leads the reader to the inference that, whatever Walpole's criticism of the work, he did *not* think it bombastic.[6] A total of nine misprints on the first three pages constitutes a distressing prologue to a "*verbatim et literatim*" editorial performance.

The hundred odd pages that follow contain scores of needless, obvious and unacknowledged changes. The typography,[7] punctuation,[8] spelling, capitalization,[9] and even the paragraphing[10] of the original in numerous passages are ignored. Walpole's several corrections of printer's errors in Mason's text are indifferently omitted or inserted, never with notice or with the variant reading. There are over twenty cases in which the editor has changed, omitted or added words to the text: "breeding," for example, appears as "heeding," "of" as "for," "pensioners" as "pensions";[11] he

[4] Toynbee, p. 31, lines 7 and 14. The editor has not attempted to preserve the pagination of either the Walpole or the Mason.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 32, lines 1, 12 and 8.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 33, lines 26, 21 and 13.

[7] The editor changes many of Walpole's short *s*'s into long ones, and *vice versa*, and similarly varies the use of italics and of the symbol &.

[8] There are almost thirty changes of this sort, including matters of quotation-marks, parentheses, and commas showing restriction.

[9] In this respect, Mason's text is regularly modernized. Walpole's notes are usually followed, but show some twenty variations.

[10] *E. g.*, *ibid.*, pp. 36, 109, 111, 112 and 126.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 110, line 160; p. 41, line 6; p. 54, line 20.

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omits "left," "there" and "for Bradshaw";[12] and inserts "presently"[13] and other occasional expressions. The clear print of Mason's text and Walpole's finely penned manuscript alike suffer. Some years ago, Dr. Toynbee took occasion to comment on Mason's editing of Gray's letters, listed at length Mason's short-comings[14] —which for the most part merely accorded with the usage of his age[15]—and declared: "Of Mason's editorial methods it is difficult to speak with moderation." Surely after such an indictment, it is unfortunate that Mason's text should in the present edition appear with the spelling "withdraw'n,"[16] the substitution of "it's" for the pronoun *its,* and the uncapitalized form "tory,"[17] none of which appear in the original.

To the bibliographer, nothing is more sacred than the accuracy of a title-page. Dr. Toynbee would appear to have reproduced the title-pages of Mason's satires with typographical, if not photographic, accuracy; and most of the title-pages state the exact edition reproduced. A comparison, however, of the title-pages of the fourteenth edition of the *Heroic Epistle,* the copy that Walpole annotated, with the "fourteenth edition" as Dr. Toynbee depicts it, shows differences obvious even to the general reader: the editor has thought it necessary to follow neither the typography, the ornamentation, the spacing, the order of statements, nor even the statements themselves; for he inserts "opposite Burlington-House" in the third line from the end, a phrase that is not to be found in the original. The same condition holds true of every other title-page in the volume, except that of the *Ode to Pinchbeck.*

Were it not for the editor's statement on the various title-pages, one might suppose that the numerous errors in reproducing Mason's text were due to his having used a later, corrupt edition; and some of the differences suggest this hypothesis.[18] There is one passage, however, that seems to imply another explanation. Dr. Toynbee regularly prefixes to each satire a statement to the effect that "Such notes of Mason's own as have been retained are marked M. Unsigned notes are by the present Editor."[19] He seems to feel that this statement entitles him, without further remark, to

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 62, line 7; p. 66, line 8; p. 80, line 17.
[13] *Ibid.*, p. 54, line 2.
[14] *The Correspondence of Gray, Walpole, West and Ashton . . . edited . . . by Paget Toynbee . . . Oxford . . . 1915,* I, ix-x.
[15] *William Mason,* p. 271.
[16] Toynbee, p. 52, line 137.
[17] *Ibid.*, p. 77, line 59 and p. 104, line 1.
[18] *E. g.* the substitution of "ties" for "tides" (p. 127, line 68), and of "fifth" for "third" (p. 105, line 41).
[19] *Ibid.*, p. 100. The omission of much of Mason's comment seems to the reviewer as judicious as would the similar omission of Pope's notes in a critical edition of *The Dunciad.*

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turn one note into two and to suppress parts of notes and even sentences that he quotes.[20] His treatment of Mason's note on "Sir Thomas" demands special attention.[21] According to Walpole's copy, Mason's note ran as follows: "The Petronius of the present age needs not the addition of a surname to make the world certain who is meant by this appellative." Walpole's manuscript comment reads: "Sir Thomas Milles] a noisy Fellow, who lived at a vast expense without any visible means; but was supposed to be a natural son of Lord Mansfield, and to be supported by him in that profusion." Dr. Toynbee dissents from Walpole's identification of "Sir Thomas," and states that the person Mason intended was Sir Thomas Robinson. In his edition, added to Mason's note, appears the following sentence, with Mason's initial affixed[22]: "He was better known by the name of Long Sir Thomas"—a statement in support of his own theory[23] and in apparent stultification of Walpole.[24]

The present reviewer professes himself unable to summarize his impressions of Dr. Toynbee's volume. He only hopes that similar conditions do not hold true of Dr. Toynbee's numerous other editions of Walpoliana that of late years have been issuing in such sumptuous form.

JOHN W. DRAPER.

University of Maine.

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[20] *E. g.* Mason's long note on line 37 of the *Ode to Sir Fletcher Norton*, and the note on line 10 of the *Heroic Epistle*.

[21] *Epistle to Shebbeare*, line 33; Toynbee, p. 105.

[22] One would like to think that there is some early edition of this *Epistle* that contains this added statement; but the nature of the anonymity, which Mason preserved even from his publisher, would almost preclude the possibility of such changes. At all events, the sentence does not exist in the edition that Dr. Toynbee, according to his title-page, is here reproducing. Furthermore, this sentence is not to be found in any of the editions that the reviewer has seen, and these include the first, the fourth (which Walpole used) and a late one in *The School for Satire* some four years after Mason's death. It seems difficult to avoid the conclusion that Dr. Toynbee has added it to Mason's authentic observations.

[23] "Long Sir Thomas" was a nickname for Robinson, used at least twice by Walpole (Letters, *ed. cit.*, III, 250 and 409).

[24] If this statement had formed part of the original, Walpole would seem to have been something of a fool definitely to declare for an interpretation directly contrary to that set forth by the author himself.

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A History of Late Eighteenth Century Drama, 1750-1800. By Allardyce Nicoll. Cambridge: The University Press, 1927. 16s. net.

To the student of English drama since 1660, Professor Nicoll's history is indispensable. The third volume, covering the years 1750-1800, is now available. It is prepared with the same care and insight into the true problems of the period that characterized its two predecessors. Professor Nicoll's indefatigable industry and critical acumen are here displayed in the patient cataloguing of obscure material and in the generally satisfying conclusions which are the results of his studies. The Hand-list of Plays appears again as an appendix to the volume and is of inestimable value, as anyone who has plowed laboriously through the many pages of Genest's account or the *Biographia Dramatica* will recognize. In his list Professor Nicoll has given for all plays appearing during his period, under the author's name, the title, place and date of original performance, printed editions with notes on the MSS. in the Larpent Collection, records of translation into foreign languages, and, where possible, explanations of doubtful or controverted points. This list, which covers something like one hundred and thirty pages, alone constitutes a valuable contribution to bibliography of the century. It is, as far as the present reviewer is aware, the only list of its kind covering the same period. Professor Nicoll points out the fact that he is working in "an uncharted period," but he has left no future student room to make a similar remark. He has not, I think, "done for" the period; he has rather opened it up to future scholars and provided them with a well proportioned map for their guidance.

In all his work Professor Nicoll has tried to disabuse our minds of the usually accepted theory that during the whole of the eighteenth century there were written only three plays of any consequence. "The popular critical view," he says in the preface to the present study, "is that Sheridan and Goldsmith scintillate luminously in a world of darkness, but an honest examination of the plays themselves must prove at once to any unprejudiced reader that this view, founded on tradition, is wholly false." Again, in the last paragraph of the book, he returns to the same idea. "If this book," he says, "has any purpose beyond the mere tracing of historical facts, it is that of vindicating many authors who have been dismissed unheard." The dismissed authors whom he wishes to vindicate, it may be at the expense of Goldsmith and Sheridan, are, among others, Colman, Murphy, Mrs. Inchbald, Holcroft, Kelly, Cumberland and Reynolds. Writing, in a previous publi-

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cation,[1] of Murphy's *The Way to Keep Him,* Professor Nicoll said, "Unbiassed judgment might well lead to the placing of this comedy, along with Colman's *The Jealous Wife* and half a dozen other plays, in a position, if not equal to that occupied by *The School for Scandal* and *She Stoops to Conquer,* at least above that of *The Rivals* and *The Good-Natur'd Man.*" The question might, I think, fairly be asked whether, in his soundly based and praiseworthy desire to call attention to some good but neglected plays, Professor Nicoll gives Sheridan his due. Sheridan, as everyone knows, has been too extravagantly praised; but when Professor Nicoll calls *The Rivals* "a thing of shreds and patches," one is apt to shy off and begin to question the soundness of some of his other opinions. On the other hand, he is entirely right in saying that *The School for Scandal* "is not, as so many critics have implied, a miracle in the year 1777"; and I for one, welcome the force of the argument that Sheridan and Goldsmith did not write the only good comedies between Congreve and Oscar Wilde.

The paragraphs on Goldsmith come nearer than those on Sheridan to carrying complete conviction. Professor Nicoll makes the point that, unlike Sheridan, Goldsmith derives his inspiration from the Elizabethans. "With a breezy sweep of enthusiasm," he says, "he carries us forward, rarely introducing any of that *esprit* which distinguishes the true comedy of manners, but full of those *mots de caractère* and *mots de situation* in which Shakespeare had delighted. Goldsmith has been compared to Farquhar, but his spirit is earlier still."

Though to the popular mind the late eighteenth century is only the time of Goldsmith and Sheridan, students of the drama, who will probably constitute the greater number of Professor Nicoll's readers, will look in his book for accounts of sentimental comedy, domestic tragedy, melodrama, pantomime, opera, burletta, and other irregular forms well known to have been of considerable interest to the theatre-goer of that time. All are there handled, if not finally at least adequately, and with a sureness of touch which further convinces one of the thoroughness of the author's investigations. Professor Nicoll finds three tendencies in the sentimental movement of the last half of the century; they are: relics of the "genteel" comedy of the first years of the century; the "often mawkishly pathetic theatre of Cumberland;" and the "humanitarian drama" represented by Mrs. Inchbald and Holcroft. "All of these three types," he says, "are 'sentimental,' but each approaches the problems of life in a different way, and it is only the last-mentioned which formed a basis on which the nineteenth cen-

[1] Introduction to Arthur Murphy's *The Way to Keep Him* in the Oxford University Press series "English Comedies of the Eighteenth Century," 1926.

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tury poets reared their larger and wider standards of humanitarian sympathy." The reader has been prepared for this statement by the discussion of the plays of Mrs. Inchbald which preceded it. There one is shown that the new sentimentalism, which is humanitarian, is based on the quality of *thought;* and one feels that a long day has passed since the time of Steele and *feeling,* that the followers of the old tradition are already outmoded.

The chapter on "Miscellaneous Forms of Drama" contains paragraphs on opera, pantomime, burlesque, and so on; but the field is so large and space so limited that one can only wish that Professor Nicoll had been able to do more. To many of us the burlettas and occasional pieces, comic operas, and Christmas pantomimes are as interesting as the more common forms. Melodrama does receive its full share of attention. Its popularity was due, of course, in part to the taste of the public and in part to the failure of the tragedy of the period to strike an appealing note. Perhaps the most popular tragedy of the half century was Home's *Douglas,* a representative of the type which Professor Nicoll calls "pseudo-romantic tragedy." On the tragedies of this type he comments as follows:

> Each one is interesting as showing the break-down of classical chill; each one points out the path which later poets were to follow more gloriously in the sphere of pure poetry. For the audiences of the time, however, as we have seen, they inevitably fell between two stools. On the one hand, they failed to preserve the fitting decorum of pseudo-classicism; on the other, they did not give to spectators those rich, if crude, scenes introduced into the more flamboyant sister-form of melodrama.

The question of the influence of German drama on English drama comes up again. The theory is advanced that the German drama went a long way toward starting the closet drama movement of the next century. The reason for this is that the translators and adapters of German plays were unable or unwilling to see that a play which had been successful in Germany might very well be a failure on the English stage unless it had been subjected to considerable revision in the course of production to render it suited to English taste and theatrical conventions. And "it is," says Professor Nicoll, "this closet play which is at once the manifestation of dramatic debility in the age, and the cause of that debility."

It would not be fair to the author to conclude this review with the word *debility.* His book places its emphasis on the health and vigor of the theatre of the age and calls attention repeatedly to the many good things in it that most people have missed. The few, besides the author, who have found these things smack their lips with him over the tasty morsels that one picks up in the works of forgotten dramatists.

DOUGALD MACMILLAN.

The University of North Carolina.

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La Légende de St-François d'Assise, d'après les témoins de sa vie. Par GEORGE LAFENESTRE. Paris, L'Edition d'Art, 1925.

Sur les pas de Saint François d'Assise. Par LOUIS GILLET. Paris, Plon, 1926.

There is an old fashioned mental gratitude that has been restirred for me by these two volumes from the flood of writing on the Franciscan anniversary. If we are helped in our still necessary groping with both thirteenth century history and the essential meaning of life and the living influence of St. Francis farther than Sabatier and his immediate disciples at the century's turn had helped us, these two real French worthies may help us with their clues of tried labor, fresh local observation and love. The words pastiche and dilletantism lose their odium before such performance, where the weightier matters of the law are kept clear by essential vitality from the more repellant form of pedantry.

Even some of those that were past the first impressionability were profoundly stirred by a kind of resurgence of the lay aspect of Franciscanism in the first decade of the century. Before M. Gabriel Séailles and his critical parallelism had succeeded Fouillée in pace with Goyau, the new age with its Pascal studies had given us both Boutroux and Carrière, had hung the Christ en Croix as its ikon in the Luxembourg Museum, and produced at once Charles-Louis Philippe and Péguy, and the reformed, restored meaning of *intellectuel* and the Collège de France. Has the sober heartening of this day so far and so wholly departed that it is necessary to plead for the significance of these two beautiful books from the new Benedictine painstaking serenity of this generation? Style is still permitted its classic function: there is nuance without excessive undulation or fragility in precise rendition, a high veracity that is almost unconscious in its absorption in the substance shown.

For both these practised hands with the finer shadings of the fastidious historical method St. Francis remains not a figure of moral decoration, a case for the morbid psychologist or pathologist of the physical life. M. Lafenestre in his Preface has the summary of the genuine master for "le candide et puissant rénovateur des idées religieuses et morales au XIII^e^ siècle, le précurseur et inspirateur dans son pays de la Renaissance des Arts et des Lettres." For M. Gillet he is interesting above all for his translation into religion and morality of the ideas of the troubadours, himself strongly marked with the character of a knight and a *jongleur de Dieu.* This chivalric strain gives to his conversion a type better known in the honnêtes hommes of the sixteenth and the seventeenth century Franciscan revivals than perhaps much or generally in

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the annals of the saints before. We shall find a good deal of Santa Clara, for example, in Madame de Chantel, and her friendship for St. François de Sales, perhaps even in Mademoiselle de Roannez and Pascal. Anyhow the echoes mark the initial strain.

Along with the stamp of the warriors of God, however, is the note of passionate sympathy for human suffering, after the pattern of Christ's in which the probable generation of the Imitation makes itself apparent. And in this we seem to catch, along with the Orphean symbols, something like a subterranean passage from the idea of the *Philoctetes,* like Homer seen by Dante through Virgil. M. Gillet sees, besides, something of the milieu effect of the Etruscan tomb. But incidentally we are to find the Assisi frescoes the work of an unknown Umbrian, rather than Giotto's, to a confusion for English Pre-Raphaelites that M. Gillet seems prepared to bear. Against their appreciations he is finally prepared to set in relief as the best almost contemporary case of contagion the Old French summary of Rutebeuf:

> O vous qui passez par la voie
> Arretez-vous, et chacun voie
> S'il est douleur comme la moie.

Douleur means here the mood extended from Descents from the Cross, from *pietas,* which is the great impression of St. Francis for both Jacopone da Todi and Dante, altering their personal bearing in a way that bests defines his own originality. With these clues we may be saved at least a few ineptitudes in understanding the last *Cantique de la Mort,* as M. Lafenestre's version brings it really to our eyes and ears:

> Loué sois-tu, Mon Seigneur, por notre sœur la Mort corporelle, A laquelle nul homme vivant ne peut échapper; Malheur à ceux qui mourront dans les péchés mortels! Bienheureux ceux qui suivront tes saintes Volontés, Car la seconde Mort ne leur fera point de mal!

MAUD ELIZABETH TEMPLE.

Hartford, Conn.

Fritz Stavenhagens *Mudder Mews,* von CARL STOLLE. Marburg a. L. Elwertsche Verlagsbuchhandlung 1926 (Beiträge zur deutschen Literaturwissenschaft Nr. 27) M. 3,50.

In unbeholfenem Deutsch, mit unsicherm Gebrauch der Verbzeiten, unter Verkennung des Wesens von Inhaltsangabe und Analyse redet der Verfasser fruchtlos um das Drama herum. Auf Seite 55 endlich die Hoffnung eines Lichtblitzes: die Zweiteilung und der Parallelismus des Stückes wird erkannt, geahnt das Unorganische im Kreuzen der beiden Lebenswege: Mudder Mews —

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Elsabe. Trotzdem bleibt es beim Vergleich mit fünf Hauptmannschen Werken, die ausser gelegentlichen Zügen nichts mit dem Drama gemein haben, während die innerliche Verwandtschaft gerade mit *Biberpelz* und *College Crampton* nicht einmal gewittert wird. Und doch wäre Mudder Mews der gegebene Komödiencharakter gewesen. Der Eindruck der Lebensbeherrschung, mit dem uns Elsabe im ersten Akte erfüllt, lässt uns ja lange unvorbereitet für den tragischen Schluss. Aber die Zeit war der Komödie im allgemeinen nicht geneigt, und der zu früh gestorbene Dichter reifte nicht zu einem Alter, in dem der Humor das überwiegende Element seiner Weltbetrachtung hätte werden können.

Bleibt als Ausbeute dieser Arbeit nur die erneute Lesung des Dramas selber!

Das alte Lied vom 'Kanapee'als ' Erzeugnis eines Strassenhumors ' zu kennzeichnen ist übrigens eine arge Entgleisung.

ERNST FEISE.

The Johns Hopkins University.

Mittelhochdeutsches Übungsbuch. Zweite vermehrte und geänderte Auflage, von CARL VON KRAUS. Heidelberg, C. Winter, 1926.

This collection of material differs from the usual Middle High German Reader in the fact that it is not intended to furnish an introduction to the Middle High German language and the literature in which it found its highest expression, but rather to introduce one to the problems and methods of philological investigation as applying to the Middle High German literature and language. It naturally follows that the selections are printed with the greatest possible conformity to the orthography of the manuscripts, and, in case a selection is represented in more than one manuscript, that variant readings are given with great completeness. The selections are also chosen, not primarily from the great classics of the period, as is usually the case, but in large part from more obscure sources, where philological work would be of a more pioneering nature. In accordance with this purpose certain numbers from the first edition (1912), which have since that time come in for various learned treatment and discussion, are in this second edition omitted: namely *Graf Rudolph,* Fleck's *Floire,* and *Der Sperber.* By way of compensation there are inserted five of Stricker's *Beispielreden und Spruchgedichte,* not found in the first edition, while the Middle Franconian matter under No. 1 has been extended, as have also the lyric selections now under No. 8. That the notes account for the literature that has appeared in the interval between the two editions is a matter of course. That this is not considerable was to be expected from the principles governing the

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selection of the texts. Yet one cannot but be impressed anew with the already familiar fact that scholarly activity in the rich field of Middle High German literature is not all that it might be, even in Germany.

A. LeRoy Andrews.

Cornell University.

William Mason: A Study in Eighteenth-Century Culture. By John W. Draper. New York: New York University Press, 1924. Pp. xvi-397.

This attractive book illustrates the present tendency toward thorough reexamination of the secondary writers of the eighteenth century, and in many ways may serve as a model for such studies. The author's purpose is not to rehabilitate Mason, but to work through him into his period; the book keeps to its subject, and yet contrives to be a "life and times." We may verify Draper's thoroughness and accuracy, for example, by comparing his account of Mason's satires with Mr. Paget Toynbee's edition of the same poems and of Walpole's annotations, published later than the present work. One can learn as much about these poems from a few pages in Draper as from the whole of Mr. Toynbee's pretentious "Exposé of the Mystification, Notes, and Index." Yet Draper's study controls innumerable details without losing perspective, and affords a strategic point for an approach to eighteenth-century culture. Mason is to a nicety the type of belletristic Whig clergyman to whom Schöffler, in his recent *Protestantismus und Literatur,* attributes many of the phenomena of eighteenth-century literature. We track Mason everywhere, with his stock odes and elegies, his *English Garden,* his pseudo-Greek dramas, his satires, his *Memoirs of Gray,* his dabbling in music and painting.

This is not to say that we can pass complete judgment on the late eighteenth century in the person of William Mason. He illustrates that phase of Pre-Romanticism which is dilettantism, and his is a mediocre dilettantism, less distinguished, and therefore more typical, than Walpole's or Gray's. But if Pre-Romanticism is, as Draper says in his Preface, "uncouth and immature but at least progressive and dynamic," it can hardly be said that Mason's futilities reveal the whole process of transition from the old to the new. We are sometimes given the impression that eighteenth-century sentimentalism was utter sham, and eighteenth-century thought hopelessly befuddled. The deeper feeling and the more honest thinking of the age hardly have their innings in William Mason's career. Draper gives us a richly documented study of personalities and aesthetic fashions, parallel to Yvon's *Walpole,* but his results

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are more concrete, less formal and philosophical, than his words sometimes suggest.

The very thoroughness of Draper's bibliography may give some point to the following slight notes: Review of Mason's translation of Dufresnoy in Maty's *New Review*, III (1783), 136-40. *English Garden* I, third edition, 1778; II, second edition, 1777; another edition, 1818. *Epistle to Shebbeare*, second edition, 1777; fourth edition, 1777. *Heroic Postscript*, ninth edition, 1777. *Ode to Pinchbeck*, fifth edition, 1777. *Poems of Gray*, with *Memoirs*, second edition, London, 1775; other editions: Dublin, 1776; London, 1821; London, 1827. Record of conversation with Mason in *Papers of the Twining Family*, London, 1887, II, 188-91

ALAN D. MCKILLOP.

Rice Institute.

Sir Thomas Browne: A Study in Religious Philosophy. By WILLIAM P. DUNN, Assistant Professor of English, The University of Minnesota. Menasha, Wis., The George Banta Publishing Company, 1926. Pp. 192.

Professor Dunn lays the foundation for his treatment of Browne's religious philosophy in a useful introductory chapter picturing Browne's world, but it is in the following three chapters that he gets into the heart of his thesis. There he builds up a worthy picture of Sir Thomas Browne, the religious thinker, by turns orthodox believer and sly sceptic, scientist and mystic. Essentially, says Professor Dunn, Browne could feel order in the world, and he decided that he must work the problem out in the quiet of his own study. To be sure, he brought to bear upon his problems the wealth of his reading and his scientific knowledge, but mainly, it seems, he found God within. He loved to study the microcosm.

The best part of Professor Dunn's exposition is to be found in his discussion of Browne's philosophy of nature. In section II, chapter III, one wishes that he had gone further into the fascinating subject of the "line," a word which evidently had a mystic significance to Browne. The central position which Professor Dunn takes is that Browne's view is best expressed in the word "immanence." Sir Thomas likes to think of the immanence of God; and whenever he must choose between the ultimate conclusions of science and the powers and attributes of the medieval God, he avoids the choice by a paradox and goes blithely down the mystic way, leaving his reader to follow, if he can. The final chapter on the soul and immortality shows Browne to be in general

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agreement with the majority of seventeenth-century writers on these subjects, but is not at all definite in its conclusions. When Mr. Dunn writes, "Surely the attempt to separate the philosophy of such a writer as Sir Thomas Browne into its component parts, to trace their origins and assign its due weight to each cannot be carried too far," he states the weakness of his method. He does not set forth clearly the medieval inheritance of Browne; his treatment of the Kabbalah as an influence is not thorough; and, in general, the treatment of Browne's recondite sources is unsatisfactory. The last part, however, does collect the most significant passages giving Browne's ideas on the subjects under discussion. In the whole book, Professor Dunn has provided the careful and judicious reader with a "harmony" of the philosophy of Sir Thomas Browne, for which we are exceedingly grateful.

Professor Dunn is inclined to under-estimate Browne's science, his importance to his own age, and the rightness of his judgment. Browne was no scientist, yet he was not without influence in the scientific movement of his time, and Professor Dunn appears to underestimate the value of a book that went through six editions in the author's life time, *Vulgar Errors*. On page 12 he speaks of Browne's tendency to ignore or pass over lightly contemporary names in this same book. Yet the book refers to literally hundreds of contemporaries both in England and on the continent, ranging from Gilbert and Harvey to the Scaligers and Aldrovandus, to mention but a few. Again in chapter II, it is difficult to believe his statement that Browne's debt to Tertulian is greater than that to Aquinas. It is evident to the careful student that, taking Browne by and large, his debt to the Patristic Writers is not great; to Aquinas, however, he owes many points in his philosophy, as Professor Dunn points out, though with insufficient documentation. Browne uses medieval ideas as a sort of familiar ground from which to begin his excursions, but he ends them frequently in the most advanced philosophy of his own age; nay more, they often go further and are almost modern. I disagree also with the statement that what frequently passes for evasion in Browne is really misunderstanding on the part of the reader. Surely, but the writer slyly wrote the passage in such a way that misunderstanding is possible. What is that but evasion? Browne can write clearly, as he does frequently in his letters and in the *Vulgar Errors;* he does not always choose to.

There are regrettable slips in the proof-reading; the index is practically worthless, and in spite of the author's disclaimer, we should profit by a selected bibliography. The notes are of the briefest and are poorly referenced. And finally the reader has difficulty in separating the quoted matter from the text. In only a few places is spacing used to indicate quotations of some length.

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But none of these mechanical defects can spoil what is a real contribution to our rather meagre knowledge of Sir Thomas Browne.

A. C. HOWELL.

University of North Carolina.

Ballanche, Pierre-Simon, La Ville des Expiations. Publié avec une introduction et des notes par Armand Rastoul (Bibliothèque Romantique); xcvi + 137 p. Paris (Presses Françaises et Les Belles Lettres, 1926).

La Bibliothèque Romantique vient de rééditer la Ville des Expiations de Pierre-Simon Ballanche. Nous devons remercier Monsieur Henri Girard et ses collaborateurs de nous avoir fait connaître une série d'oeuvres qui ne sont pas toujours de premier ordre, mais dont l'intérêt est grand pour quiconque s'intéresse à l'histoire de la littérature au début du dix-neuvième siècle. Des introductions assez sobres, mais précises et justes présentent les auteurs, écrivains souvent mal connus, amis, protecteurs ou protégés des grands maîtres de l'époque, réflétant mieux peut-être que leurs illustres contemporains la multiplicité des courants de pensée qui se sont manifestés en France après la Révolution et l'Empire. Les sujets sont très divers: littérature, esthétique, morale, religion, philosophie, politique; ils nous font sentir que la France—et le monde entier—traversent une crise profonde de renouvellement—renouvellement qui n'est pas d'ordre purement littérataire.

Ballanche, tel que nous le présente Monsieur Armand Rastoul, dans une introduction fort bien documentée, appartient à la fois au groupe des "prophètes du passé," cherchant dans l'étude de l'histoire le principe des sociétés humaines, et à celui des prédicateurs de l'avenir, nombreaux à l'époque. Lyonnais, de famille bourgeoise, profondément catholique, ami et admirateur de Chateaubriand, habitué du salon de Madame Récamier, ami des grands réformateurs sociaux, c'est un méditatif, cherchant à faire le bonheur et le salut du genre humain au moyen du dogme chrétien. Dans un développement très clair, M. Rastoul fait sentir l'unité de sa pensée, tout en précisant les étapes de son développement: Ballanche reste constamment sous l'inspiration d'un catholicisme ardent, sinon tout à fait orthodoxe; il sait adapter ses tendances aux circonstances politiques et sociales de l'époque.

M. Rastoul nous donne une étude peut-être un peu rapide, mais remplie d'aperçus, sur l'oeuvre, publiée ou inédite, de Ballanche. La "Ville des Expiations" devait faire partie d'une histoire de

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l'humanité: "Les Essais de palingénésie sociale"; elle n'est pas complètement achevée. Il nous en reste des fragments bizarres, quelque peu incohérents, mais inspirés par une même générosité. Partant d'une description minutieuse de cette ville des expiations où les coupables peuvent obtenir le rachat de leurs fautes par une vie très réglée, le philosophe-sociologue s'élève à de hautes considérations sur le passé et les destinées du genre humain: construction hardie sans doute, mais bien dans la manière des sociologues du début du siècle dernier que les grandes théories n'effrayaient pas.

Le volume de M. Rastoul peut se comparer favorablement avec les autres publications de la "Collection Romantique"; on y retrouve la même sureté et la même discrétion dans la présentation. C'est une contribution sérieuse à l'étude du Romantisme qui a plus à gagner, croyons nous, à ces travaux modestes, mais originaux et solides qu'aux dissertations brillantes ou aux réquisitoires souvent creux.

LOUIS LANDRÉ.

Brown University.

The Saint-Simonian Religion in Germany. A Study of the Young German Movement. By E. M. BUTLER. Cambridge University Press. New York, Macmillan Co., 1926. xii, 446 pp.

Miss Butler's book is to be welcomed as the first comprehensive study of the Young German movement from the point of view of Saint-Simonism. A preliminary history of Saint-Simon and Saint-Simonism in France (Part I) furnishes the proper setting for the study of this phenomenon in Germany. This study consists of a general statement (Part II), followed by detailed and individual treatment of Heine, Laube, Gutzkow, Mundt, and Wienbarg in their reaction to the new creed (Parts III-VII). Each of these parts is divided into a number of chapters, and these, in turn, are sub-divided into sections with proper headings, so that the book as a whole is a model of perspicacity. A copious index facilitates the finding of minor references.

Startling finds of new material cannot be expected of a work of this character. For her general setting Miss Butler has used the works of Houben, Geiger, Draeger, Wehl, Pierson, and others, always from her special point of view, but with due credit to the authorities cited. In addition she has made an independent and exhaustive study of the works of the Young Germans, the treatment being varied to suit the individual case. Chapter XI, for example, offers a detailed analysis, from the point of view of Saint-Simonism,

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of Laube's *Poeten* (pp. 203-222), even to the extent of illustration by mathematical diagrams.

It will not be necessary to dwell in detail on the contents of other chapters. Closer scrutiny of Part II (Saint-Simonism in Germany) leads one to suspect that the imposing array of sources was not always used at first hand. This part opens with an alphabetical tabulation entitled "Saint-Simonism in the German Press" the second part of which is devoted to a chronological analysis of the contents of the journals previously given in alphabetical order. On p. 52 the author lists "*Allgemeine Literaturzeitung,* Jena, Halle, Leipzig," giving the date of the first article as March 21, 1831, with the remark that this journal contains reviews of Carové, Bretschneider, Matter, Hahn. Again, on p. 54, H. Léo's criticism of *Nouveau Christianisme* is stated to be in "*Allgemeine Literaturzeitung,* Halle, Jena, Leipzig, *Ergänzungsblätter,* March 21, 1831."

Miss Butler is unaware of the fact that from 1804 on there were two *Literaturzeitungen,* the *Jenaische Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung,* with the imprint 'Jena und Leipzig,' and the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung,* published at Halle, but with the imprint 'Halle und Leipzig,' the two being usually referred to as the *Jenaische* and the *Hallesche Literaturzeitung.*[1]

Now the review by Léo is actually in the *Hallesche Literaturzeitung,* not in the number *dated* March 21, however, but in numbers 21 and 22 of the *Ergänzungsblätter,* pp. 161-167, 177-179. The reviews of Carové and Bretschneider, on the other hand, are in the *Jenaische Literaturzeitung* for 1832, Nos. 145, 146, pp. 193-203. This matter itself is of no great moment, but clearly indicates that Miss Butler did not consult these sources, as one would otherwise have assumed, since in other cases she labels the inaccessible ones as 'not procurable' (*e. g. Canonischer Wächter; Freie Kirche; Sachsenzeitung*).

A number of errors have been noted, some of which may be due to the proof-reader, while others are clearly slips of the author: *e. g.* on p. 55 the translator of *St Simon's neue Glaubenlehre* is called F. A. Nelker, whereas in the *Literaturzeitung,* from which the citation is derived, the name appears as F. A. Nelken; on p. 318 Gutzkow's second wife is called Bertha Meidingen, instead of

[1] From 1785 to 1803 there was only one *Literaturzeitung,* published at Jena. When the professors chiefly concerned in the journal left the university in 1803, and decided to remove the *Literaturzeitung* to Halle, Goethe was instrumental in founding the *Jenaische Literatur-Zeitung,* which began with the year 1804, with numerous contributions by Goethe in the early numbers. Goethe's efforts in behalf of the new enterprise may be seen from *Tag- und Jahreshefte* 1803 (Weimar ed. vol. 35, pp. 153, 154, 164-166), as well as in his letters of this period, particularly those addressed to Eichstädt: in letters 4728, 4741, 4755 of the Weimar ed. Goethe gives names of contributors.

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Meidinger; on p. 267 Gutzkow's *Beiträge zur Geschichte der neuesten Literatur* are given as *zur neuen Literatur*, which would make them refer to the literature of Young Germany, instead of simply to most recent literature: the error is repeated in the foot-note on p. 267, as well as the index, pp. 436, 439; finally, in the index (p. 446) Gutzkow's book *Rückblicke auf mein Leben* is ascribed to Wienbarg!

Despite these little shortcomings, Miss Butler has produced an excellent book, which will be a distinct addition to the literature on Young Germany.

W. KURRELMEYER.

Elizabethan Proverb Lore in Lyly's "Euphues" and in Pettie's "Petite Pallace" with Parallels from Shakespeare. MORRIS PALMER TILLEY. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1926. Pp. x, 461. (University of Michigan Publications, Language and Literature, vol. II).

The part played by proverbs in 16th and 17th century literature is a subject that has as yet received no adequate treatment. In fact, the entire field of English paroemiology is one that has been sadly neglected by scholars. Our handbooks on the subject are not only obsolete and unreliable, but the arrangement of the material makes it often difficult to find the matter sought. There are a few excellent monographs on the proverbs found in the works of several English authors, but what is needed is a comprehensive edition of English proverbs based on the earliest literary sources.

A welcome contribution to such a definitive edition of English proverbs and especially to English proverb lore of the 16th and 17th centuries is the excellent work of Professor Tilley. He has treated extensively, with numerous parallels from the Elizabethan literature and the early collections of proverbs, 757 proverbs or proverbial sentences, comparisons, similes, etc., found in John Lyly's *Euphues* and George Pettie's *Petite Pallace*. Of especial interest to the student of literature is the fact that he has pointed out, that the proverbial content of both these works is considerably larger than scholars have suspected. But above all, Professor Tilley has shown that Lyly's dependence on his model has been much greater than has hitherto been known: one hundred and forty-eight of the proverbs noted are common to both works, and the peculiar wording of many of these leaves no doubt that Lyly gleaned directly from his model.

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A point that is of particular interest to the student of proverb lore is the discovery made by Professor Tilley that the 231 "Resownes and Prowerbes" of the *Maxwell Younger Manuscript* (1584-89), which have been taken up into the Scottish collections of proverbs as genuine proverbs of Scotland, are, for the most part, nothing but extracts from *Petite Pallace* and *Euphues*. Professor Tilley has also pointed out that Thomas Fuller took from *Euphues*, either directly or indirectly, many proverbs in his *Gnomologia* (1732). These found their way into Bohn's edition of Ray's Proverbs (1855), and have been borrowed from Bohn's index by Hazlitt. The literary source of these proverbs has now been identified by Professor Tilley.

The students of Shakespeare will welcome the many parallels from the works of the great dramatist. Some of the supposed allusions by Shakespeare to common proverbs or familiar sentences seem, however, very vague, as, for example, in nos. 261 and 258.

Of great value for the paroemiologist is the abundance of parallels that Professor Tilley has gathered together. These have been drawn with great diligence not only from the contemporary literature but especially from the 16th and 17th century collections of proverbs. Unfortunately two recent reprints of early collections did not come into Professor Tilley's hands soon enough to be included in his lists of parallels. These are, first, the "Proverbia Britannica," a collection of 335 English proverbs published in 1611 by Janus Gruterus in his *Florilegium Ethicopoliticum*. The reprint of these proverbs has been edited by Archer Taylor in the *Washington University Studies*, vol. XI, Humanistic Series, No. 2, pp. 409-423 (1924). The other collection that has been reprinted is that of Fergusson's Scottish Proverbs, from the Original Print of 1641, edited by Erskine Beveridge, 1924, for the *Scottish Text Society*. Professor Tilley has frequently referred to parallels from Ferguson, but he drew his reference from Bohn's Handbook of Proverbs, pp. 226-266. This list of Scottish proverbs has as its nucleus that of Ferguson, reprinted by Ray in his edition of 1670. In the fifth edition of Ray's Proverbs, edited by John Belfour in 1813, this list was augmented by more than 650 proverbs. Professor Tilley has occasionally attributed some of the latter to Ferguson, for example in nos. 115, 219, 572. The reference to Ferguson in no. 581 should read p. 238. This proverb is found in the 1641 edition of Ferguson.

Among the works that apparently were not at the disposal of Professor Tilley, we miss above all the four earliest editions of the most popular collection of English proverbs of the 17th century, that of Ray, 1670, of which a much augmented edition appeared in 1678. This was published again in 1742 and 1768. A fifth edition, much enlarged, was edited in 1813 by John Belfour.

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It is this edition that forms the basis of Bohn's *Handbook*.[1] Professor Tilley had only Bohn's republication of Ray's collection at his disposal and has, in a few cases, attributed to Ray proverbs that are introduced by Belfour, for example, nos. 448, 558, and 619. Both Belfour and Bohn have: "To catch two pigeons with one bean," not "one pea," as in no. 619.

A careful check of several hundred citations shows that Professor Tilley's book is quite reliable as a work of reference. The abundance of parallels offered makes it outstandingly the most extensive and best contribution to Elizabethan proverb lore that we have. The few minor errors and inaccuracies that we have noted detract but little from a work of excellence.—Page 8, note 24 should read "Mr. Bohn's *Handbook*." This mistake is made again in note 29, page 12.—The title of Camden's *Remaines concerning Britaine* is given incorrectly twice, i. e. p. 35, note 107; p. 52, line 2.—On p. 163, no. 269, *Walz* should read *Haeckel*. —P. 172, no. 290 cites from Farmer's edition of Heywood: "All is not gold that glitters." We should read "glisters" as Sharman has, p. 47. The 1587 edition of Heywood, in my possession, reads, p. B iii, recto: "All is not gold that glisters." —P. 198, no. 361, read Chaucer, Ten Commandments of Love, (41).—P. 321, read 669 for 699.—P. 332, no. 698, read: Heywood, 28: A wolf in a lamb's skin. The 1587 edition has the same, p. B iii, verso. This is the Biblical proverb, cf. Matt. VII, 15.

RICHARD JENTE.

Washington University.

La Critique française à la fin du XIX^e siècle. Par A. BELIS. Paris, Gamber, 1926.

On ne devra pas chercher dans ce livre des points de vue bien neufs ou des opinions révolutionnaires sur le sujet et les auteurs étudiés. L'ouvrages est divisé en trois parties: la critique dogmatique, la critique analytique et reconstructive, la critique impressionniste. Mais, plutôt que ces tendances générales, M. Belis étudie les hommes qui lui paraissent représenter ces tendances par leur œuvre et leur théorie: Brunetière, Faguet, Lemaître et France.

[1] How much trust we may put in Bohn's collection may be seen at a glance by comparing the caption of page one in the five editions of Ray and Bohn's distortion. Ray has: "Sentences and Phrases found in the former Collections of Proverbs, the most of them not now in common use for such, so far as I know, but borrowed of other Languages." Bohn has: "Sentences and phrases found in former collections of proverbs, most of them in common use, or borrowed from other languages."

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Tous les quatre avaient eu déjà l'honneur d'être rangés par M. Victor Giraud parmi ses "*Maîtres de l'heure,*" livre que l'auteur cite avec déférence et auquel il est en effet redevable.

Brunetière est le gros morceau. Le chapitre le plus long lui est consacré par l'auteur qui ne se départit point envers lui du respect admiratif que l'ancien directeur de la *Revue des Deux Mondes* semble avoir inspiré à tous ses disciples. M. Belis étudie ses idées philosophiques, historiques et critiques, sa méthode et ses théories de critique littéraire et indique, avec bien de la timidité d'ailleurs, ses limitations. Faguet est traité aussi avec sympathie et loué pour son esprit lucide de reconstructeur de systèmes. Le ton est moins élogieux envers l'impressionnisme et ses deux représentants. Une conclusion où l'auteur s'excuse de n'avoir pu comprendre dans son livre Bourget, Vogüé et Rod (autres "maîtres de l'heure," d'après M. V. Giraud) dont l'œuvre critique, pour les deux derniers au moins, ne mériterait pas en effet un tel honneur. Hennequin, avec toutes ses prétentions, aujourd'hui démodées, à la critique scientifique, serait au moins aussi caractéristique de certaines tendances de cette époque. Enfin, M. Belis termine par quelques remarques fort sages sur la légitimité de l'esprit critique: "La nécessité de la critique repose donc sur un besoin indestructible de l'esprit humain," déclare-t-il dans sa dernière phrase. En effet, et point n'était peut-être besoin d'un volume de 264 pages pour le prouver.

Cet ouvrage n'est donc pas, on le voit, d'une très frappante originalité. Il souffre en outre d'un défaut d'ordre et de clarté; quelques divisions et un plan plus net à l'interieur des chapitres, qui sont longs, eussent été les bienvenus. Le style est uniformément terne et gris, et, comme dans trop d'ouvrages français encore, on cherchera en vain une bibliographie et un index. Tel qu'il est, cependant, il peut rendre d'utiles services à tous ceux qui désirent s'informer sur ces maîtres de la critique française et sur la critique littéraire en général.

Nous devons ajouter cependant que bien des points de vue nous paraissent contestables. Nous sommes bien près encore de la date où ces illustres critiques sont morts, et déjà pourtant ils nous semblent souvent bien vieillis. De combien de jugements dogmatiques de Brunetière avons-nous eu à défaire! N'a-t-il pas été plusieurs fois bien injuste dans l'incompréhension voulue de ses contemporains? N'a-t-il pas fait preuve d'un dédain de l'érudition que les nouvelles écoles d'historiens littéraires pourraient amèrement lui reprocher? M. Belis ne cache pas sa sympathie pour Brunetière dans sa polémique fameuse avec les champions de l'impressionnisme—mais pourquoi ne pas reconnaître que les uns comme les autres (et Brunetière au moins autant que les autres)

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n'ont fait que combattre pour leur tempérament? Et puis ce style oratoire est bien fatigant et prétentieux—sans parler des innombrables félures dont ses théories et systèmes portent déjà les marques. "Qu'importe? les vérités restent" s'écrie M. Belis sans doute; mais n'y a-t-il point plus de probité intellectuelle à ne pas adopter un système aussi entier en s'illusionnant à demi volontairement sur sa valeur? C'est là souvent rechercher l'originalité, et réussir à être frappant, mais à bien peu de frais.

Nous nierions moins les qualités souvent admirables de Faguet. Ses "*Politiques et Moralistes*" longtemps encore vaudront la peine d'être étudiés. Mais lui aussi a parfois eu pour les détails de l'érudition un mépris dont son œuvre souffre aujourd'hui. On sait que Voltaire et V. Hugo, entre autres, ont souffert entre ses mains un traitement bien injuste; et peut-on qualifier avec M. Belis (p. 119) de "juste volume" son étude, vieillie et souvent irritante en son dogmatisme tranchant, sur Flaubert?

La place d'A. France dans la critique est évidemment moins considérable, son indulgence et le vague de ses remarques quelquefois irritants. Nous hésiterions cependant à souscrire à tel jugement de notre auteur: (p. 251) "Il semble avoir voulu démontrer l'inanité attristante de l'impressionnisme pur." Lemaître est aussi quelque peu maltraité. Son goût, étroit quelquefois, était du moins très fin et accompagné d'une dose précieuse de bon sens; le charme de son style n'est pas pour déplaire après les périodes et les démonstrations dialectiques de Brunetière. Il est grand dommage qu'il ait fini par la politique et des volumes aussi injustes que son *Rousseau*. Comme pour plusieurs de ses successeurs,—P. Bourget et L. Bertrand, pour ne parler que des académiciens d'aujourd'hui—la littérature n'a pas eu à se louer de son évolution "bien pensante." C'est à l'heure même où, après leur conversion, on s'attendrait le plus à voir l'Esprit Saint souffler sur leur tête que l'inspiration semble les abandonner.

Ce livre honnête nous rappelle donc qu'il y a bien quelques réserves à faire sur ces écrivains en qui M. Belis voit l'épanouissement et la perfection de la critique littéraire. Un goût trop prononcé pour les systémes, une érudition pas toujours très sûre, une documentation hâtive ou insuffisante: un homme cependant avait su avant eux éviter ces défauts. Rouvrons notre Sainte-Beuve. Le livre n'aura pas été inutile qui nous aura ramenés à ce conseil.

HENRI PEYRE.

Bryn Mawr College.

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Types of Society in Medieval Literature. The Colver Lectures, Brown University, 1926. By FREDERICK TUPPER. Henry Holt, 1926.

The volume before us for review represents the eleventh in the series of the Colver lectureship of Brown University. The comprehensive scope of this foundation is suggested by the names of such distinguished scholars as President Goodnow, Dr. Kellogg, Professors Giddings, Thayer, Haskins, and Pound, predecessors of Professor Tupper in this series. His distinctive work as translator and investigator in the field of mediaeval studies clearly entitles him to a worthy place in this succession. In a sense, his three lectures which constitute the volume may be regarded as a by-product of his Chaucerian studies. From each of them Chaucer emerges as the outstanding author to illustrate Mr. Tupper's theses; and the views he presents are familiar to those who have followed his work upon Chaucer for the past fifteen years.[1] His avowed purpose is to present this material so that it will make a popular appeal, carry to his audience a charm and a challenge, and create a wider interest in the literature of the middle ages. There is no question that he has succeeded admirably in his purpose. In cinematic survey he gives us attractive glimpses of mediaeval society as reflected in representative literature. He has, further, the gift of a pleasing, clear, picturesque style; carries lightly and gaily a burden of scholarship which makes many a notable investigator heavy handed and slow footed; and has preserved a fresh enthusiasm which is contagious and delightful. A helpful bibliographical note refers the interested reader to supplementary material for each lecture.

Mr. Tupper's "immediate concern is not merely with medieval points of view, but with the imaginative expression of these in literature"; and as to the literature itself he is interested primarily in the *type* and the *literary convention* rather than in the *individual genius* as a creative force who breaks the bonds of literary convention. His first lecture, entitled *The Conditions of Men,* consists of a discussion of external orders or classes represented in mediaeval literature. An important feature of it is his exposition of an interesting and popular moralizing treatise on chess by Jacobus de Cessolis, a Dominican of the late thirteenth century (*Liber de Moribus Hominum et Officiis Nobilum*). "The chess game is presented as a microcosm of society." By a simple, comprehensive

[1] See especially, "Chaucer's Doctour of Physik," *The Nation,* April 5, 1913; "The Pardoner's Tavern," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology,* October, 1914; "The Quarrels of the Canterbury Pilgrims," *Ibid,* April, 1915; "Chaucer's Sinners and Sins," *Ibid,* January, 1916.

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classification, the figures on the board are made to represent the recognized orders of mediaeval society—clergy, knighthood, peasantry (the last including the bourgeoisie). On the basis of the material presented by de Cessolis as to the traditional function, duties, and place of the conventional types in mediaeval society, Mr. Tupper contends that Chaucer's characters of the *Prologue* illustrate *individualized conventions.* Of this, more later. The second lecture, *Sins and Sinners,* resumes in informal summary, with modifications, the main theme of his Chaucerian studies for the past fifteen years as to the place of the Seven Deadly Sins in the general field of mediaeval literature, and especially in the *Canterbury Tales.* In *The Eternal Womanly,* the third lecture, the woman of mediaeval literature, under the dominance of courtly love and through the conventions of fabliau, romance, and lyric, is presented as ruler, temptress, mistress, servant, and ideal of man, and as feminist. An interesting *obiter dictum* which takes one-fourth of the space of this lecture and which is rather inconsistent with his main purpose of studying characters through the medium of literary conventions, is his analysis and discussion of *Le Ménagier de Paris,* an old French book of 1393. This is a sober, historical document in which an aging husband gives detailed instructions to his young wife as to how she may become an ideal mate for his domestic successor. Since Mr. Tupper opens the way for a combination of the literary and the historical approach, I suggest an excellent study by Miss Eileen Power, who concludes on the basis of "more homely records" that "in daily life the position occupied by women was neither one of inferiority nor of superiority, but of a certain rough-and-ready equality."[2]

Of the interesting, debatable issues raised in these stimulating lectures, I select one for brief consideration. It has to do with Mr. Tupper's main thesis and may be posed as follows: Specifically, what place do admittedly popular literary conventions have in the creative processes of Chaucer as an artistic genius? In the limited space at my disposal I shall merely suggest the pertinence and significance of this query. According to Mr. Tupper, as a result of the "large confidence in conventions accompained (by) a childlike faith in generalizations," the mediaeval author wrote with his eye upon the highly conventionalized *type,* not upon an *individual.* At best, the characters

> in Chaucer's delightful *Prologue* are individualized conventions of each class of society. The poet individualizes in recalling the scenes of the Knight's wars, in assigning names to Host and Prioress, to Reeve and Friar; in giving the Shipman a barge, the Maudelayne at Dartmouth; he conventionalizes in making the Monk slothful in good works, the

[2] "The Position of Women," pp. 401-34, *The Legacy of the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1926).

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Miller thievish, the Friar intimate with women, the Doctor ignorant of the Bible. We cry out with delight as some figure stands forth with all the glow of his own native color, and we chase fatuously the will-o'-the-wisp of personal identification.

This final statement is a direct challenge to Professor Manly [3] and such other Chaucerian students as Professors Jones, Kuhl, and Rickert, and Dr. Knott, who have followed his lead in a study of the sources of the characters in the *Prologue*. To the reviewer, Mr. Tupper in such a statement simply ignores the validity and significance of weighty evidence presented to support the thesis of these scholars that behind Chaucer's "most vital and successful sketches lay the observation of living men and women." Again, although he avoids in lecture two the debatable ground involved in his earlier thesis of an "architectonic use of the *motif* of the *Deadly Sins* in the *Canterbury Tales*," [4] he does challenge, by implication at least, "high authority (which) in attaching the name of Marriage Group to the stories of only four pilgrims has doubly misled us,[5] I think: first by deliberately excluding from the debate on the moot questions of sex sovereignty and women's counsels several weighty disputants; and secondly, by disregarding copious indictments and defenses of other phases of matrimony." He suggests the possibility of a new schematization which would include essentially all of the *Canterbury Tales* in a marriage group, with the high point the Wife of Bath's story, "by accident or design in the exact center of the fragmentary collection, being the twelfth tale of the twenty-four." Though such a pattern suggests more of artistry and freedom than does the employment of the conventions of astrology and the Seven Deadly Sins, for instance, it presupposes for some of the stories he mentions an interpretation which does not appeal to the reviewer as the most logical. It seems that the soundest conclusion to this whole matter is that formulated by Professor Lowes over a decade ago: Chaucer "at the height of his powers" attained "a glorious freedom" from "the more or less schematic tendencies of his earlier period." [6]

GEORGE R. COFFMAN.

Boston University.

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[3] See most recently, *Some New Light on Chaucer* (1926), rev. by J. F. Royster, *MLN*, April, 1927, pp. 251-6.

[4] See especially "Chaucer and the Seven Deadly Sins," *PMLA*, March 1915, pp. 93-128 and references under footnote 1; and reply by J. L. Lowes, "Chaucer and the Seven Deadly Sins," *PMLA*, June, 1915, pp. 237-371.

[5] See George Lyman Kittredge, *Chaucer and His Poetry* (1916), pp. 185 ff.

[6] J. L. Lowes, *op. cit.*, p. 370.

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Stephen Duck, The Thresher Poet. By ROSE MARY DAVIS, M. A., Orono, Maine, 1926. University of Maine Studies, Second Series, Number 8. Pp. 198.

Stephen Duck's fame has dwindled since the days when Queen Caroline took him under her wing, and Pope frightened Colley Cibber with the thought that the thresher might use his flail to advantage in a contest for the laureateship. That was in 1730, when Duck was still a young man with a career before him; but court favor did not improve his poetry, and in 1756 he was allowed to drown himself without causing enough excitement to enable the modern scholar to discover where he did it. Since that time, no one, not even his most recent biographer, has attempted to make much of him as a poet; but his story has not been altogether forgotten. Among the allusions to him mentioned by Miss Davis is that of George Crabbe, who remembered "honest Duck" in his poem, *The Village* (lines 27-8), while contrasting the hardships of peasant life with the happiness assigned to it by ignorantly sanguine poets. Some fifty years later, Robert Southey was writing an introduction to the poetical effusions of his former butler, and gave brief accounts of the lives of other humble versifiers, Duck among the number. The modern edition of this essay, called *Lives of the Uneducated Poets* (1925), contains much additional information supplied by the editor, Professor Childers. It is the most complete account of Duck previous to Miss Davis's study.

One aspect of the thresher's career may perhaps account for what little notice has been taken of him since his death. In sentimental ages particularly, a certain glory is attached to the man who overcomes obstacles and becomes that for which, by environment at least, he is unfitted. The latter part of the eighteenth century was making repeated efforts to win from silence those "mute, inglorious Miltons" of whose existence it had been assured, that they might remain inglorious no longer. When Duck is considered from the point of view of an ardent believer in the poetry of inspiration and simple living, he assumes a new importance, and becomes associated, as Professor Tinker associates him in *Nature's Simple Plan,* with that odd succession of poetical persons, including bricklayer and milkwoman, who formed a somewhat melancholy background for the truly inspired peasant, Robert Burns.

Nevertheless, the genuine Duck enthusiast, if there is one, is not content to leave his hero in such questionable company, or to consider exclusively his importance to a later age. Was primitivism in the air in 1730, when Duck was welcomed to court? Popular he was beyond question. The pirated editions of his works sold with startling rapidity. But was it because people as early

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as 1730 were looking for true poets among the peasants, or only because they were in search of literary curiosities?

This is one of the questions that Miss Davis undertakes to answer. In the course of her study she has gathered together a great many contemporary references to Duck, showing how his poems were received in court and literary circles. From all this she draws the following unromantic but quite plausible conclusion (p. 4):

> The poetic efforts of the thresher seem to have aroused interest for three reasons: such a poet was a curiosity; he was a worthy and pious man who, both because of his excellent character and his poetic gifts which had flowered in spite of, and not because of his homely environment, deserved a better fate than that of a thresher; and finally he evidently had a winning personality which inspired confidence and made friends for him among all classes with whom he came in contact.

Of course it is quite obvious that Duck himself did not think he was divinely inspired. He did his best to acquire the graces of the court poets, and struggled not only with Milton, but with the Latin authors, in an effort to overcome the handicap of ignorance. In this he was encouraged by his patrons. Joseph Spence, then Professor of Poetry at Oxford, apparently did his best to teach the thresher all the rules. No native wildness was suffered to remain.

Despite the little that is known of his life, it tends to be more interesting than his poetry. *The Thresher's Labour,* indeed, has the merit of being a sincere account of the hardships of farm life, and one of his later poems, called *Caesar's Camp; or, St. George's Hill,* derives a borrowed splendor from being a possible source of Gray's *Bard;* but for the most part his verses are dull things, full of conventional rhetoric with few thoughts. One may still, on the strength of their technical regularity, exclaim, "What splendid verse!"—but must add the damning reservation, "for a thresher."

Miss Davis, although she does not try to exaggerate the importance of Duck's poetry, gives a very full criticism of it for the satisfaction of all who are curious. Thoroughness is, in fact, the outstanding feature of the book. She has divided it into two main sections, one dealing with biography, the other with poetry. To these is added an astonishingly long list of references to the thresher in other works, and a bibliography of his writings. The whole is made readily accessible by an index.

Let no one expect too much. By her very effort at completeness she is compelled to sacrifice something, for the established facts of Duck's life are few, and the narrative must constantly be interrupted by discussions of evidence. One loses sight sometimes of the earnest, rather pathetic figure whose portrait was painted by Sir James Thornhill and is reproduced in this study from the frontispiece to *Poems on Several Occasions.* To catch a glimpse of

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the young peasant as he struggled with Milton in the intervals of threshing, one may still turn profitably to Joseph Spence's brief account, prefixed to the *Poems* in 1736; and to Southey for the story of his later life, however inaccurate the details may be. But any future writer on the peasant poets will find Miss Davis's book not merely helpful, but indispensable.

JOHN C. POPE.

Yale University.

Die Vier Zweige des Mabinogi, mit Lesarten und Glossar herausgegeben von LUDWIG MÜHLHAUSEN. Pp. xii + 144. Max Niemeyer, Halle, 1925. M. 7.

The work under review consists of the four well-known Welsh texts (Pwyll, Branwen, Manawyddan, Math uab Mathonwy) which comprise the Mabinogion in the proper sense of that term. The editor gives us the Red Book text, and adds a good glossary. The whole makes up a Reader for beginners in the study of Middle Welsh. It is not intended as a contribution to knowledge, and must not be judged as such. The book is of course meant for German students, and will hardly be used much in England or America. It can be used with profit by the beginner, and though one may object to this or that (such as the use of the Red Book rather than the White Book text as a basis), the book may be commended. It is a safe, practical help for the students whose needs it seeks to meet.

KEMP MALONE.

A Census of the Manuscripts of Oliver Goldsmith, by KATHARINE CANBY BALDERSTON. New York: Edmund Byrne Hackett, The Brick Row Book Shop, Inc., 1926. xii + 73 pp.

This beautifully-printed and gaily-bound little book with its attractive slip-case is a careful, thorough piece of work which raises high hopes for its author's forthcoming edition of Goldsmith's letters. So far as possible it gives the past history and present location of every known signature, letter, and other manuscript of Goldsmith's and also lists "Items of undetermined authenticity," lost manuscripts, and forged documents. Professor Tinker furnishes a Prefatory Note.

R. D. HAVENS.

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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

Edited by EDWIN GREENLAW

WITH THE COÖPERATION OF

GUSTAV GRUENBAUM W. KURRELMEYER

H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER

CONTENTS

PAGE

RAYSOR, T. M.—The Study of Shakespeare's Characters in the Eighteenth Century, 495
SMITH, A. L.—The Primitivism of Joseph Warton, 501
WHITING, G. W.—The Date of Hazlitt's First Visit to Coleridge, 504
HILLES, F. W.—"Mother of Dead Dogs," 506
BALDWIN, T. W.—Sir John Denham and 'Paradise Lost,' 508
BALDWIN, T. W.—Elizabethan Players as Tradesfolk, 509
WRIGHT, L. B.—The Male-Friendship Cult in Thomas Heywood's Plays, 510
GREENLAW, E.—Una and her Lamb, 515
CAMPBELL, K.—Marginalia on Longfellow, Lowell, and Poe, 516
ZUCKER, A. E.—Bismarck the Father in Sudermann's 'Heimat,'? 522
WARREN, F. M.—Some Notes on 'Hernani,' 523
JACKSON, J. F.—Dating Balzac's Adoption of the Title of 'La Comédie Humaine,' 525
JENKINS, T. A.—Deschamps and Eustace, 527
STEINER, A.—'Et, Rose, elle a vécu ce que vivent les roses . . .' 528
DEFERRARI, H. A.—Trocho in 'El Abencerraje,' 529

REVIEWS:—

E. H. ZEYDEL, Early References to Storm and Stress in German Literature. [*J. A. Walz.*] 531
J. M. MURRY, Keats and Shakespeare; C. M. HAINES, Shakespeare in France; E. K. CHAMBERS, Shakespeare, A Survey; ESTHER C. DUNN, Ben Jonson's Art; H. D. SYKES, Sidelights on Elizabethan Drama. [*W. D. Briggs.*] 539
EVELYN M. ALBRIGHT, Dramatic Publication in England, 1580-1640. [*A. Thaler.*] 547
E. GROS, Philippe Quinault. Sa vie et son œuvre. [*H. C. Lancaster.*] 551
G. COHEN, Histoire de la Mise en scène dans le théâtre religieux français du Moyen-âge. [*L. Cons.*] 553
A. H. SCHUTZ, The Peasant Vocabulary in the Works of George Sand. [*U. T. Holmes.*] 555
D. N. SMITH, The Oxford Book of Eighteenth-Century Verse. [*R. D. Havens.*] 556
Probleme der englischen Sprache und Kultur. Festschrift Johannes Hoops. [*K. Malone.*] 557
S. H. O'GRADY and R. FLOWER, Catalogue of Irish MSS. in the British Museum. [*K. Malone.*] 559
R. S. LOOMIS, Celtic Myth and Arthurian Romance. [*W. A. Nitze.*] 560
E. N. S. THOMPSON, The Seventeenth-Century English Essay. [*M. W. Croll.*] 563

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Modern Language Notes

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THE STUDY OF SHAKESPEARE'S CHARACTERS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

In the Introduction[1] to *Eighteenth-Century Essays on Shakespears,* Nichol Smith shows clearly that the transition period from plot-criticism of Shakespeare (based upon the three unities) to character-studies came not in the time of Coleridge, but in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. He discusses Warton,[2] Richardson,[3] Whately,[4] and Morgann[5] as the precursors of the new type of criticism, and mentions the studies of Falstaff[6] which preceded and followed the brilliant essay of Maurice Morgann. He does not, however, attempt to show how far the movement had spread and established itself. The fruitfulness of character-analyses in the criticism of Shakespeare seems to justify a fuller study of the origins of the method than has hitherto appeared.

The *Poetics* of Aristotle naturally encouraged even the neo-

[1] Pp. xxxii-xxxviii.

[2] Joseph Warton, "Observations on the Tempest of Shakspeare." *Adventurer,* Nos. 93, 97 (1753), "Observations on Shakspeare's King Lear," *Adventurer,* Nos. 113, 116, 122 (1753-54).

[3] William Richardson, *A Philosophical Analysis and Illustration of some of Shakespeare's Remarkable Characters* (1774). The characters treated are Macbeth, Hamlet, Jaques, and Imogen. The next series (1784) includes Richard III, Lear, Timon, with an essay on "The Faults of Shakespeare" and "Additional Observations on the Character of Hamlet." The third series (1789) dealt with Falstaff, and "Shakespeare's Imitation of Female Characters." A character of Fluellen was added in 1812.

[4] Thomas Whately, *Remarks on some of the Characters of Shakespeare* (1785). Written in 1770.

[5] Maurice Morgann, *Essay on the Dramatic Character of Sir John Falstaff* (1777). Written in 1774.

[6] Pp. lxii-lxiii.

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classical critics [7] to recognize the greatness of Shakespeare's imaginative insight into character. Their praise was usually couched in very general terms, but, in at least two instances, it produced faint sketches of Shakespearean character. One of these is Dryden's description of Caliban in the preface to *Troilus and Cressida* (1679). The other, which did not appear till more than three decades had passed, is an essay "On the Tragedy of Othello," published in *The Guardian* (1713) by John Hughes. Hughes pointed out the 'beauties' of the play and in so doing gave character-studies of Othello and Iago. They are too dim to be remembered for themselves, but they have some interest in showing the relation between the more sympathetic critics of the "beauties and faults" school and the critics of the early nineteenth century.

There seems to be no evidence of any interest in studying the characterization of Shakespeare for another half-century, till Joseph Warton published in 1753-54 his "Observations on the Tempest of Shakspeare" and "Observation on Shakspeare's King Lear." [10] Even these, which have been mentioned by Nichol Smith as the first instances of character-analyses in Shakespearean criticism, are chiefly essays in the manner of Hughes, pointing out "beauties" in the plays rather than analyzing the motives of the characters. Only Caliban is described with any fullness.

Sometimes Dr. Johnson comes much nearer to the new type of criticism. In the notes to his edition of Shakespeare in 1765, he briefly describes the most important characters of *Othello* and *Henry IV*, giving Falstaff very full attention. He touches upon the characters of Juliet's nurse and of Bertram in *All's Well*, and gives an analysis of the character of Polonius [11] which so fully anticipates Coleridge's method of criticism that Coleridge thought it worth taking over without acknowledgment.[12]

In 1770, Francis Gentleman published anonymously *The*

[7] See the prefaces of Rowe, Pope, and Theobald as examples of this tendency.

[8] *The Guardian*, No. 37.

[9] *The Adventurer*, Nos. 93, 97.

[10] *Ibid.*, Nos. 113, 116, 122.

[11] All of these notes except that on Polonius occur in the final commentaries on the various plays. The note on Polonius is a comment on Act II, Scene iv, *Hamlet*.

[12] Coleridge's *Lectures on Shakespeare* (Bohn edition), pp. 238, 465.

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Dramatic Censor, a two-volume work which discusses some fifty plays. Since Shakespeare furnished thirteen plays to the list, the bulk of Shakespearean criticism in the two volumes is rather large. Gentleman is not a pronounced liberal, for he has a profound antipathy to comic scenes in tragedy, and shows a love of alterations for alterations' sake which would be difficult to match. But he attacks the unities and gives full-length analyses of the characters of Macbeth and Brutus,[13] with occasional slight sketches of other characters. And in 1772, *The Gentleman's Magazine* printed some "Remarks upon *The Tempest*"[14] by an anonymous contributor, who sketched the characters of Ferdinand, Antonio, and Caliban, and made a fairly careful study of Miranda.

Then came Richardson's first book in 1774, with the germ of the romantic interpretation of Hamlet, which was fully developed in Richardson's next series of essays, in 1784. And three years later came Morgann's essay on Falstaff, which was evidently well enough known to be imitated, though it had much less reputation than Richardson's comparatively inferior work. Richardson's essay on Hamlet attracted attention especially in Scotland, where two other critics followed him in attributing Hamlet's delay to his weakness. The moralizing Professor Richardson traced Hamlet's supposed weakness to his virtuous hesitation before shedding blood; Mackenzie,[15] author of *The Man of Feeling,* preferred to explain Hamlet's weakness as due to extreme sensibility, which in such grievous circumstances, plunged him into melancholy and deprived him of all energy; the Reverend Mr. Thomas Robertson,[16] F. R. S., Edinburgh, and minister of Dalmeny, recognized the sensibility of Hamlet, but thought that this was a mere temporary quality, the result of his gentleness. This gentleness, said Robertson, was the true cause of Hamlet's irresolution, not his sensibility or his hesitation in shedding blood: Richardson's interpretation implied that the revenge was wrong, which it is not.

[13] *The Dramatic Censor,* I, 82-83; II, 15, etc.

[14] *The Gentleman's Magazine,* vol. XLII, pp. 573-76.

[15] *The Mirror,* Nos. 99, 100. Mackenzie deserves credit for the first full development of the new analysis of Hamlet's character. Richardson's first essay touched on the new theory only casually and vaguely.

[16] "*An Essay on the Character of Hamlet.*" *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh,* vol. II (1790), pp. 251-67. (The essay was read July 21, 1788.)

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These three essays on Hamlet, published, respectively, in 1774-84, 1780 and 1790, all anticipate Goethe and Coleridge in their emphasis upon the supposed weakness of Hamlet. Goethe [17] was fully anticipated by Mackenzie's fine essay, which is the best of the three Scotch criticisms, although deeply indebted to Richardson. Coleridge found the cause of Hamlet's slowness to act in his excessive contemplation—a real and important variation from previous interpretations which Coleridge drew from his own character. Though Schlegel interprets Hamlet quite differently in the main, he refers to the source of weakness which Coleridge emphasized, and Coleridge has sometimes been supposed to be indebted to him. But a note of H. C. Robinson of December 23, 1810, shows that Coleridge was interpreting Hamlet in the manner now familiar to us a year before he saw Schlegel's lectures.[18]

The series of essays on Hamlet has required a slight divergence from the chronology of the character-studies. Whately's comparison of Macbeth and Richard III, which had been written in 1770, was published in 1785. Whately's imputation against the courage of Macbeth was resented by the cultivated young actor, John Philip Kemble, who had already begun to establish his fame in Shakespearean roles. He replied in *Macbeth Reconsidered* [19] (1786), with some success, though Whately's original distinction is not entirely without validity.

In the year of Kemble's reply to Whately, Mackenzie followed up his essay on Hamlet with another on Falstaff,[20] this time published in *The Lounger,* which succeeded *The Mirror.* In this essay, which is based upon the remarks of an unnamed friend, there is an emphasis upon Shakespeare's art and judgment which is almost a characteristic of the new type of criticism, and an exact contrast to the neo-classical point of view. Character-studies inevitably brought about this result, as insistence upon the unities inevitably made Shakespeare seem devoid of dramatic skill. Mackenzie's essay shows the influence of Morgann in its views on Falstaff's

[17] *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship* (1795), Book IV, ch. 13.

[18] Coleridge says that his interpretation was developed before his trip to Germany in 1798. Lectures (Bohn edition), p. 343.

[19] Kemble revised this pamphlet and re-published it in 1817. Nichol Smith mentions Kemble, Introduction, XXXVII.

[20] *The Lounger,* Nos. 68, 69 (1786).

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cowardice,[21] although Mackenzie refuses "to go so far as a certain paradoxical critic has done and ascribe valour to Falstaff." [22]

Morgann's influence may again appear in the number of characters of Falstaff. Richard Cumberland, the writer of sentimental comedies, printed two excellent essays in *The Observer* (1786), following the lead of Whately in a comparison [23] of Macbeth and Richard III, and following Morgann and Mackenzie in the subject of an essay "On the Characters of Falstaff and his Group." [24] Both of these essays are unusual in their emphasis upon Shakespeare's art and show the value in criticism of Cumberland's creative experience. The study of Falstaff by Richardson appeared in 1789; and James White's clever little book, *Falstaff's Letters* (1789) may surely be considered a character-study, though it is not written in the form of criticism.[25]

The periodicals furnished one more character-study in 1786. This was the essay "On Misanthropy," published in *The Lounger* [26] by the Edinburgh advocate, W. Craig, who was the chief contributor, after Mackenzie, to both *The Mirror* and *The Lounger*. Craig uses Hamlet, Jaques, and Timon as his illustrations and gives a description of their characters which is evidently influenced by Richardson, as, in the case of Hamlet, Craig acknowledges. This unimportant essay is apparently the last in the Scotch periodicals, except the essay on Othello [27] in Anderson's *Bee* (1791). The anonymous critic of Othello, "W. N.," is one of the best of the new students of Shakespeare; and this says much, for the method of character-studies and the impulse which led to it are both effective in producing excellent humane criticism of the sympathetic sort. The desiccated deductive criticism of the classical school is almost as remote from these lesser writers as from Coleridge.

The eighteenth-century produced at least two more critics of the new school, though it must be admitted that both are rather insignificant. The first of these is Wostenholme Parr, who published in 1795 *The Story of the Moor of Venice*, a translation of Shake-

[21] Cf. also Coleridge, *Lectures on Shakespeare* (Bohn edition), pp. 8, 28.
[22] *The Lounger*, No. 69.
[23] *The Observer*, Nos. 69, 70, 71, 72. A long essay.
[24] *Ibid*, No. 73.
[25] Nichol Smith lists all these essays on Falstaff. See note 6 above.
[26] *The Lounger*, No. 91.
[27] *The Bee*, vol. I, pp. 56-62, 87-90, 132-36.

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speare's Italian source for Othello. Parr adds to the translation two unimportant essays of his own, one on *Coriolanus*, and another, which alone concerns us, on the character of Othello.[28] The next year, 1796, saw the publication of a collection of "Essays by a Society of Gentlemen," which included three essays on Shakespeare by "T. O." Two of these are character-studies, defending the characters of Iago [29] and Shylock [30] with an interesting combination of humanitarian sympathy and scholarly love of disproving accepted opinions. The essay on Shylock has some weight and is interesting in its implication that the character was always represented as an unmitigated villain.

The list of character-studies in the eighteenth century is, one sees, much longer than that given by Nichol Smith—long enough to indicate that the new method had become fairly familiar. There is no absolute proof that Coleridge was indebted to his English predecessors, but it is highly improbable that a professed student of Shakespeare, who was naturally a voracious reader, could have entirely ignored the character-studies of the preceding period. The most interesting of these essays, so far as possible influence upon Coleridge is concerned, is Mackenzie's essay on Hamlet in *The Mirror*. As *The Mirror* enjoyed enough reputation to be included in Chalmer's *British Essayists* in 1803, the possibility of Coleridge's knowing it is very great.[31] Richardson's study of Hamlet might also have been known to Coleridge. But Morgann's remarkable book on Falstaff, which was little known, might easily have escaped his notice.

Whether the eighteenth-century critics influenced Coleridge or not, they certainly anticipated both him and the Germans in the new method of character-studies. They anticipated him also in their sympathetic point of view and in their emphasis upon Shakespeare's art. These tendencies and not Schlegel's distinctions between classic and romantic, are the most important and valuable aspects of Coleridge's criticism.

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[28] *The Story of the Moor of Venice*, pp. 65-82.

[29] *Essays by a Society of Gentlemen*, Exeter, 1796, pp. 395-409.

[30] *Ibid.*, pp. 552-73.

[31] He mentions *The Mirror*, but not in a manner which proves familiar knowledge. Letters, II, 557.

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THE PRIMITIVISM OF JOSEPH WARTON

A vague suggestion of the source of the primitivistic passage in Joseph Warton's *Enthusiast* is given by the poet himself:

> In Earth's first infancy (as sung the bard
> Who strongly painted what he boldly thought),[1]

That "the bard" is Lucretius is pointed out by Warton's biographer, John Wooll, in the following footnote to the poem: "See Lucretius, Lib. v, from lines 922 to 1008. Et genus humanum, etc."[2] A comparison of these lines in the *De Rerum Natura* with the corresponding passage in *The Enthusiast* indicates, however, that, although Lucretius undoubtedly supplied Warton with the details for the picture of primitive life, the ideal Garden-of-Eden existence drawn by the author of *The Enthusiast* differs radically from the Lucretian conception of early man. The ecstatic introduction to the passage in *The Enthusiast:*

> Happy the first of men, ere yet confin'd
> To smoky cities; who in sheltering groves,
> Warm caves, and deep-sunk vallies liv'd and lov'd,
> By cares unwounded;

gives an entirely different atmosphere from that with which Lucretius surrounds his picture by the declaration that:

> Through many lustres of the sun rolling through the sky they passed their lives after the wide-wandering fashion of wild beasts.[3]

The details in Warton's picture, however, are taken directly from Lucretius. *The Enthusiast* tells us that

> what sun and showers.
> And genial earth untillag'd, could produce,
> They gather'd grateful, or the acorn brown
> Or blushing berry;

The sun and showers, the untillaged earth, the acorns and berries —all are found in Lucretius:

[1] *The Enthusiast*, lines 108-9.

[2] *Biographical Memoirs of Joseph Warton* (London, 1806), p. 116. The reference should be to lines 925 ff: *At genus humanum*, etc.

[3] The translation is that of W. H. D. Rouse, Loeb Classical Library.

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What sun and rain had given, what earth had produced of her own accord, that was gift enough to content their minds. Amidst the acorn-laden oaks they refreshed themselves for the most part; and the arbute-berries . . . then the earth bore in abundance.

On the other hand, we scarcely recognize Warton's:

> by the liquid lapse
> Of murm'ring waters call'd to slake their thirst,
> Or with fair nymphs their sun-brown limbs to bathe;
> With nymphs who fondly clasp'd their fav'rite youths,
> Unaw'd by shame, beneath the beechen shade,

In Lucretius's:

To quench their thirst, rivers and springs invited them as now the rushing water down from the great mountain calls loud and far to the thirsting hordes of beasts.

Incidentally, the nymphs do appear in *De Rerum Natura,* in the passage which immediately follows this, but they appear in a different connection:

Next, as they roamed abroad they dwelt in familiar woodland precincts of the nymphs, whence they knew that some running rivulet issued rippling over the wet rocks, rippling over the rocks in abundant flow and dripping upon the green moss, with plenty left to splash and bubble over the level plain.

This description is the only feature of Lucretius's picture which suggests the ideal—the beautiful. Man is compared with the beasts; even his love is bestial rather than chivalric:

Venus joined the bodies of lovers in the woods; for either the woman was attracted by some mutual desire, or caught by the man's violent force and vehement lust, or by a bribe—acorns and arbute-berries, or choice pears.

The corresponding lines in *The Enthusiast* constitute the most radical departure from the *De Rerum Natura;* in fact, they contain a denial of the bribery:

> Nor had curs'd gold their tender hearts allur'd;
> Then beauty was not venal. Injur'd Love,
> O! whither, god of raptures, art thou fled?
> While Avarice waves his golden wand around,
> Abhorr'd magician, and his costly cup
> Prepares with baneful drugs, t'enchant the souls
> Of each low-thoughted fair to wed for gain.

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Warton does concede, however, that primitive life had its unpleasant features:

> Though oft the fierce north smote with iron whip
> Their shiv'ring limbs, though oft the bristly boar
> Or hungry lion, 'woke them with their howls,
> And scar'd them from their moss-grown caves, to rove
> Houseless and cold in dark tempestuous nights;

Here again the details are from Lucretius, although "moss-grown caves" are certainly not suggested by the Latin:

> When night overtook them like so many bristly hogs they just cast their savage bodies upon the ground, rolling themselves in leaves and boughs. . . . What troubled them was that hordes of beasts often made their rest dangerous to them; and driven from their shelter, they would flee to the rocks and caves when a foaming boar appeared, or a mighty lion, and at dead of night in terror would leave their leaf-strewn beds to the savage guests.

Lucretius proceeds to a contrast of the perils of primitive and modern life:

> Nor did mortal men much more then than now leave the sweet light of lapsing life. True, each one was then more likely to be caught and devoured alive by wild beasts, torn by their teeth, and to fill woods and forests and mountains with groaning as he saw his own living flesh buried in a living tomb; while any that flight had saved with mangled body held thereafter their trembling hands over hideous sores. calling on Orcus with horrible cries, until cruel torments put an end to their life, with none to help, all ignorant what a wound wanted. But one day did not then send to destruction many thousands of men in battle fields, then ships and mariners were not dashed on the rocks by the turbulent billows of the sea. Then it was all in vain, all useless, all for nothing if the sea sometimes rose and stormed, or gently calmed his threats without meaning, nor could anyone be enticed to ruin by the treacherous witchery of the quiet sea with laughing waves. The wicked art of navigation then lay hidden and obscure. In those days again it was lack of food that drove fainting bodies to death; now contrariwise it is the abundance that overwhelms them. In those days men often unwittingly poured poison for themselves; now more skilfully taught they give poison to others.

The description of men torn to pieces by wild beasts is too realistic for Warton. He omits it and thus contrasts with the inconvenience of being driven at night from the "moss-grown caves" the modern

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dangers of war and shipwrecks. But it will be seen that the closing lines of his comparison are almost identical with those of Lucretius:

> Yet were not myriads in embattl'd fields
> Swept off at once, nor had the raging seas
> O'erwhelm'd the found'ring bark and shrieking crew;
> In vain the glassy ocean smil'd to tempt
> The jolly sailor, unsuspecting harm,
> For Commerce ne'er had spread her swelling sails,
> Nor had the wond'ring Nereids ever heard
> The dashing oar: then famine, want, and pain,
> Sunk to the grave their fainting limbs; but us,
> Diseaseful dainties, riot, and excess,
> And feverish luxury destroy. In brakes
> Or marshes wild unknowingly they cropp'd
> Herbs of malignant juice; to realms remote
> While we for powerful poisons madly roam,
> From every noxious herb collecting death.

The conclusion is evident. It is not subject matter but method of treatment that constitutes romanticism. The primitivism of Joseph Warton—one of his truly romantic characteristics—arises from his romantic handling of classical material, in sentimentalizing a realistic picture of primitive man. *The Enthusiast* is typical of the mid-eighteenth century in not rejecting the classics, but in remoulding them "nearer to the heart's desire."

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THE DATE OF HAZLITT'S FIRST VISIT TO COLERIDGE

It will be recalled that in January, 1798, Coleridge went to Shrewsbury to preach for a Unitarian congregation; that on Tuesday after the first Sunday he called upon the Hazlitt family at Wen, ten miles from Shrewsbury; and that then he invited William to visit him at Nether Stowey in "a few weeks' time."[1] Hazlitt was overjoyed, and as soon as possible went to Stowey where he

[1] William Hazlitt, "My First Acquaintance with Poets," in *The Collected Works of William Hazlitt*, ed. Waller and Grover, XII, 259-275.

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spent three weeks with his new-found friend. It is of some importance to fix as definitely as possible the date of this visit.

It is usually said that Hazlitt was in Stowey in the spring, probably in April.[2] Mr. G. M. Harper says, "The precise date, and even the month, of Hazlitt's visit is uncertain,"[3] but is inclined to believe that the visit probably occurred in May. My purpose is to show that the visit did not take place in April, and that it probably occurred in the latter half of May or in June.

Two considerations make it improbable that Hazlitt came to Stowey before the middle of May. That his visit did not take place in April is almost conclusively proved by the fact that Wordsworth began the composition of *Peter Bell* on April 20.[4] When Hazlitt visited Stowey, it seems clear that *Peter Bell* was finished. Hazlitt writes: "We went over to All-Foxden again the day following, and Wordsworth read us the story of Peter Bell in the open air.[5] In its present form, exclusive of the prologue, *Peter Bell* is 945 lines in length. We know that in 1798 it was considered a relatively long poem.[6] In view of Wordworth's rather laborious manner of writing,[7] it is quite probable that *Peter Bell* was not finished in April. Indeed, evidence seems to show that Wordsworth's statement: "It [*Peter Bell*] first saw the light in the summer of 1798,"[8] is approximately correct. The second fact in support of the contention that Hazlitt's visit occurred after the middle of May is that Coleridge's second child was born May 14.[9] The confinement of Mrs. Coleridge may be connected with a postponement of the visit, of which Hazlitt writes as follows: "I wrote to him at the time proposed, and received an answer

[2] Coleridge, *Poetical Works*, ed. Campbell, 1914, p. xli; *D. N. B.*, IX, 318; *The Collected Works of W. Hazlitt*, I, x.

[3] *William Wordsworth*, I, 349.

[4] *Journals of Dorothy Wordsworth*, I, 17.

[5] *Op. cit.*, XII, 271.

[6] *Biographia Epistolaris*, ed. A. Turnbull, I, 159.

[7] *Journals of Dorothy Wordsworth*, I, 17, 84, *passim;* G. M. Harper, *op. cit.*, I, 345, 410-411.

[8] See Wordsworth's letter to Southey, *Poetical Works* (Macmillan, 1921), p. 99.

[9] See Coleridge's letters to J. P. Estlin and Thomas Poole, each dated May 14, 1798 (*Letters*, ed. E. H. Coleridge, I, 246-249.

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postponing my intended visit for a week or two, but very cordially urging me to complete my promise then." [10]

An additional reason for the delay may have been the rupture with Lloyd, which seems to have taken place in the latter part of April or early May.[11] It may be significant, also, that Dorothy's *Journal,* which closes on May 22, makes no mention of Hazlitt. Whatever the cause, Hazlitt's visit was delayed. The evidence seems to show that Hazlitt did not write the following sentence at random: "Coleridge and myself walked back to Stowey that evening, . . . by fairy stream or waterfall, gleaming in the *summer* moonlight." [12]

It is probable, therefore, that Hazlitt came to Stowey in the latter part of May or the first part of June. He was there, of course, before the Wordsworths left Alfoxden, June 26.[13]

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"MOTHER OF DEAD DOGS."

Readers of Carlyle's *French Revolution* have often been puzzled by the phrase "Mother of Dead Dogs." "In the Professor's ambiguous way" Carlyle refers to Louis XV "swimming passively, as on some boundless 'Mother of Dead Dogs,' towards issues which he partly saw." [1] The general meaning of the passage is clear enough; dozens of examples might be cited to illustrate Carlyle's fondness for metaphorical expressions in which Time, Existence, and the like are alluded to as bodies of water.[2] The general meaning is clear, but what is actually meant by the phrase "Mother of Dead Dogs?"

As is so often the case, the author is here quoting from his own

[10] *Op. cit.*, XII, 268.

[11] This rupture is probably alluded to in Coleridg's letter to Estlin, May 14, 1798 (*Letters,* I, 246-7); see also *Poetical Works,* ed. Campbell, p. xlii.

[12] *Op. cit.*, XII, 270. The italics are mine.

[13] Harper, *op. cit.*, I, 349.

[1] *The Works of Thomas Carlyle* (Centenary Edition), II, 21.

[2] *E. g., op. cit.*, I, 214, 228, V, 8, XXVIII, 26, 80.

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writings. Some four years earlier in his essay on Cagliostro he had written of "one unguided little Raven, in the wide-weltering 'Mother of dead Dogs,'"[3] and a year before this in his review of Croker's *Boswell,* he had asked the following question: "By what methods, by what gifts of eye and hand, does a heroic Samuel Johnson, now when cast forth into that waste Chaos of Authorship, maddest of things, a mingled Phlegethon and Fleet-ditch, with its floating lumber, and sea-krakens, and mud-spectres,—shape himself a voyage; of the *transient* driftwood, and the *enduring* iron, build him a sea-worthy Life-Boat, and sail therein, undrowned, unpolluted, through the roaring 'mother of dead dogs,' onwards to an eternal Landmark, and City that hath foundations?"[4]

This somewhat lengthy passage I have reproduced in full because to the best of my knowledge it is the only one in which Carlyle publicly connects Fleet Ditch with "Mother of Dead Dogs." That the two were synonymous is conclusively proved by a sentence from a letter written in 1847, in which Carlyle advises the recipient, who is thinking of becoming a writer, not "to quit the solid paths of practical business for these inane froth oceans which, however gas-lighted they may be, are essentially what I have called them somewhere, base as Fleet Ditch, the mother of dead dogs."[5] This sentence may also throw light on the passage in *Sartor* in which the "Professor der Allerley-Wissenschaft" apostrophizes George Fox as follows: "Every stroke is bearing thee across the Prison-ditch, within which Vanity holds her Workhouse and Ragfair, into lands of true Liberty."[6] The "Prison-Ditch" is, perhaps, the ditch which passes by Fleet Prison.

"Mother of Dead Dogs," then, refers to Fleet Ditch. The only other question that arises is where Carlyle got his idea. Possibly it was suggested to him by Ben Jonson's *Famous Voyage,* in which the travellers had to pass

> from Styx to Acheron,
> The ever-boiling flood; whose banks upon
> Your Fleet-lane Furies and hot cooks do dwell,

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[3] *Op. cit.*, XXVIII, 275.
[4] *Id.*, 109 f.
[5] Froude's *Thomas Carlyle . . . 1834-1881*, N. Y., 1884, I, 350.
[6] *Op. cit.*, I, 168.

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> That with still-scalding steams make the place Hell.
> The sinks ran grease, and hair of measled hogs,
> The heads, houghs, entrails, and the hides of dogs.[7]

More probably, however, he was thinking of the couplet from the *Dunciad:*

> To where Fleet Ditch, with disemboguing streams,
> Rolls the large tribute of dead dogs to Thames.[8]

In any case the allusion, which has heretofore been puzzling, now seems clear enough. "Mother of Dead Dogs" is perfectly good "Carlylese" for Fleet Ditch.[9]

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SIR JOHN DENHAM AND *PARADISE LOST*

Mr. Theodore H. Banks, Jr., in a recent examination[1] of the rejected story told by Richardson (not John, as Mr. Banks calls him, but Jonathan) of Sir John Denham's praise of *Paradise Lost* meets completely all previous objections except the weightest: "3. He was not a member of Parliament" in 1667.

Sir John Denham is first mentioned in the *Commons Journals* May 11, 1661, just after the new Parliament met on May 8; and appears regularly thereafter. He was reported mad April 14, 1666.[2] Parliament was not in regular session from October 31, 1665, to September 18, 1666; but in the September session 1666, Sir John Denham is found continuing his duties. Whether he was still mad or not is another question. He is mentioned September 21, 22, 24; October 1, 11; November 8; and December 3, 4. That he was

[7] *Epigrams*, CXXXIII.

[8] Book II, ll. 271 f.

[9] As Carlyle uses it, the phrase could have no connection with the Isle of Dogs or Houndsditch, though the latter received its name from the dead dogs thrown into it. (Stow's *Survay of London*, ed. Morley, London, 1890, 151.) Cf. Wilson's *Carlyle on Cromwell and Others*, London, 1925, 409.

[1] *MLN.*, XLI, 51-4.

[2] *Hist. Mss. Commission.* Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Marquess of Ormonde, K. P., New Series, III, 217.

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regularly present is shown by the fact that he was not mentioned December 15, 1666, in a list of "Defaulters in attending the Service of the House," nor had he been excused. In 1667, he is mentioned January 4, 22 (on this occasion in *Lords Journals* also), and 31. Parliament was prorogued February 8, 1667, to meet October 10, 1667; but was summoned to meet July 25, then adjourned to July 29, when it was prorogued to the original date October 10. Again Sir John appears, being mentioned October 14, 22, 26, 30, etc. On November 7 of this same year 1667, Sir John was taking part in the trial of Clarendon.[3] It is clear then both that Sir John was a member of Parliament at the time in question, and that at no time did his madness incapacitate him for his duties in Parliament. His praise of *Paradise Lost* could have been voiced on July 25, 1667; July 29, or in any of the sessions thereafter.

Too, "Hungerford, an Ancient Member of Parliament," would have been there to hear him, only he seems clearly not to have been "Sir *George*" as Richardson calls him, but "Sir *Edward*." I find no trace of a Sir George Hungerford in Parliament at the proper time, but Sir Edward was a member 1660-1705, dying 1711; "many Years ago" from 1734, when Richardson recorded the story. Incidentally, if Richardson's memory failed him on Hungerford's given name, it may well have done so in other fairly important details.

If Sir John's madness did not incapacitate him for parliamentary duties, it could hardly be used, as Mr. Banks later uses it,[4] to cast doubt on the authenticity of papers published as his at this time.

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ELIZABETHAN PLAYERS AS TRADESFOLK

Mr. W. J. Lawrence in the *Notes* of June, 1926, would seem to infer that since John Heminges and Martin Slaughter were not merely honorary members of their gilds, they must actually

[3] Cobbett, *Parliamentary History of England*, IV, 384-5. I owe thanks to Mr. F. S. Ronalds, a graduate student in the Department of History, University of Illinois, for courtesy in locating this reference for me.

[4] *MLN.*, XLI, 502-5.

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have engaged in the trades to which they were eligible. The other possibilities are too numerous to give in a note, but perhaps an examination of the records in the admirable *History of the Worshipful Company of the Drapers of London* by the Reverend A. H. Johnson, would suggest some of these to the interested reader. The list of members of this company of drapers in 1641, with the trades or professions they actually exercised, and the number of apprentices each had, ought to prove illuminating here (Vol. IV, pp. 129 ff). For instance, there were several "Musiconer" members, who had apprentices, thus illustrating one possibility.

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THE MALE-FRIENDSHIP CULT IN THOMAS HEYWOOD'S PLAYS

Among the Renaissance ideals which the twentieth century sometimes forgets in its criticisms of Elizabethan literature, particularly of plays, is the glorification of friendship between men. This cult of male friendship, originating in the classics, received new stimulus from Italy and made itself felt in literature and philosophic discussion.[1] On the English stage, the devotion of male friends was first forcibly set forth in Richard Edwards' *Damon and Pithias,* the prologue of which promises "a rare ensample of Friendship true." Later plays reworked the theme. Chettle's lost *Damon and Pythias* once again put on the stage the classic example of male friendship. Professor Campbell has recently pointed out that the unexpected, and to the modern taste, immoral dénouement of *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* is simply Shakespeare's contribution to the discussion:[2] greater love than this hath no man, that he lay down his love for his friend, seems to be Proteus'

[1] Cf. Raschen, J. F. L., "Earlier and Later Versions of the Friendship Theme. I Damon and Pythias." *Modern Philolgy,* XVII (1919-1920), 105-9.

[2] Campbell, O. J., "*The Two Gentlemen of Verona* and Italian Comedy." University of Michigan *Studies in Shakespeare, Milton, and Donne* (New York, 1925), 54.

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creed. It is my purpose here to point out briefly the recurrence of the friendship theme in Thomas Heywood's plays.

In Heywood we find echoed many of the Renaissance ideals of the sixteenth century, combined, to be sure, with expressions of the prudential and pragmatic virtues of the seventeenth century middle-class.[3] Heywood is one of the most important transitional figures between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. From among the playwrights he has been called the last of the great Elizabethans. Certainly his plays share the spirit of both the ages of the Tudors and the Stuarts. Yet Heywood seems never to have forgotten that he was of the age of Elizabeth. Even in the reign of James he continues his praise of the Virgin Queen. Hence it is that he often presents ideas more characteristic of the earlier period.

In a play that was to be the forerunner of many domestic tragedies of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, *A Woman Killed With Kindness,* Heywood emphasizes the importance of friendship between men, a Renaissance ideal which seems to have intrigued him. In this play, the poignancy of the tragedy is accentuated by the fact that Frankford is betrayed by his closest friend. The treachery of a friend is unfortunately a convention of literature and life, but Heywood here so stresses the sacredness of friendship that the play becomes almost a preachment against its violation. With this problem the chief characters in the play are much concerned. The false friend, Wendoll, is little perturbed over the essential immorality of his proposed seduction of Mistress Frankford, but in his first soliloquy he is distressed because he is proving "a villain and a Traitor to his friend." He expands this idea by calling to mind the heinousness of his plotted offense against friendship:[4]

> . . . I am to his body
> As necessary as his digestion;
> And equally do make him whole or sicke:
> And shall I wrong this man?

[3] In a forthcoming study I hope to point out Heywood's place as the spokesman of middle-class ideals and virtues.

[4] (Pearson, John) (ed.), *The Works of Thomas Heywood Now First Collected* (London, 1874), II, 109.

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Later in the scene, when Frankford leaves Wendoll in charge of everything, the effort of the latter to remain true to his friend reaches the proportions of a love and honor struggle.

It is significant that in Frankford's exclamation on learning from Nick that his wife and Wendoll have played him false, the thought of his friend comes first:[5]

> What didst thou say? If any word that toucht
> His credit or her reputation;
> It is as hard to enter my beleefe
> As Dives into Heaven.

Again the friend comes first to Frankford's mind when he exclaims that "friends and bosome wiues proue so iniust." And finally, Frankford reproaches Wendoll, not for seducing his wife but for betraying his friendship:[6]

> . . . Go, to thy friend
> A Iudas; pray, pray, lest I liue to see
> Thee Iudas-like hang'd on an Elder-tree.

When Wendoll's repentance comes, it too is repentance for this treachery to a friend. In *A Woman Killed With Kindness* Heywood presents one phase of male friendship; in Wendoll's weakness he preaches against the violation of the sacred bond between man and man.

So impressed is Heywood with the ideal of friendship between men that he makes it one of the leading motives in *The English Traveller*. The loyalty of young Geraldine in this play is such that he resists the temptation to sin, although he loves the youthful wife of his friend Wincott. When he reveals to Wincott that he has absented himself from the latter's house to prevent scandal, Wincott praises his loyalty:[7]

> It pleads in your behalfe, and speakes in hers;
> And armes me with a double confidence,
> Both of your friendship, and her loyalty.
> I am happy in you both, and onely doubtfull
> Which of you two dost most import my love.

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[5] *Ibid.*, 119.

[6] *Ibid.*, 138-139.

[7] *Ibid.*, IV, Act 4 Sc. 1, p. 68.

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Constrasted with Geraldine is the villian Dolavill, who proves a "periured traitor . . . to friend and goodnesse."

In *A Woman Killed With Kindness* Heywood presents the dark picture of disloyalty in a trusted friend. In *The English Traveller* comes a contrasting portrayal. In this play the audience is moved by the faithfulness of Geraldine to his ideal of friendship; that Dolaville proves a traitor is merely a necessary trick of the plot. The chief interest is in Geraldine's struggle with and superiority over temptation.

In other of Heywood's plays the friendship theme recurs. In *The Fair Maid of the West,* Goodlack is tempted to try to seduce the beautiful Bess, but loyalty to his friend Spencer keeps him faithful. In the second part of this play, the old Damon and Pythias loyalty causes Spencer to return to captivity after being permitted by his friend Joffer to visit Bess on board the *Negro.*[8] Later, when Spencer finds Joffer a captive in the court of the Duke of Florence, he bids him try "an English vertue," the virtue of friendship, which prompts Spencer to offer to sell everything he possesses even unto his "naked skin," or to give himself as a hostage to redeem his friend. The Duke of Farrara comments:[9] "'Tis the part of a most noble friend." Joffer himself is so moved that he turns Christian.

An understanding of the friendship cult will make more reasonable the unnatural situation in *The Fair Maid of the Exchange* in which the Cripple bestows his interest in Phillis upon Frank. To the latter he pledges his friendship and offers to aid him in winning the love of Phillis, regardless of her own wishes. This situation no doubt appealed to the Elizabethan audience as a noble example of the unselfish quality of friendship.

In none of Heywood's plays, however, is the ideal of loyalty in friendship between men carried to more exaggerated extremes than in *A Challenge for Beauty.* Here the friendship of Ferrers for Valladaura and the latter's test of Ferrer's loyalty are important phases of the subplot. These tests are carried to unbelievable extremes, much in the manner of the Patient Griselda tests. In Act 4, Sc. 1, Valladaura has Ferrers act as a churchman to marry him

[8] *Ibid.*, II, Pt. 2, Act 3, Sc. 1.
[9] *Ibid.*, II, Pt. 2, Act 5, Sc. 1, p. 422.

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to Petrocella, whom Ferrers himself loves. As the unhappy friend is doubting the propriety of the deed, Valladaura's mention of the word *friend* is sufficient to give him courage for the sacrifice of his love:

> Val. —Friend, Ferrers—
> Fer. Ha? that very accident, friend,
> Gies my faint fears the lie; and writes my art
> Noble and lawfull: had I giv'n him my life
> 'Twas but his owne.

As a final test of Ferrers' friendship and as proof of his trust in him, Valladaura forces his friend to lie with Petrocella on her supposed bridal night after extracting a promise from him that he will not so much as kiss the bride.[10] In all the tests, Ferrers proves loyal to his friend, who later reveals the fact that he had merely been trying the faith of his friendship. Sebastian pays final tribute to such loyalty:[11]

> His valour, faith, and friendship Valladaura
> So deepely hath imprest us: that we are pleased
> To see him match't into a noble house.

The situations briefly outlined in the foregoing discussion show that Heywood was fond of the male-friendship theme, a reminiscence of the heritage from the Italian Renaissance when the relative merits of the love of man for man and the love of man for woman had furnished vital matter for debate. Late in the Renaissance Heywood gives dramatic expression to the cult of male friendship, a theme which afterwards became diffused into a weaker sentimentality.

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[10] *Ibid.*, v, Act 5, Sc. 1.

[11] *Ibid.*, v, Act 5, Sc. 1, p. 67.

Somewhat analogous to the Valladaura-Ferrers tests is the situation in *The Royal King and Loyal Subject* in which the Marshal proves his loyalty to the King in spite of the latter's tests, and is rewarded by the King's calling him "Our noble Martiall kinsman and our friend." Cf. also Act 2, Sc. 1 of *Fortune by Land and Sea* in which Phillip, disinherited by his father, refuses to give up his love for him, but offers to labor for him as a serving man, with his wife as dairymaid.

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UNA AND HER LAMB

In a recent article (*SP.* XXIII, p. 156) Messrs. Padelford and O'Connor suggest that the original of Una and her lamb may be found in old versions of the legend of St. George in which the king's daughter is represented as led to the sacrifice in company with a sheep. They cite a ME. homily printed in Caxton's collection "A Festivall," and Lydgate's poem, as cases in point. Beatty (*St. George or Mummer's Plays,* Trans. Wis. Acad. Arts and Sciences, 1907, XV, 279-280) refers to a fifteenth-century Gloucestershire version in which each day a sheep and a child were sacrificed, but after all the children had been slain a girl and a sheep were sent. In this version the girl, after her rescue, leads the dragon to the king her father "as yt had been a gentle hound."

There is ample confirmation for the view that Spenser was following the ancient legend rather than contriving a subtle allegory of truth and innocence. An entry in "A Short English Chronicle" in James Gairdner's *Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles,* Camden Society, 1880, p. 55 reads:

> This yere the Emperour of Almayne came in to Engelond and was at Seint Georges fest. And at the procession the kynge went above him. . . . And the first sotilte that came on the table was our Ladye armyng Seint George and an angill doinge on his sporys. The secounde sotilte was Seint George fightynge with the dragon, and the spere in his honde. The therde sotilte was a castell, and Seint George and the kynges doughter ledyng the lambe in to the castell gate.

In this incident we note the supernatural armor, as in Spenser's account of the arming of Red Cross (the Letter to Raleigh); the castle; the daughter of the king (Una), and the lamb. It is of interest to note that the whole matter is treated as if a matter of convention: "and the kynges doughter ledyng the lambe."

Another case almost precisely similar is cited by Gairdner under "historical memoranda" in the same book, p. 86. In an account of the reception of Edward IV at Temple Cross in 1461 we read:

> There was Seynt George on horsbakke uppon a tent fyghtyng with a dragon, and the kyng and the quene on hygh in a castell, and his daughter benethe with a lambe. And atte the sleyng of the dragon ther was a greet melody of aungellys.

Gairdner remarks (p. iv) that this MS. seems at one time to

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have belonged to Stowe. The interest of the account to us is that it presents the full situation of Redcross and the dragon, the King and Queen of Castle Mortal; the daughter Una; the religious and patriotic setting (note the song of angels at the marriage of Una and Redcross, *FQ.* I. xii. 39). It also, like the other incident, explains the lamb as the companion of Una.

I have no doubt that other similar instances might be collected. It is therefore not necessary to credit Spenser with any special alchemy in converting the sheep of the literary versions to the lamb of his narrative. And I doubt if it is necessary to postulate any one literary source for Spenser's version of the Legend of St. George. It was part and parcel of folk belief and courtly entertainment in his time and long before. The first book, whatever its historical and political significance, is a new world symphony upon a familiar folk theme, presented with variations that bring out its subtle spiritual significance.

EDWIN GREENLAW.

MARGINALIA ON LONGFELLOW, LOWELL, AND POE

1. M. Paul Morin in his valuable study of Longfellow's origins, *Les Sources de L'Oeuvre de Henry Wadsworth Longfellow* (Paris, 1913), calls attention to the possible indebtedness of Longfellow's "Midnight Mass for the Dying Year" to Tennyson's "The Death of the Old Year";[1] but he makes no mention of the obvious echoing of Tennyson's "the days that are no more"[2] in the "Prelude" to Part III of the *Tales of a Wayside Inn*[3] and again in "Three Friends of Mine,"[4] nor of the fairly evident approximation in tone and diction to "Locksley Hall" exhibited by certain passages in *Hiawatha,* notably in the following:

> Who shall say what thoughts and visions
> Fill the fiery brains of young men?
> Who shall say what dreams of beauty. . . .
> (Canto, IV, ll. 289 f.)

[1] Morin, p. 186.

[2] Cf. the song "Tears, idle tears," l. 5, from *The Princess.*

[3] *Longfellow's Poems,* Cambridge Edition, p. 263.

[4] *Ibid.,* p. 315.

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I beheld, too, in that vision
All the secrets of the future,
Of the distant days that shall be.
(Canto XXI, ll. 209 f.)

Many a daylight dawned and darkened,
Many a night shook off the daylight.
(Canto XIX, ll. 112 f.)

O the long and dreary Winter!
O the cold and cruel Winter!
(Canto XX, ll. 1 f.)[5]

2. It has been plausibly held that the original of Lowell's Parson Wilbur in the *Biglow Papers* was, in part at least, the Rev. Barzillai Frost,[6] with whom the poet spent the six weeks of his rustication at Concord in 1838. The name *Wilbur,* on the other hand, was probably suggested by that of a Massachusetts clergyman, the Rev. H. Wilbur, who, indeed, protested at one time against what he supposed to be the poet's use of his name.[7] There was, however, another Wilbur who figured in the educational life of New England at the time of the publication of the first series of the *Biglow Papers,* and who may have influenced Lowell in some measure,—namely, a Dr. H. B. Wilbur, principal of a school for defectives at Barre, Worcester Co., Massachusetts, with whose activities Lowell may be assumed to have been acquainted.[8] The name *Sawin* was in all likelihood suggested by some one of the poet's fellow-townsmen of that name, of whom there were five listed in the directory of Boston for 1846-7 and nine in the directory for 1847-8, and at least two in each number of the directory of Cambridge from its first issue in 1848.

[5] Cf. also the phrase "melancholy moorlands" (Canto V, l. 242) and the line "So disasters come not singly" (Canto XIX, l. 11). There is also a Tennysonian flavor in "The Tide Rises, the Tide Falls," and likewise, I have fancied, in certain lines of "Morituri Salutamus," especially in ll. 142-43, 238, 272-76.

[6] Hale, *Lowell and his Friends,* p. 45.

[7] Scudder, *Life of Lowell,* I, p. 263.

[8] See an editorial paragraph in praise of this school and of Dr. Wilbur by Lowell's friend C. F. Briggs in *Holden's Dollar Magazine* for May, 1848 (I, p. 319). Lowell's parson editor, with his pedantic commentaries, did not appear in the *Biglow Papers* until the publication of the "First Series" in book form in the fall of 1848.

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3. The original suggestion of the name of his hero and of some of the puns in "The Unhappy Lot of Mr. Knott," Lowell may have owed to a piece of doggerel embodied by William Leete Stone in his *Ups and Downs in the Life of a Distressed Gentleman* (New York, 1836),[9] each stanza of which ends with a pun on the word *Nott*. The closing line of the opening stanza,

> The warrior's guerdon covet Nott,

and of the final stanza,

> 'Twere wondrous if we loved thee Nott,

will suffice for illustration.

4. In its issue of August 4, 1832, the *Baltimore Saturday Visiter* published the following editorial paragraph touching a sheaf of Poe's stories which had been placed in the hands of the editor:

> Mr. Edgar A. Poe, has favoured us with the perusal of some manuscript tales written by him. If we were merely to say that we had *read* them, it would be a compliment, for manuscripts of this kind are very seldom read by any one but the author. But we may further say that we have read these tales every syllable, with the greatest pleasure, and for originality, richness of imagery and purity of the style, few American authors in our opinion have produced any thing superior. With Mr. Poe's permission we may hereafter lay one or two of the tales before our readers.[10]

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[9] See pp. 42-43. The lines were reproduced by Poe in his review of Stone's book in the *Southern Literary Messenger* for June, 1836 (II, p. 456). See also Poe's *Works*, ed. Harrison, IX, pp. 28-29.

[10] An incomplete file of the *Visiter* for the years 1832-34 came several years ago into the possession of the Maryland Historical Society at Baltimore. Unhappily the largest gaps in the file are for the first half of the year 1832. I do not find there any other references to Poe during the year 1832; and I am disappointed not to find the reproachful lines to his "Baltimore Mary" that the poet is said to have contributed to a Baltimore paper about this time (cf. *Harper's Monthly*, LXXVIII, p. 638 (March, 1889)). There are, indeed, some lines "To Mary" in the issue of November 3, 1832, beginning

> "Mary! within thy mind so fair
> What holy, heavenly feelings dwell!"

but these are signed "H. T.", are not reproachful, and are not, I think, in Poe's manner. Somewhat more in the manner of Poe, yet hardly his,

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This comment, which is, so far as I know, the earliest critical comment on Poe's tales to find its way into print, doubtless proceeded from Lambert A. Wilmer, literary editor of the *Visiter* at the time.[11] The sheaf of tales to which Wilmer refers may have been merely the five tales which were published in the Philadelphia *Saturday Courier* in 1832,[12] but it is probable that it contained still other stories, since, as Dr. J. C. French has shown,[13] Poe was to announce as ready for publication a volume of tales in the fall of 1833. This paragraph also has the effect of strengthening the supposition that Poe was making his home in Baltimore in 1832.[14]

5. The fantastic detail with which Poe ends his "Bon-Bon"[15] perhaps had its origin in a passage in the fourth chapter of *Pantagruel* in which Rabelais tells of Lucifer's having broken his chains on one occasion "by reason of a cholic . . . taken with eating a serjeant's soul fried for his breakfast."[16] In Poe's story Satan is represented as feeding on the souls of his victims, but as balking at the soul of Monsieur Bon-Bon, who proposes, while in his cups, that his soul be served up in the form of a fricassée. That Poe was acquainted with Rabelais is established by several citations from him in his collected writings.[17]

6. For the word *nare* as employed by Poe in the thirty-second paragraph of "King Pest" ("the incomparable qualities and nare of those inestimable treasures of the palate, the wines, ales, and liqueurs," etc.)[18] Griswold, the earliest editor of Poe substituted the reading *nature,* and he has been followed by several later editors. But that the reading *nare* was intended by Poe—although

are some verses entitled "The Gifted" published in the *Visiter* for September 29, 1832, and described as "From Mary's Album."

[11] Though he was shortly to be ousted from that post: see the *Visiter* of August 25, 1832.

[12] See the *Dial* (Chicago) for February 17, 1916, p. 143.

[13] *Modern Language Notes*, XXXIII, p. 262 (May, 1918).

[14] See *The Dial, l. c.*, p. 143.

[15] *Poe's Works*, ed. Harrison, II, pp. 145-146.

[16] *Works of Rabelais*, tr. Urquhart and others and revised by Wallis, II, p. 25 (London, 1901).

[17] See *Poe's Works*, ed. Harrison, IV, p. 227, X, p. 194, XIV, pp. 170, 217.

[18] *Poe's Works*, ed. Harrison, II, p. 180.

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he gave to the word a figurative twist for which the dictionaries record no parallel—is indicated both by the fact that it appears in each of the variant texts of Poe's story, and by his later employment of the word in "Diddling Considered as One of the Exact Sciences" ("what constitutes the essence, the nare, the principle of diddling," etc.) [19] and in his essay on "Byron and Miss Chaworth" ("whatever of warmth, . . . whatever of the truer nare and essentiality of romance," etc.).[20] Another example of Griswold's recklessness as editor is seen in his transformation of the word *sameness* into *saneness* in a passage in "Morella": "That identity which is termed personal, Mr. Locke, I think, truly defines to consist in the sameness of a rational being." [21] Poe quotes the phrase "sameness of a rational being" directly from Locke's *Essay Concerning Human Understanding,* Bk. II, chap. xxvii, § 9.

7. The dénouement of Poe's tale "A Descent into the Maelström" turns upon the pseudo-physical principle "a cylinder, swimming in a vortex, offers more resistance to its suction, and [is] drawn in with greater difficulty than any equally bulky body, of any form whatever." [22] This principle Poe attributes to Archimedes, and he cites specifically as his source Archimedes, *De Incidentibus in Fluido,* Bk. II (meaning, I take it, his *De Insidentibus in Humido*). There is, so far as I can make out, nothing in any of the ten propositions that comprise Book II of this work that quite answers to the principle enunciated by Poe, though the treatise of Archimedes has to do throughout with the conduct of bodies, mainly paraboloids, floating in water. Poe appears to have indulged in something of fiction in the interest of verisimilitude—in which, I feel, he was quite within his rights as a creative artist,—but it is interesting, to say the least, that he should have approximated the truth as nearly as he did. His inaccurate citation of the title of his alleged authority is entirely in character.

8. As has long been known to students of Poe, there are discrepancies between certain of Poe's letters as published by his literary executor, Rufus W. Griswold, and their originals as now preserved among the "Griswold Papers" in the Boston Public Library. The chief variations appear in the text of Poe's letters of February 24,

[19] *Ibid.*, v, p. 211.
[20] *Ibid.*, xiv, p. 151.
[21] *Ibid.*, ii, p. 29.
[22] *Poe's Works*, ii, p. 245.

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and April 19, 1845,[23] which as printed by Griswold in his "Memoir" of the poet,[24] exhibit, besides several immaterial abridgments, sundry interpolated passages, all personal in nature and involving either commendation of Griswold or apology on the part of the poet for his own conduct toward him. On the face of things, these insertions would appear to have proceeded from Griswold. In an article published several years ago in which I attempted a fresh reviewal of the problem presented by Griswold's relations with Poe,[25] I suggested [26] the possibility that these letters as published by Griswold were based upon rejected first drafts of the letters in question—what happened, as we know, in the case of a letter of Poe's to Mrs. Jane E. Locke as published in the "Memoir," [27] Griswold, I felt, was entitled to any doubt that might exist in the premises. But I have lately come across a bit of evidence which seems to me to establish beyond peradventure that at least one of the inserted sentences was an invention of Griswold's. I refer to the closing sentence of the letter of April 19, 1845: "See my notice of C. F. Hoffman's (?) sketch of you." [28] The reference is evidently to Poe's complimentary notice, in the *Broadway Journal* of May 17, 1845 (I, p. 316), of the biographical sketch of Griswold published in *Graham's Magazine* for June, 1845.[29] Poe in the course of his notice takes occasion to say that the sketch was probably the work of C. F. Hoffman. Griswold delivers himself up by embodying in a letter bearing the postmark April 19 [1845], mention of an article not then in existence, but first published some four weeks later. The revelation that this sentence is ungenuine obviously strengthens the suspicion that all the rest of the matter apparently interpolated by Griswold is ungenuine.

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[23] Poe's *Works*, ed. Harrison, XVII, pp. 200 f., 169 f. The later of these two letters is without date, but is postmarked "Apr. 19," and clearly belongs to 1845.

[24] Poe's *Works*, ed. Griswold, New York, 1850, III, p. xxii.

[25] *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXXIV, pp. 436-464 (September, 1919).

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 458.

[27] Griswold, III, pp. xli f.; Harrison, XVII, pp. 280 f.

[28] Griswold, III, p. xxii; Harrison, XVII, p. 170.

[29] *Graham's Magazine*, XXVII, pp. 241-243.

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BISMARCK THE FATHER IN SUDERMANN'S *HEIMAT*?

From a passage in Sudermann's autobiography it seems that Bismarck has the honor of having served as a model for Oberstleutnant von Schwartze, at least in the final scene in which the father locks the doors and threatens to shoot first his daughter and then himself unless she accedes to the paternal wishes in regard to her marriage. The fact that Sudermann gives this story a place in his memoirs written about thirty-five years after the event (twenty-nine after the publication of *Die Heimat*) seems to indicate that the anecdote made an enormous impression on him at the time and makes it quite probable that he used this episode from the life of the Prussian then most hated by the liberals in drawing his satirical portrait of a domestic tyrant à la prussienne.

It will be remarked that Bismarck had the decency to threaten to kill himself only; while Sudermann makes his drama more sensational by having von Schwartze plan both murder and suicide. Of course, the fact that one is dealing with a son and the other with a daughter may have made a difference according to the standards of duty and honor prevailing in these circles in the nineties.

The passage is found in Sudermann, *Das Bilderbuch meiner Jugend,* Cotta, 1922, page 386 f. (The author is observing a session of the Reichstag):

> Da erhob sich Bismarck, der in wachsender Nervösität schon zwei Bleistifte zerbrochen hatte.
>
> Der Saal erstarrte.
>
> War niemals gut Kirschen essen mit ihm, so heute weniger als je.
>
> Man wuszte dasz er Kummer hatte. Familienkummer. Sein Sohn Herbert, der damals noch als Junggeselle sich seines Halbgotttums erfreute, war unlängst, so raunte man sich zu, mit der Frau eines schlesischen Magnaten nach Venedig durchgegangen und erhob seinem Vater gegenüber Anspruch auf künftige Heirat. Da habe dieser—so flüsterte man ferner—sich mit dem Sohne eingeschlossen, habe eine Pistole vor sich hingelegt und ihm ehrenwörtlich erklärt: "Wenn du nicht auf der Stelle verzichtest, so schiesze ich mir hier vor deinen Augen eine Kugel vor den Kopf."

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SOME NOTES ON *HERNANI*

There is little in *Hernani* that may be traced to earlier plays. Some of its ideas and phrases had been tried by Hugo in *Cromwell* and *Marion Delorme*. It also contains a few lines that seem influenced by the wording of previous dramatists. For instance, where Don Carlos, in Act I. 3, 380, says,

> Il part. C'est quelqu'un de ma suite,

and Hernani returns in the first two lines of the next scene,

> Oui, de ta suite, ô roi! de ta suite!—J'en suis!
> Nuit et jour, en effet, pas à pas, je te suis,

Hugo probably recalled what Hermione had said to Orestes, in *Andromaque* (II. 2, 590),

> Adieu. S'il y consent, je suis prête à vous suivre,

and Orestes' reflection in the first line of the next scene,

> Oui, oui, vous me suivrez. N'en doutez nullement.

Again, lines 665-666 of *Hernani*,

> . . . Loué soit le sort doux et propice
> Qui me mit cette fleur au bord du précipice,

reminds one of Mathan's boast in *Athalie*, 936:

> Je leur semai de fleurs le bord des précipices.

Yet these rhyme words, and the same situation, are found in Voltaire's *Adélaïde du Guesclin* (IV. 1), where Nemours says to Adélaïde,

> Remercions le ciel, dont la bonté propice
> Nous suscite un secours au bord du précipice.

This scene of Voltaire's must have lingerel in Hugo's memory. For Adélaïde refuses to leave Nemours, calling him, "Cher époux, cher amant," and Nemours' reply to her is stopped by an inrush of guards. So in *Marion Delorme*, (V. 6), Marion will not leave Didier, and her cry of "Epouse" is stopped by the sound of cannon.

Hernani, 777,

> . . . lorsqu'il trébuche au marbre de la tombe,

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has troubled some annotators. But *Polyeucte*, 1573, 1574, has

> Je flattais ta manie, afin de t'arracher
> Du honteux précipice où tu vas trébucher.

And Didier uses the same phrasing in *Marion Delorme* (v. 5):

> De trébucher au seuil qui vous reste à franchir!

Hernani's description of himself to Doña Sol, in *Hernani*, 989-1004, would have been prompted by René's letter to Céluta, in Chateaubriand's *Les Natchez*, and by Atala's confession to the hermit, in *Atala*. Hugo had tried similar ideas and phrases already in *Marion Delorme* (III. 6 and 10). Speaking of Laffemas, in scene 10, Marion says:

> . . . Il a des sourires funèbres.
> C'est une âme profonde et pleine de ténèbres.

These lines are recast in *Hernani*, 993, 994, as

> Agent aveugle et sourd de mystères funèbres!
> Une âme de malheur faite avec des ténèbres!

Didier's words, in III, 6 of *Marion Delorme*,

> J'ignore d'où je viens et j'ignore où je vais,

are shortened in *Hernani*, 995, to

> Où vais-je? je ne sais. . . .

Didier's question, in the same scene,

> . . . l'abîme, est-il assez profond?

becomes in *Hernani*, 999, a statement:

> . . . et l'abîme est profond.

Mlle Mars' objection to *Hernani*, 1027,

> Vous êtes mon lion superbe et généreux,

may have been suggested by *Marion Delorme* (III. 6):

> Vous êtes mon Didier, mon maître et mon seigneur.

Hernani, 1016,

> . . .Seulement, j'en mourrai,

might have been found in *Andromaque*, 698,

> Elle en mourra, Phoenix, et j'en serai la cause,

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in Voltaire's *Brutus* (IV. 1),

Elle en mourra . . . .

in Voltaire's *Nanine* (I.6),

Il faut partir; j'en mourrai, mais n'importe,

and in *Marion Delorme* (V. 6), in regard to Didier's danger,

Non, d'y penser, j'en mourrai d'épouvante.

The ideas in *Hernani,* (IV. 2 and 3) are like those in *Cromwell,* II. 5, and I. 9. Also *Hernani,* 1470.

Respirant la vapeur des mets que l'on apporte,

resembles in idea the line of *Cromwell* (V. 3),

Soixante rois mangeant ses restes sous la table.

Also *Hernani,* 1515-1544, may have been a reminiscence of Bossuet's sermon *Sur les Devoirs des Rois.* " Il (the king) regarde cette multitude infinie comme un abîme immense d'où s'élèvent quelquefois des flots qui étonnent les pilotes les plus hardis."

Hernani, 1985,

Oh! que j'aime bien mieux le cor au fond des bois!,

is a paraphrase of De Vigny's *Le Cor:*

J'aime le son du cor, le soir, au fond des bois.

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DATING BALZAC'S ADOPTION OF THE TITLE OF *LA COMÉDIE HUMAINE*

It has been a generally accepted fact that Balzac adopted the title for his *Comédie humaine* in 1841. André Le Breton states that, after publishing, on April 13, 1830, two volumes entitled *Scènes de la vie privée,* Balzac successively names his rapidly growing work *Études de moeurs au XIX^e^ siècle* (1833) and, to include the *Études philosophiques, Études sociales* (1834 and 1837).

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Le Breton then proceeds to give the ingenious explanation of Balzac's happy discovery of the title which his works now bear:

> En réalité, aucune édition de ses oeuvres n'a porté le titre d'*Études sociales*. Mais en 1841, Auguste de Belloy qui revenait d'Italie, et qui en revenait fort épris de Dante, ému d'une récente lecture de *la Divine Comédie*, lui suggère le mot de "Comédie humaine" dans lequel Balzac reconnaît aussitôt la formule si longtemps cherchée, la formule magique, et il s'en empare. "*La Comédie humaine*, écrit-il en septembre 1841 à Mme Hanska, tel est le titre de mon histoire peinte en action."[1]

We are referred in a footnote to Spoelberch de Lovenjoul, who quotes Balzac's devoted friend, Count Ferdinand de Gramont, as authority for the story, while mentioning no date.[2] However, it is always given as 1841.[3]

This date is an error, as Balzac mentions the *Comédie humaine* as early as 1838 in a letter to Madame Hanska: "Quant à ce qu'on appelle le *Balzac illustré*, rassurez-vous, c'est toute mon oeuvre, les *Contes drolatiques* exceptés; c'est enfin cette partie de *la Comédie humaine* qui est intitulée *Études sociales*.[4]

There is no mistake in chronology, as the letter is dated January 20, 1838, and contains a reference to the completion of *César Birotteau* a month previous.[5] This work was published in December of 1837.

The title *Comédie humaine* is thus seen to date at the latest from the beginning of 1838 and some other explanation of its origin must be found than de Belloy's return from Italy in 1841 with his great enthusiasm for the *Divina Commedia*.

JOSEPH F. JACKSON.

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[1] A. Le Breton, *Balzac l'homme et l'oeuvre*, Paris, Colin, 1905, p. 115.

[2] Ch. de Spoelberch de Lovenjoul, *Histoire des oeuvres de H. de Balzac*, Paris, Calmann Lévy, 1888, 3rd ed., p. 414.

[3] E. g., M. Braunschvig, *Notre Littérature étudiée dans les textes*, Paris, Colin, 1923, 2nd ed., II, 602; J. Bédier and P. Hazard, *Hist. de la litt. fr. illustrée*, Paris, Librairie Larousse, 1923-1924, II, 211.

[4] H. de Balzac, *Oeuvres complètes*, Paris, Calmann Lévy, 1869-1876, XXIV, 276.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 278.

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DESCHAMPS AND EUSTACE

Mr. Holger Petersen, who has been active in publishing the Old French metrical versions of the legend of Saint Eustace (having at this time, I believe, four or five to his credit out of the eleven known), has been good enough to reply to a question of mine regarding the meaning of the passage in Deschamps' *Ballade to Chaucer* discussed in *MLN*, XXXIII, 276 and 437 (see the *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, XXVII (1926), p. 95). Mr. Petersen, unlike Mr. Gerould and myself, can find in the *Eustaces sui* of the ballade no personal reference to the Saint to whose history he has made such notable contributions: he would see in these two words merely a sort of signature to the whole composition. I do not wish to argue this new proposition at this time, but merely to point out that the Chaucer ballade is by no means the only instance in which Deschamps employs his given name in what is undoubtedly a significant way. In 1377, at the death of Guillaume de Machaut, the younger poet begs Péronne d'Armentières to receive him as Machaut's successor and to consider him her *loyal ami* (*Oeuvres*, XI, 24). The last strophe of this ballade begins (III, 260):

Eustace suis par droit nom appellé

and a little below continues:

Je vous pry que vous me faictes secours.

In this connection, *Eustace suis* forms a good parallel to the Chaucer passage: 'My name is rightfully Eustace (I am named after a Saint who was the pattern of charity; lady, be equally charitable and) promptly grant my request.' Deschamps is ever seeking a *don* or an *octroy* from his ladies; in turn, he is forever offering to *give* himself to them (III, 343, 360, 367, 371).

Thus I confess myself unconvinced by either Mr. Petersen or Mr. Gerould. The latter, in contending for Eustace as a pattern not of charity, but of patience and humility, seems to overlook the fact that in the *Legenda aurea* (from which Deschamps drew his hagiographic material; see Raynaud, in *Oeuvres*, XI, 194, 196, 222) the charity of Placidus is quite prominent at the very start: *Erat autem operibus misericordiae valde assiduus;* a little later, Christ says to him, "Thy alms have mounted to my presence":

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Elemosinae tuae coram me ascenderunt, et ob hoc veni. The charity of Placidus is thus the main reason for the rescue of his soul from paganism; in this sense, it is the central factor in the whole story as presented in the *Légende dorée.* Practically all of the newly-published metrical versions play up the hero's almsgiving and charitableness; see, for example, Version XI (p. 193),[1] where a whole strophe, in the most approved manner of the Rhétoriqueurs, celebrates the generosity of the Saint with the rimes *donne, guerdonne, adonne, pardon, abandonne, par don.*

University of Chicago. T. Atkinson Jenkins.

ET, ROSE, ELLE A VECU CE QUE VIVENT LES ROSES. . .

One of the much contested points in French literary history is the way in which Malherbe's most famous stanza has received its definitive form. The verse found in all French anthologies bears little trace of the two traditional variants, which call the heroine of the threnody *Rosette,* although her name was Marguerite du Périer.[1] While, so far, no argument has been brought up to account for Malherbe's giving her that name in his *Consolation à M. du Périer,* unless he did so for the sake of the play on words, it was unnecessary to look for the origin of the celebrated lines in Montchrétien's *Ecossaise,*[2] as Schultz-Gora did.[3] The two lines express most felicitously one of the common-places of Renaissance lyricism,[4] and Ménage, in his commentated edition of Malherbe,[5] enumerated a number of other parallel passages, which he found in Guarini, the Greek anthology, and in an epigram of Florus. The same pun, however, which according to Faguet,[6] must ultimately have seemed

[1] *Deux Versions de la Vie de Saint-Eustache envers français du Moyen-Age. Edition critique par* Holger Petersen. Helsingfors, 1925.

[1] Lalanne, *Oeuvres complètes de Malherbe,* Hachette, 1862, I, p. 39 ss.

[2] "Celles-là des iardins durent moins qu'un matin," *Les Tragedies de Montchrétien,* ed. by Petit de Julleville, Paris, Plon, 1891, p. 109.

[3] *Z. fr. Spr. L.,* XXVI, (1904) p. 92 ss.

[4] H. Guy, *Réflections sur un lieu commun,* Bordeaux, Gounouilhou, 1902,

[5] *Les Poésies de Malherbe avec les observations de Ménage,* 1698, p. 561. and P. Laumonier, *Ronsard,* Hachette, 1923, p. 578 ss.

[6] *Histoire de la poésie frç. de la Renaissance au Romantisme,* Boivin & Cie, p. 282.

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to Malherbe somewhat ludicrous in an elegy, is found in a poem by the great Neapolitan humanist, Giovanni Gioviano Pontano (1426-1503),[7] who influenced Ronsard to a considerable extent.[8] The four introductory lines of Pontano's *Tumulus Rosae Puellae Ante Diem Mortuae*[9] express exactly the same idea as Malherbe's verses by using the pun found in the two variants of Malherbe's stanza:

> Non nomen tibi, quin omen fecere parentes,
> Dixerunt cum te, bella puella, Rosam,
> Utque rosa brevius nil est aequeve caducum,
> Sic cito, sic breviter et tua forma perit.

There cannot be any doubt that Malherbe, through the still prevailing vogue of the Neo-Latin literature of the Renaissance,[10] was familiar with the works of Pontano. The reminiscence does not diminish the merits of Malherbe's art. On the contrary, it points out once more his *forte;* the conciseness of his style and the brevity of his poetical expression, compared with the prolixity of Pontano, show him again as the great master of French classical style.

Marquette University. ARPAD STEINER.

TROCHO IN *EL ABENCERRAJE*

It will be recalled that in the early part of *El Abencerraje,*[1] included in *El Inventario* of Antonio de Villegas (1565), the Moor Abindarráez describes to his captor Rodrigo de Narváez his love for the fair Jarifa whom he considered to be his sister.

> Acuérdome que entrando una siesta en la huerta, que dicen de los jazmines, la hallé sentada junto a la fuente, componiendo su hermosa

[7] Cf. Tallarigo, *G. Pontano e i suoi tempi,* Naples, Morano, 1874.

[8] Laumonier, *op. cit.,* p. 586 ss.

[9] *Joannis Joviani Pontani Carmina* a cura di Benedetto Soldati, Florence, Barbera, 1902, II, 189.

[10] H. Vogler, *Die literargeschichtlichen Kenntnisse, und Urteile des Jean-Louis Guez de Balzac,* Altona, 1906, and Vissac, *De la poésie latine en France au siècle de Louis XIV,* 1862.

[1] *El Abencerraje. La historia de Abindarráez y la hermosa Jarifa.* Cambridge, 1924.

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cabeza: miréla vencido de su hermosura, y parecióme a Salmacis; y dije entre mí: Oh, ¡ quién fuera Trocho para parecer ante esta hermosa diosa!

The name *Trocho* here is unintelligible, and the same may be said of the word *Troco* which appears in a corresponding passage in the *Corónica del ínclito Infante don Fernando* upon which the version of the story published by Villegas is apparently based.

Juan Timoneda paraphrased this passage as follows in a ballad[2]:

Vila una vez en la fuente
Que en nuestro jardin corría,
Peinándose los cabellos
Como oro de Alejandría;
A la hermosa Salmacia
En belleza parecía.
Díjela: ¡ Quién fuera tronco
Para estar junto a esta ninfa,
Sin quitarme jamas d'ella
Ni de noche ni de día!—

It is evident that Timoneda sought to give sense to the original text by substituting *tronco* for *Troco* or *Trocho* and this led me to make the conjecture that the form *tronco* used by Timoneda was the correct one "since Abindarráez might very logically wish to be the trunk of a tree in which his wood nymph might live in order to bring about the desired proximity."[3]

Another explanation has occurred to me on re-reading the fourth book of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Lines 285-388 deal with the love of Salmacis and Hermaphroditus, while immediately preceding these mention is made of the transformation of Crocus and his beloved Smilax into tiny flowers. The similarity of the names Salmacis and Smilax seems to have created confusion in the mind of the author of the *Corónica del ínclito Infante don Fernando*, who assigned to Crocus the place of lover of Salmacis. But in the printed version of the *Corónica*, through an error, Croco became Troco. The same text shows a similar confusion in the form Toin for Coin.

University of Maryland. HARRY A. DEFERRARI.

[2] *BAE*, XVI, No. 1094.

[3] *The Sentimental Moor in Spanish Literature before 1600*, University of Pennsylvania Series in Romanic Languages and Literatures, No. 17, Philadelphia, 1927, p. 49.

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REVIEWS

Early References to Storm and Stress in German Literature. By EDWIN H. ZEYDEL, Ph. D., Indiana University Studies, vol. XIII, no. 71, September 1926.

The study traces the history and development of the phrase "Sturm und Drang" during the last quarter of the 18th century, beginning with Klinger's drama, to the latter part of the 19th century, when the phrase was used as the common designation of the well known literary movement. It also shows the extent of the movement in point of time with illustrative passages from contemporary literature. At the end the author gives a resumé of his results under twelve headings.

It is unfortunate that Professor Zeydel did not consult Kluge's *Zeitschrift für deutsche Wortforschung.* It would have saved him much time and labor and would have given him a better perspective for his own investigations. The fifteen volumes of the *Zeitschrift für deutsche Wortforschung* comprise a treasure house of *Schlagwörter, Modewörter, geflügelte Worte* and words of every other kind, as well as etymologies and points of historical grammar. W. Feldmann has treated the phrase "Sturm und Drang" in two articles, the one entitled *Modewörter des 18. Jahrhunderts,* vol. VI, p. 114 f., the other entitled *Über einige geflügelte Worte, Schlagworte und Modewörter,* vol. X, p. 230. In both places he gives a goodly number of references to the phrase in writers of the 18th century, repeating, to be sure, a few that Hildebrand had already given in the *DWb.* under *Genie* 11. In a brief discussion of Ladendorf's *Schlagwörterbuch*[1] Feldmann asks the question: Wo findet sich zuerst die literaturgeschichtliche Bezeichnung Sturm- und Drangperiode, die Tieck 1828 bereits geläufig ist?" Feldmann also shows that the separate words *Sturm* and *Drang* expressing strong emotion were common enough in the literature of the time before and after the publication of Klinger's drama. *Drang* was also much used in compound formations, of which he mentions a number.

Some of the conclusions Professor Zeydel draws are not borne out by the facts. There is no reason to question Klinger's statement in his letter to Goethe that the title "Sturm und Drang" was forced upon him by Kaufmann. The examples given in the study of the use of "Sturm" in Klinger's dramas *Sturm und Drang* and *Die Zwillinge* are not to the point, for they all refer

[1] *Randglossen zu Ladendorf, Zt. f. deutsche Wortforschung* IX, 290.

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to the word in its physical sense, while in the phrase "Sturm und Drang" "Sturm" is used in a figurative sense referring primarily to the emotions. Oskar Erdmann in his study on *Klingers Dramatische Dichtungen* (Königsberg 1877) p. 24 gives two examples of the figurative use of "Sturm" and "stürmen" in *Das leidende Weib* I, 3 and *Die neue Arria* I, 3 and one example of the use of "Drang" in *Die neue Arria* I, 1. Feldmann calls attention to the use of "Drang" in the last scene of the play *Sturm und Drang*. But there is a considerable difference between the occasional use of "Sturm" and of "Drang" and the succinct phrase "Sturm und Drang." R. M. Werner in the *Zeitschrift für die österreichischen Gymnasien* 1879, p. 293 refers to "Stürmer in *Das leidende Weib,* III, 1 and to "stürmen" in *Die neue Arria* I 4, but he believes that the phrase originated with Lavater and quotes two passages from Lavater's letters to Herder: "aus Sturm und Gedränge heraus" (1773) and "aus dem Sturm der Erbtheilung, der Reiseanstalten und einer unausstehlichen Gedrängheit heraus" (1774). Though the first phrase approaches closely to the title of Klinger's play and though some historians of German literature, like Sauer, have adopted Werner's view, one must agree with Feldmann when he says:[2] "Diese Belege geben allerdings von bemerkenswerten Vorfahren des Modewortes "Sturm und Drang" Kunde, aber dieses selbst in seiner knappen Zuspitzung enthalten sie doch nicht! Die beiden Wörter mit Nebenbildungen—besonders "Drang" —waren in den 70er und 80er Jahren des 18. Jahrhunderts sehr beliebt—die berühmte Verbindung müssen wir nach wie vor als bewusste Neuschöpfung Kaufmanns betrachten." So far, at least, the exact wording of the phrase has not been found before the time when Kaufmann suggested it to Klinger as title of his play.

On page 40 of the study we find the statement "that, contrary to Hildebrand's belief, the term "Sturm und Drang" was in use even in the eighteenth century,—as a slogan as early as 1777, and as a set phrase in 1784 by Knigge, in 1793 by Iffland" etc. The statement, as it stands, does injustice to one of the most distinguished Germanists of the nineteenth century. Hildebrand in the article *Genie* 11 in the *DWb.*, as quoted in the study p. 9, says: "Der jetzt gangbarste Ausdruck, Sturm und Drangperiode, . . . ist . . . dem 18. Jahrhundert noch fremd und von späterer literarischer Entstehung; . . . Aber das 18. Jahrhundert bot den Anlass zu dem Ausdruck." Hildebrand does not say the the term "Sturm und Drang" is not found in the 18th century. On the contrary, he gives a number of references quoted by Professor Zeydel himself showing the fairly widespread use of the term in the 18th century, but in none of the passages quoted is the phrase used

[2] *Ztsch. f. deutsche Wortf.* VI, 114.

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in the sense of "Sturm- und Drangperiode" and in that sense, Hildebrand says, the phrase is unknown in the 18th century. Nor does Professor Zeydel give a reference to 18th century literature in which the phrase is used as the equivalent of "Sturm- und Drangperiode." "Sturm- und Drang-Messware" in the *Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek* of 1785 (not 1784), vol. 60, p. 431, is not a reference to the literary period but it is a characterization of the hyper-emotional literature of the time. The context shows that clearly: "Doch sind es nur abgerissene Gedanken—Sturm und Drang-Messware." The phrase had become a slogan, a *Schlagwort,* by this time, as Feldmann has shown. The same is true of Iffland's statement (1793): "ich freue mich, dass die Fürstin die Sturm- und Drangstücke nicht geben lässt." Feldmann quotes a similar passage from a letter of Iffland (1786): "Die Sturm- und Drangstücke haben den Geschmack am Einfachen, Wahrerhabenen, fast von unsern Bühnen verdrungen."[3] He very appropriately calls it a "Vorstufe zur Sturm- und Drangperiode," but it is not yet the equivalent of it. Hildebrand expressed the same idea with the words: "Das 18. Jahrhundert bot den Anlass zu dem Ausdruck." Hildebrand is in no sense guilty of a contradiction or an inaccuracy when he says that the term "Sturm- und Drangperiode" is unknown in the 18th century but that it was altogether current in 1828, when Tieck published his essay on Lenz. It is the fault of Professor Zeydel's study that it does not always distinguish between "Sturm und Drang" in its emotional sense and "Sturm und Drang" as the equivalent of "Sturm- und Drangperiode."

The only early passage referring to the literary period quoted by Professor Zeydel is the one from A. W. Schlegel's *Geschichte der romantischen Literatur* and that belongs to the beginning of the 19th century (1803-4). A number of years ago I called attention to this passage in the *Zeitschrift für deutsche Wortforschung* XIV, 18. In the same article I quoted a passage from the 17th number of the Swedish periodical *Polyfem* (Stockholm 1810) in which the Swedish Romanticist L. Hammarskiöld used the expression "Sturm- und Drangperiode." He must have gotten it from his German reading or from personal contact with German literati. A. W. Schlegel used the term a few years before his Berlin lectures in his essay on Bürger (1800) published in *Charakteristiken und Kritiken*, vol. II, 1801: "Nachdem die sogenannte Sturm- und Drangperiode in den siebziger Jahren des Jahrhunderts ausgetobt."[4]

[3] *Ztsch. f. deutsche Wortf.* IX, 290.

[4] I am quoting from A. W. Schlegel's *Kritische Schriften*, Berlin 1828, II, 3, where the essay appears with the date 1800. Cf. also Boecking's edition of *A. W. Schlegels Sämmtliche Werke* VIII, 66.

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Erdmann [5] finds "Sturm und Drang" used as current name for the literary period in an essay of the *Hallische Literaturzeitung* 1805, 2. P. 153. He does not quote the passage and I am unable to verify it. It seems to have been used in a satirical sense, as appears from the names of the ten literary periods into which the essay divides German literature of the time. Loeper in his notes to *Dichtung und Wahrheit* (14. *Buch, Anm.* 531) makes the statement that the Duchess Anna Amalia of Weimar had been the first to apply the name to the literary period, but as he gives no proof, the mere statement carries no conviction.

Goethe does not use "Sturm und Drang" as name of the literary period in the third and fourth parts of *Dichtung und Wahrheit,* where he describes that period of his life. It occurs however in his conversations with Eckermann, as Feldmann has pointed out: [6] "wie schwer es gefallen, aus der sogenannten Sturm- und Drangperiode sich zu einer höhern Bildung zu retten." (Feb. 10, 1829). When in the 14th book of *Dichtung und Wahrheit* Goethe says of Klinger "vielmehr musste er sich durchstürmen, durchdrängen," he had in mind, not the literary period, but Klinger's play, as he himself admitted to Riemer.[7] Why Goethe never used "Sturm und Drang" as name of the period in his autobiography, it is impossible to say. The third part was published in 1814, when the name was probably not so generally used as a little later, but the fourth part assumed its final form at a time when, according to Tieck, the name had become a "stehender Beiname." Gruber in *Wielands Leben* (1828) also uses the phrase in reference to the literary movement: "Die Periode hat man die Genieperiode, oder auch nach dem Titel eines Klingerschen Dramas aus jener Zeit die Sturm- und Drang-Periode genannt." [8]

Professor Zeydel is under a misapprehension when he says in his Prefatory Note that there is "a generally prevalent belief that the term "Sturm und Drang," as a designation for the literary movement, owes its inception to this essay," that is Tieck's essay on Lenz, 1828. So far as I can see, this erroneous view is found only in the passage from Porterfield's *Outline of German Romanticism* quoted on p. 7 of the study. Hildebrand states distinctly that the expression in 1828, when used by Tieck, was "völlig gangbar," he simply had not been able to find it in an earlier work. Feldmann and Erdmann refer to the phrase as having been in use before 1828.

The statement on page 40 "that 'Sturm und Drang' (i. e. as designation of the literary movement) does not become the fixed,

[5] *Über F. M. Klingers dramatische Dichtungen,* Königsberg 1877, p. 25.
[6] *Zeitsch. f. deutsche Wortf.* VI, 115.
[7] Cf. Loeper, *Dichtung und Wahrheit,* III, Anm. 531 and *Textrevision.*
[8] Feldmann, *Zeitsch. f. deutsche Wortf.* X, 230.

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standard phrase before Scherer" is so new and startling that it challenges examination. Scherer in his *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur* gives to the chapter treating the Storm and Stress movement the heading *Revolution und Aufklärung*. In the chapter itself he uses "Sturm und Drang" as name of the literary movement five times (7th ed., pp. 501, 503, 505, 514, 525), once (p. 510) he uses the phrase in its emotional sense, but he also uses the term *Revolution* (pp. 501, 514), *litterarische Revolution* (pp. 505, 511), *revolutionäre Jugend* (516). The term had been used by previous historians of German literature, as Professor Zeydel himself points out. Koberstein in the *Grundriss der Geschichte der deutschen Nationallitteratur*, 4th ed., 1856, vol. II, p. 1379 says: "das Zeitalter der Originalgenies oder die Sturm-und Drangperiode unserer Litteratur." In the index p. 1945 he gives "Sturm-und Drangperiode" in heavy type. It is clear that to him and to his numerous readers the phrase was entirely familiar. In the fifth edition of Koberstein revised by Bartsch we find the phrase six times on the first 175 pages of the fourth volume (1873) (pp. 29, 82, 111 twice, 136, 168), of which Professor Zeydel himself mentions three examples. That can hardly be called "spasmodic use." If Bartsch, Koberstein, Gervinus and others also use "Genie," "Originalgenie," "Kraftmänner," "Originalköpfe," "Genialität" and other expressions, it does not signify that they are trying to avoid the use of "Sturm und Drang" or that it is not a standard phrase with them, but that they wished to convey different ideas, for none of these expressions is the equivalent of "Sturm und Drang" and the latter phrase could not be substituted without changing the thought. The third edition of Koberstein (1837), which is in one volume and therefore much smaller than the enlarged fourth and fifth editions, does not give the phrase in the index nor, so far as I can see, in the text. The second edition of Vilmar's *Geschichte der deutschen National-Literatur* (1847) gives Sturm- und Drangperiode in the index and as heading of pp. 529 and 530, thereby making the phrase far more prominent than is done by Scherer in his history which appeared several decades later. To Vilmar it is a perfectly familiar phrase. P. 529 "die Periode der Originalgenies, auch nach einem Drama Klingers die Sturm- und Drangperiode genannt"; p. 533 "jene Sturm- und Drangzeit"; p. 545 "Goethes erste Dichterperiode fällt ganz mit der Geniezeit, der Sturm- und Drangperiode zusammen"; p. 580 "Schiller beschloss mit seinen Erstlingswerken die Genieperiode . . . nahm aber als der Spätling dieser Sturm- und Drangzeit mehr Elemente derselben in sein späteres Dichten und Leben mit hinüber," on the same page: "irgend einer aus dem ältern Sturm- und Dranggeschlecht"; p. 644 "von diesem Stücke (Klingers) bekam die ganze Genieperiode den noch heute

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in der Literaturgeschichte üblichen Namen Sturm- und Drangperiode." Professor Zeydel admits that the term is quite current in Vilmar, but why, in view of what has been stated, a place of special importance in connection with the use of this term should be assigned to Scherer, it is difficult to understand.

"Fixed, standard phrase," obviously cannot mean "the phrase exclusively used," for Professor Zeydel shows himself that modern historians of literature, like Wohlthat, Robertson, R. M. Meyer, use also other names for the period. Erich Schmidt, a pupil of Scherer, calls Lenz and Klinger, in the title of his monograph, "zwei Dichter der Geniezeit." Alois Bernt's *Deutsche Literaturgeschichte* (1920) says p. 87: "Es war die Zeit des Sturmes und Dranges, die Zeit der Originalgenies." A. Köster, in an academic program entitled *Die allgemeinen Tendenzen der Geniebewegung im 18 Jahrhundert* (1912) thinks (p. 1) that the whole period had better be called "Genieperiode," as was done in the 18th century; the name "Sturm und Drang" he would use only in regard to the few years of the mid-seventies. In the program itself he uses "Geniezeit," "Geniebewegung" much more frequently than "Sturm und Drang." But if "fixed, standard phrase" is to mean the most commonly used phrase, Vilmar must be mentioned before Scherer, also Koberstein and Bartsch. The phrase is the most commonly used name for the period long before Scherer, a fact to which Tieck bears testimony in 1828, when he calls "Sturm-und Drangperiode" "der stehende Beiname."

A few citations from histories of German literature of the first half of the nineteenth century will further show that. I have no doubt they could easily be multiplied. Hermann Marggraff, *Deutschlands jüngste Literatur und Culturepoche,* Leipzig 1839, p. 78 "die Räuber waren das erste Buch aus der Sturm- und Drangperiode, welches von einem Bürger der gallischen Republik ins Französische übersetzt wurde"; p. 81 "in den Männern der Sturm- und Drangperiode"; p. 73 "sie war aber auch die Zeit des Genies, des Sturmes und Dranges." In F. A. Pischon's *Leitfaden zur Geschichte der deutschen Literatur,* 7th ed., Berlin 1843, p. 129 we have as heading of a section in heavy type "Die sogenannte Sturm- und Drangperiode," the phrase appears twice on this page; p. 133 we have "Goethes Sturm- und Drangperiode." The little manual uses no other name for the period. J. W. Schaefer, *Handbuch der Geschichte der deutschen Literatur,* Bremen 1844, p. 268 "die Dramen von Lenz, Maler Müller und Klinger . . . welche am besten in das Verständnisz der Sturm- und Drangperiode einführen; p. 267 we find "die stürmische Genieperiode." Johannes Scherer, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur,* 2nd ed., Leipzig 1854, p. 84 "Man hat die Zeit . . . die Sturm- und Drangperiode unserer Literatur genannt und zwar sehr bezeichnend."

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Hildebrand in the *DWb* under *Genie* 11 states that he looked in vain for the expression in Wolfgang Menzel's *Deutsche Literatur* 1828. The first edition is not accessible to me, but in the second edition (Stuttgart 1836), Part IV, p. 98, chapter 12 dealing with the period has the heading *Die Stürmer und Dränger,* which shows that Menzel must have been familiar with "Sturm und Drang" as name of the literary period; p. 108 "die meisten Stürmer und Dränger und nachherigen Romantiker"; p. 98 "begann gleichzeitig . . . ein unbestimmter 'Sturm und Drang' der Geister," here the phrase is used in its emotional sense, not in reference to the literary period; p. 129 "Während 'der Sturm und Drang' in Schiller die erhabenste Richtung nahm," here also the emotional sense may be present, but the use of the definite article points to the literary period. An early instance is found in Hellmuth Winter's *Literärgeschichte der Sprach- Dicht- und Redekunst der Deutschen,* Berlin 1821, p. 227 "Klinger gehört zu den vaterländischen Dichtern, durch deren geniale Kraft und excentrisches Streben jene neue Periode unserer schönen Literatur geschaffen wurde, welche man nach dem Titel eines Klingerschen Schauspiels die Sturm- und Drangperiode benannt hat." No other name of the period is found in Winter's book, so far as I can see, except that the first period in Goethe's life is called "die sentimentale Kraftperiode" (p. 178). Franz Horn in *Die schöne Litteratur Deutschlands während des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin und Stettin 1812) uses the expression on p. 187, a passage that escaped Hildebrand's search: "Dennoch meinen wir, man solle die Periode der Empfindsamkeit, die seltsam genug, mit der Sturm- und Drang-Epoche Hand in Hand geht, nicht allzuvornehm belächeln."

It may not be amiss to add a few early instances of the use of the phrase taken from 18th century writings. *Nürnbergische gelehrte Zeitung auf das Jahr 1778,* p. 83: "Es war uns ein wahres Vergnügen, unter so vielem Gewirre, Sturm und Drang und kolossalischen Karikaturen, an ihm einen Mann zu finden, der sich näher an die Natur hält." *Nürnbergische gelehrte Zeitung* 1781, p. 417: "Die Steckenpferde der Empfindsamkeit, des Sturms und Drangs sind, Gottlob! jetzt grösstentheils von den Büchermachern so steif und lahm geritten, dass man selten mehr, als Knaben oder Kranke, damit auf die Leipziger Messe traben sieht." In both passages the phrase has a satirical implication. *Nachrichten zum Nutzen und Vergnügen,* Stuttgart 1781, (the year when Schiller was connected with this paper) p. 243: "Arme Jugend von Calverton! . . . wie wenig werden sie von Herzens Sturm und Drang . . . zu sagen wissen."[9] In all three passages,

[9] Cf. Minor, *Der junge Schiller als Journalist. Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturgeschichte,* II, 376, 1889.

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as also in the one quoted by Professor Kurrelmeyer in *M. L. N.* XLII, 176, the phrase is used not in the sense of "Sturm- und Drangperiode," but in reference to excessive emotionalism or strong inspiration. They merely corroborate what Feldmann has shown, that the phrase very quickly became a slogan, a *Schlagwort*.

The earliest use of the phrase in the sense of "Sturm- und Drangperiode" is found in the two passages from A. W. Schlegel quoted above belonging to the years 1800 and 1803. As Schlegel in his essay on Bürger (1800) says expressly "die *sogenannte* Sturm- und Drangperiode," we may infer with certainty that the term in this sense was used before 1800. Sometime, no doubt, a passage from 18th century literature will be recorded.

It was the name most commonly applied to the movement in the time of Tieck, long before Scherer. If that statement needed any further proof, we find it in Carlyle. In his essay on *State of German Literature* published in 1827, a year before Tieck's essay on Lenz, he says regarding this movement: "This literary period is called the *Sturm- und Drang- Zeit*, the Storm- and Stress-Period; for great indeed was the woe and fury of these Power-men." In his study of contemporary German literature Carlyle had come across this name as the most common and the most characteristic, and so he adopted it.

That "Sturm und Drang" proved more popular than other names that were given to the movement in the 18th century, is due to its brevity, pointedness, picturesqueness and suggestiveness, but it has never entirely replaced the earlier names. In English Carlyle's rendering "storm and stress" has completely crowded out the other rendering "storm and pressure," not only on account of the great authority of the translator, but even more on account of its alliterative expressiveness. C. C. Felton in his translation of Wolfgang Menzel's *German Literature* (Boston 1840) vol. III, p. 134 renders Menzel's chapter heading *Die Stürmer und Dränger* by "The Storm and Pressure Period" and Menzel's "ein unbestimmter "Sturm und Drang"" by "an indefinite "storm and pressure""; Thomas Gordon in his translation (Oxford 1840) IV, 84 has "The Stormers and Pressers" and "an undecided "storm and pressure."" This phrasing is also used by Longfellow in *Hyperion* (1839) II. VIII. "in the very "storm and pressure period" of his indiscreet enthusiasm."[10]

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[10] Quoted in *N. E. D.* s. v. storm.

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Keats and Shakespeare, A Study of Keats' Poetic Life from 1816 to 1820, by JOHN MIDDLETON MURRY. Oxford University Press, 1925.

Shakespeare in France, Criticism, Voltaire to Victor Hugo, by C. M. HAINES, M. A., Late Scholar of Pembroke College, CHARLES OLDHAM Shakespeare Scholar, and Harness Prizeman, in the University of Cambridge. Oxford University Press, American Branch, New York, 1925.

Shakespeare, A Survey, by E. K. CHAMBERS. New York, Oxford University Press, American Branch, 1926.

Ben Jonson's Art: Elizabethan Life and Literature as Reflected Therein, by ESTHER CLOUDMAN DUNN, Ph. D. [London], Associate Professor of English in Smith College. Northampton, Mass. Printed for Smith College, 1925.

Sidelights on Elizabethan Drama, A series of studies dealing with the authorship of Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Plays, by H. DUGDALE SYKES. Oxford University Press, American Branch, New York, 1924.

Mr. Murry's book, unquestionably a very important one, throws new light upon Keats. The title is a little misleading. Originally Mr. Murry desired to write a book on the poetic development of Shakespeare. As a preliminary, he made a study of the poetic development of Keats, because such a study would define certain problems and settle certain questions which could be more easily handled in that way. Embarked on this task, Mr. Murry discovered that the poetic development of Keats itself presented a major problem, to be studied for its own sake. Hence this book, into which Shakespeare does not directly enter, but in which "reference to Shakespeare is implicit in every page" (p. 12), partly because Mr. Murry believes that Shakespeare and Keats, being essentially akin, underwent essentially the same poetic development, and partly because of the profound influence which the personality of Shakespeare, *somehow* felt by Keats (cf. p. 5-6), had upon the younger poet. In so brief a notice as this little can be done save to outline the thesis and to make one or two pertinent comments.

Mr. Murry expounds to us the poetic development of Keats from 1816 to 1820. He proposes to show that Keats was a "pure poet," who rose through experience and poetic intuition to an "acceptance" of the universe in which beauty and truth are identified, each being as it were the mark or sign of the other. In *Sleep and*

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Poetry Keats asserted that he already possessed a "vast idea," that, namely, of the true "end and aim" of poetry. As yet, however, this idea was but a momentary and vague intuition, at the height of which he could not maintain himself. His poetic development consisted of the struggle between different conceptions of poetry, a struggle by which he gave body and form to this vast idea, until he rejected romance for the higher realism which is truth, and found truth and beauty at one in the vision of the universe as a perfect harmony. Keats, had he lived, would have embodied truth and beauty, thus perceived, in dramatic poetry; to write plays had become his steadfast purpose.

> One is loth to interpose a comment; but the occasions are rare when we can watch a pure poet in the act of creative perception. And surely we cannot fail to see what is happening, what has happened. The truth which Keats is discovering is a terrible truth, but it is being made beautiful. Or more exactly, this beauty which Keats is discovering and revealing in life is the truth. He is discovering the harmony which unites man to the animal universe; he is revealing to himself and to us that things must be as they are. Our good and our evil are but partial; were our good—'disinterestedness'—to prevail, the strange beauty of life would be gone. In this vision is that 'love of good and ill,' which he had despaired to attain; for now good and evil are seen as a harmony and loved as a harmony. This is no conjuring trick by which beautiful words are made to throw a gleam over an ordinary thought; this beauty emanates from the instantaneous recognition by the poetic mind of a truth which it alone can perceive. At this moment we are perhaps as near to the actual miracle of great poetry as we may ever approach it; for this is poetic comprehension in act (p. 119-120).

In explaining the stages of this poetic development, Mr. Murry makes use of the poems, the letters, and the known facts of Keats' life. His fundamental principle is that Keats means what he says and that critics have hitherto often been superficial in their judgment because they have neglected this fact. Since, however, Keats was a "pure poet," that is, one whose thought, different from that which we call rational, "moves organically from concrete perception to concrete perception, from image to image, from similitude to similitude" (p. 120), and since in the letters Keats is compelled to employ the language of rational thought to express conclusions reached by the other process, Mr. Murry finds that the important passages in the letters must be subjected to subtle interpretation, as is also true of those passages in the poems that are crucial for his thesis.

In explaining difficult or puzzling passages in the poems and letters Mr. Murry has been conspicuously candid and I found hardly any in which his interpretations seemed oversubtle or mistaken, though I confess I should wish more time for careful study before accepting Mr. Murry's exposition in every instance. That his account must be accepted in its general outlines I am con-

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fident, and I am the more confident because the book has the distinguishing merit of being free from any taint of "psycho-analysis," upon which Mr. Murry has a note (p. 230) that could hardly be bettered.

What I have said does not mean that I find in Mr. Murry's book no grounds for disagreement. On the contrary I find many, but they are not grounds for disagreement bearing upon the correctness of his account of Keats' poetic development. Entwined with this account is a view of life, are threads of religion and philosophy, and here I should often disagree with Mr. Murry, sometimes with that same passionate indignation (p. 75) which he feels toward the attitude of patronage which so many writers on Keats have adopted. These threads of religion and philosophy, of course, cannot be entirely dissociated. The religious thread is mystical, a word used with no such sense of reproach as Mr. Murry seems to apprehend. Who can hold a brief against mysticism in an age that accepts so generally such mystical entities as "the forces of Nature" or "the social organism"? Yet to accept that mystic vision of the universal harmony which Keats attained as an answer complete or even final, as Mr. Murry appears to think it, would be to neglect some of the most important aspects of our human experience. Can any one rest satisfied with the conclusion that whatever is, is right, even though reached by this road? The Universe is, no doubt, to be "accepted" as a fact, but man may, and indeed must, judge it. At the same time Mr. Murry seems somewhat to misapprehend the nature of rational thought. Thus he says on page 135, "Rational thought *assumes* that reality is rational." (The italics are Mr. Murry's.) Of course, rational thought makes no such assumption as this, whatever assumptions particular rationalists may have made in the interest of their own doctrines. This is not the place, however, to discuss Mr. Murry's religion or his philosophy.

Mr. Haines divides his essay, besides Introduction and Conclusion, into four sections: "Before Voltaire," in which, after a few introductory remarks, he mentions the known French references to Shakespeare before the time of Voltaire; II, "The Eighteenth Century (1734-1778)," concerned with the history of Voltaire's criticism of Shakespeare and its influence, the translations of La Place and Le Tourneur, and the "War about Shakespeare;" III, "From the Death of Voltaire to the French Romantic Revival (1778-1821)," in which we encounter the adaptions of Ducis and others, and such names as Madame de Stäel, Chateaubriand, Nodier, Geoffroy, and Constant; IV, "The Romantic Period (1821-1870)," wherein the central figure is Victor Hugo, against the background of Guizot, Stendhal, De Vigny, Lamartine, and others.

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To survey a hundred and fifty years in little more than a hundred and fifty pages demands a style at once vigorous and summary. This Mr. Haines possesses, and consequently his writing is always interesting. It means also that he must neglect shading and must draw his contrasts sharply and without atmosphere, drawbacks in large measure unavoidable. His account of Voltaire's *Discours sur la Tragédie,* which I took occasion to compare with the original, is in the main satisfactory and shows ability to get below the surface. Yet he is not always careful to avoid small inaccuracies in representing Voltaire's thought. For instance, it is not accurate to say (p. 10) that Voltaire believes that "an interesting spectacle is easier to produce than great poetry," and then to comment: "This may be doubted, for it appears easy enough to write a fine dramatic poem which is quite unactable." What Voltaire says is: "Il est certain qu'il est plus difficile de bien écrire que de mettre sur le théâtre des assassinats, des roues, des potences, des sorciers, et des revenants." Nor is it accurate to say that to Voltaire Addison's *Cato* was a perfect tragedy, save for the introduction of a love-intrigue" (p. 12) since he complains also of "scènes décousues" and "une conspiration inutile à la pièce," and remarks that "la barbarie et l'irrégularité du théâtre de Londres ont percé jusque dans la sagesse d'Addison." Mr. Haines arranges his material very clearly, and with a good sense of proportion; he thinks for himself and displays analytical power and sound judgment. His essay may be recommended to any one wishing to obtain a general view of the history of Shakespeare criticism in France, and it may be consulted with profit by the specialist.

Mr. Chambers's book I found somewhat disconcerting. On reading in the Preface that it consisted of a reprint of the introductions written for the separate volumes of the Red Letter Shakespeare, published by Messrs. Blackie & Son between 1904 and 1908, I prepared myself for a series of popular introductions written with the easy competence and the pleasant style that naturally belong to this eminent scholar. And some of the introductions answer well enough to that description. But what would the ordinary purchaser of that edition make of the chapter on *Titus Andronicus,* which consists in part of a severe arraignment in quite too caustic terms of the lack of scientific method characteristic of the writing of English literary history and for the rest of an outline of the method which must be adopted if the problem of this play is to be solved, the outlook for the solution being meanwhile considered gloomy, if not hopeless? This valuable chapter should be read and pondered by many persons, among whom, however, is not the general reader. Nor would our typical purchaser be likely to possess the knowledge requisite to appreciate the re-

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marks (pp. 26 ff., 45 ff.) on farce as historically distinguishable into two types, one of which is really a variety of comedy. He might feel more at home in the pages discussing the wellnigh convincing suggestion that Shakespeare's personal and professional interest in *Richard III* centered in making Richard a consummate actor, the cue being taken from the dissimulation characteristic of the Machiavellian villain. These illustrations show that the specialist in Elizabethan drama ought to read the book, and that the Oxford Press did well in reprinting these twenty-year-old introductions. Yet the question still obtrudes itself: For whom is the book intended? For the reader of this review it contains much that is familiar (though not commonplace). For the general reader it contains much that is abstruse or technical. It remains true that both will gain from it, the former, I suspect, most. At the same time, he will feel not infrequent dissatisfaction. What Mr. Chambers says about *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* is well enough as far as it goes, but surely there should have been given a hint of the fact that some of the difficulties the modern reader encounters in the play arise out of Shakespeare's acceptance (at least for the purposes of his play) of the traditional ethical superiority of friendship to love. The rivalry of those two emotions on the Elizabethan stage is interesting, instructive, and important, interesting in itself, instructive of the relation between traditional ethics and the representation of life, and important as explanatory of much that would otherwise be extremely puzzling. The remarks (pp. 78 f.) about Shakespeare's use of the supernatural are so obviously of the nineteenth century that they sound strange coming from an historical critic of Mr. Chambers's status. Much less than justice is done the author of *The Troublesome Raigne* (p. 101), not to be sure as a poet, which he was not, but as a playwright. All such defects, however, are far outweighed by a pervading quality that cannot in these days be too highly valued, namely, a soundness of judgment that detects the vagaries of "temperamental" interpretation (p. 95), renders Mr. Chambers proof (p. 127) against the pure relativism that deprives literary judgments and definitions of all real content, and (p. 146) points out how important it is to correct the excesses of aesthetic criticism by constant recourse to the ascertainable facts. It does not, I regret to say, prevent Mr. Chambers from finding symbolism in what seem to the present writer quite unlikely places.

Miss Dunn discusses Jonson and his art in relation to the Court, to the Contemporary Stage, to Scholarship and Contemporary Scholars, to Non-Dramatic Poetry, and to the Life of the Time. Her book is an interesting, but not remarkable, survey of Jonson's work from these points of view. Whoever wishes to know what

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Jonson thought and said on such matters will find this a convenient classified collection of materials. A number of suggestive remarks occur from time to time, but the author verges often upon the commonplace. Her presentation of Jonson's personality is quite unsatisfactory. The man himself never emerges. In the first chapter Miss Dunn makes too much play with words like "graceful" and "engaging" ("wicked" and "tremendous" are also worked very hard by Miss Dunn) in her account of Jonson's relations with the upper classes, and the total effect of the chapter is misleading. Jonson takes on somewhat the aspect of a parlor poet, whereas he was anything but that. The best part of the book is perhaps chapter III, in which Miss Dunn well brings out the adventurous quality in Elizabethan scholarship and exhibits Jonson's own scholarship in its essence as an interpretation of life. Perhaps she goes a little too far at this point. Jonson was no pedant, but he was at times pedantic. Least satisfactory is chapter IV, which may not improperly be called superficial. There are several bad misprints, *e. g.*, "illusion," p. 3. The frontispiece gives us a hitherto unpublished portrait of Jonson, which seems to be a poor copy of the Honthorst masterpiece. There are a number of small inaccuracies and mistakes, of which I append several examples.

The statement (p. vi) that in 1918 "came the first volume of the definitive edition of Jonson's Works under the editorship of Simpson and Herford" is not true. The ingenious attempt (p. xv, note) to give a merely comic turn to the famous line, "By —— 'tis good, and if you like't, you may," must be pronounced a failure. Miss Dunn says (*ibid.*): "Crites very name is an abstract quality"; but κριτής means "a judge," which is not an abstract quality. There is little reason for the remark (p. 3) that Jonson, when referring to King James' *Demonology* in his notes on *The Masque of Queens*, "makes an allusion to a learned source, of which the King had probably never heard." James appears to have been familiar with the standard literature of the subject, as we might expect. Likewise gratuitous is the suggestion (p. 4) that James might have "urged" Prince Henry to ask Jonson to supply notes to this masque "so that he might see Jonson's sources on a subject in which he was much interested." One smiles at the thought of James I thus shyly contriving access to the stores of Jonson's knowledge. There is no reason to suppose (p. 10) that Jonson was visible to the spectators when he turned the globe in the *Masque of Hymen*. On p. 60, *Legend* should be *Legacy*. On p. 61 *Mare Inclausum* should be *Mare Clausum*. It is misleading (p. 63) to say that the "enthusiasm" of Elizabethan translators "drove them into inaccuracies," for their inaccuracies should be viewed in the light of their well-defined theories of translation (see

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Int. to Spingarn's *Seventeenth Century Critical Essays*). The discussion of Jonson's attitude toward translation (p. 77) would also have benefited from a perusal of Spingarn, for, if there is anything certain, it is that Chapman and Jonson belonged to different schools. In Jonson's remarks on Raleigh (p. 64) there is not implied any accusation of being high-handed with facts.

Mr. Sykes' *Sidelights on Elizabethan Drama* is entirely devoted to problems of uncertain or unknown authorship. It contains ten articles and an appendix. The appendix is made up of brief notes on thirty-six plays; in each case Mr. Sykes states such results as his studies enabled him to attain, and gives references to the many articles, chiefly in *Notes and Queries,* in which he has discussed most of these plays. The body of the book is made up of ten articles, of which nine have previously appeared, and one (Webster's "Appius and Virginia") is new. One article deals with Field's share in the Beaumont and Fletcher plays. The others consider the authorship of more than a dozen dramas or parts of dramas.

I summarize briefly the conclusions reached. In *Timon* Shakespeare worked over a play or draft of a play by Day and Middleton. Samuel Rowley wrote *The Famous Victories,* was part-author of *A Shrew* and the Additions to *Faustus,* and had some share in *Orlando Furioso* and *Wily Beguiled.* Peele wrote *Alphonsus of Germany.* Dekker, Haughton, and Day wrote *Lust's Dominion. Appius and Virginia* is Webster's. *The Fair Maid of the Inn* is by Webster and Massinger. Webster and Middleton wrote *Anything for a Quiet Life. The Queen* is Ford's, as is also *The Spanish Gipsy.* (In several instances the ascriptions are not original with Mr. Sykes).

Mr. Sykes reaches most of his conclusions through a study of language. No doubt, he employs arguments based on other considerations, but they chiefly appear as introductory or confirmatory. Of the diligence and acuteness which he displays in assembling his materials and of his ingenuity in arranging them clearly and forcibly, students of the Elizabethan drama hardly need to be reminded. In every article he builds up a strong argument, based on the use of words, on stylistic mannerisms, on parallels of thought and imagery. It is here impossible to examine these articles separately. Their convincingness will depend in some measure upon how far in each instance the reader has already espoused some different solution of the particular problems, or upon how far he has been prejudiced against arguments of this nature by the extravagant and ill-judged use that has often been made of them. Their convincingness will also depend somewhat upon the attitude the reader takes toward the value of evidence of authorship derived from a study of vocabulary. Not every-

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one who uses evidence of this kind asks himself just what such evidence can be expected to prove. For instance, there has been from time to time a great deal of use made of the single-word test, and conclusions of import have been based on it. The present reviewer believes that the single-word test is worthless because it involves circular reasoning. Mr. Sykes employs it occasionally, but it does not occupy a very prominent place. He lays much more stress on what he regards as demonstrable stylistic mannerisms in phrases and in sentence structure and upon peculiar similarities of thought, imagery, and treatment of situations. With regard to evidence of this sort no general rule can be laid down, but several cautions should be observed. It is obvious that one writer's stylistic mannerism may have momentarily influenced another writer, that one writer's striking metaphor in striking language may have been consciously or unconsciously recalled by another writer, that writers then did not look upon borrowing and imitation with our present severity, and that the extraordinary demand for a rapid succession of new plays would tend to make many writers less attentive to such matters than would otherwise be the cause. I do not accuse Mr. Sykes of neglecting these cautions, and in general he handles his evidence with judgment and with praiseworthy avoidance of exaggeration. Yet from time to time I felt that more allowance might have been made for the alternatives they suggest. When, for instance, he disposes (p. 96) of Robertson's evidence for other hands than Peele's in *Alphonsus* by saying: "but then Peele was an imitative writer," it crosses one's mind that perhaps some of his own evidence might be disposed of similarly. Ought we not to remember that round about 1590 we have in a small city a group of playwrights actively writing plays for a small number of companies of actors, that these playwrights must have been well acquainted among themselves, that they were constantly meeting at taverns and ordinaries, and that they were constantly hearing one another's plays at the theatres? And should we not then expect plays by different authors to exhibit at least occasionally similarities of language, style, and imagery? If Webster is an "inveterate borrower" (p. 113), might there not have been other inveterate borrowers? Moreover, we should perhaps attach to the differences (cf. p. 82) as much weight as to the resemblances. I have much sympathy for that good old author Anonymous and should be glad to hear some able advocate state his side of the case.

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Dramatic Publication in England, 1580-1640. By EVELYN MAY ALBRIGHT. The Modern Language Association of America, Monograph Series, II (New York, D. C. Heath & Co.; London, Oxford University Press), 1927. Pp. 442.

Professor Albright's able study of the underlying conditions of Elizabethan dramatic publication makes an important addition to the Modern Language Association's Monograph Series. Some of its interpretations of controversial evidence may not be universally accepted, but its general soundness and obvious usefulness to all who have to deal with textual difficulties in Shakspere and his fellows—that is to say, to all serious students of Elizabethan drama—deserves immediate and hearty recognition.

The book supplies, primarily, a background of information and inference far more comprehensive and in some respects more closely reasoned than any hitherto available concerning the "how, why, and when" of Elizabethan playbook publication, and more especially of the effect of publishing conditions upon the form and content of the plays. Its thesis and secondary purpose—which in the long run so engrosses the author as virtually to take precedence over all other considerations—is a consistent effort to marshall the evidence in such a way as to confute the still "prevalent tendency to conclude that a poor text is a sure sign of piracy." Herein and in her sturdy reliance upon bibliographical tests and evidence Miss Albright follows the light and leading (if not altogether the cautious restraint) of Mr. A. W. Pollard, whose preoccupation with the immediate problems of Shakspere's texts made impossible the wider survey and more minute analysis of general publishing conditions achieved in this book.

There remained, in spite of Mr. Pollard's work, great need of just such a corrective purpose—if only it could have been kept a little more within bounds—as that which motivates Miss Albright's thesis. Publishing in general and piracy, according to the late Sir Sidney Lee and many before and after him, were one and inseparable; and until recent times most scholars have too readily fallen in with the convenient habit of holding piratical publishers and their henchmen responsible for all and sundry corruptions of dramatic texts in particular. The present work most effectively seconds and enlarges upon Mr. Pollard in puncturing this free and easy general assumption, and with it the antecedent assumption that the dramatic companies were always inexorably opposed to the printing of plays. It insists, instead, upon the sound principle that "each text must be fairly judged upon its own evidence" (p. 5). I have the feeling, however, that it overstates its case. In passing allusions, for example, to a "wave of piracy" (p. 267)

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now and then, Miss Albright would seem to admit that there was such a thing and that it may, presumably, have left its mark upon the texts; but her general treatment of the evidence and her implications throughout convey the impression that piracy as a cause of textual corruption was all but negligible, and that the actors had virtually no serious objection to printing. This, as I shall have occasion to indicate in glancing at the subject-matter of the several chapters, seems to me to be pushing a sound corrective to the verge of error.

Much intricate and some illuminating detail is accumulated in the first two chapters. These comprise almost half the bulk but (though they have their points) by no means half the strength of the book, which, in fact, gets off to a slow start. Its opening discussion of the "*Organization*[1] and Control of Dramatic Companies," while useful in that it reviews certain basic theatrical conditions intimately connected with the developments in dramatic publication, contains—except for one section—comparatively little that is new. This one section, however (on "Provincial Companies and Provincial Drama"), is excellent. It introduces some fresh materials, and, in general, does justice to an important subject which has been too generally slighted. The second chapter, on Censorship, continues to deal with preliminaries, but these come nearer home. While the chapter does not, in my judgment, displace such earlier studies as, for example, Miss Gildersleeve's *Government Regulation of the Elizabethan Drama,* it does present a fresh and shrewd analysis of a difficult subject and it throws some new light upon the subject of political satire in Elizabethan drama.

The remainder of the book is so full of meat that it demands careful reading by all concerned, rather than review. A rapid summary and brief discussion of some of the outstanding material must suffice here. Miss Albright holds, among other things, (1) that the proportion of printed, to the total of acted, plays, is by no means so "very small" as Lee suggested (p. 203); (2) that at least a dozen important Elizabethan dramatists "oversaw publication of some of their own plays" (p. 205); (3) that the demand for printed plays became increasingly large during the course of the years from 1580 to 1640, and that the supply, legitimate or otherwise, was not, to any such extent as has usually been supposed, proportioned by the necessities of the companies occasioned by plague prohibitions, restraints from acting, and the like (Ch. IV); (4) that the textual corruption rampant in Elizabethan playbooks

[1] My italics. This part of the title is a little unfortunate. The chapter deals with the "Status of Actors," "Number of Companies," and other external aspects of the players' part in the general scheme of things, but it has little to say concerning the organic functioning of the dramatic companies as such.

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is primarily ascribable to increasingly unfavorable conditions in the printing trade (ruinous competition, industrial instability, and a steady decline in equipment, skill, and standards and ideals of workmanship), and to the natural human carelessness, infirmity, or inadvertence of authors, correctors,[2] and others concerned in publication—most of whom looked upon *errata* with a tolerant sense of the inevitable (Ch. VI); (5) that original dramatic MSS. instead of being, as has been supposed, destroyed or kept under lock and key, seem rather to have been in "free circulation" (p. 294), and that these are far more likely sources of copy than the hypothetical pickings-up of "traitor-actors" (p. 300) or other pirates; (6) that the printing of plays, whether pirated or authorized, did not abrogate stage (*i. e.*, acting) rights (pp. 217-233); (7) that for these and other reasons the dramatic companies objected only—so far as they objected at all—to unauthorized or premature publication (during the first run) of plays, and that "there is no evidence that even this objection was general" (p. 248).

Miss Albright substantially proves her case for most of these (and related) contentions, but not, I think, without occasionally weakening it by claiming too much. Thus, as regards caption (5), the citation from the Beaumont and Fletcher Folio of 1647 proves only that the players sometimes made private transcripts of "what they acted." But these transcripts were expressly for their "private friends"—that is to say, since the players were probably under bond against theft of company property, hardly for "free circulation" and publication. I believe, in fact, that Miss Albright persistently underestimates the opposition of the dramatic companies to publication. Unquestionably some of the companies, especially after 1593-94, authorized the publication of a considerable number of plays. But the fact that very few plays were printed before that time (cf. pp. 249 ff., 269) may indicate, among other things, that the companies did not *at first* take too readily to the idea of allowing the printed page to compete with the stage. It is clear, at any rate, from Heywood's remark (p. 210) that some companies, so late as 1633, thought it "against their peculiar profit to haue [his plays] come in Print." The strongest evidence of company objection to publication, as Miss Albright notes (p. 239), is contained in the Whitefriars sharers' agreement of 1608, which provides for the forfeit of all sharing rights by any member found guilty of stealing company "apparell, bookes, or any other . . . commodities" and for a specific penalty of 40 *li.* in case any

[2] The sections (Ch. VI) on "*Errata*," "Proof-Reading by Author," and "Standards of Typographical Accuracy" are entertaining as well as illuminating. By way of poetic irony, two or three slight typographical inaccuracies, the only ones I have seen in the monograph, appear here (pp. 366, 375, 349).

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sharer "shall . . . print any . . . playe booke now in use." Though Miss Albright minimizes this evidence with the suggestion that it concerns merely the "temporary arrangement of one company," I see little reason for doubting that it was a fairly representative arrangement. It is not to be expected that many documents explicitly mentioning this safeguard would survive. I think, however, that the same purpose, though it is not categorically stated, was behind the contract of Robert Dawes, who, when in 1614 he bound himself to act for one of Henslowe's companies (the Lady Elizabeth's Men), agreed, like the Whitefriars sharers, to "forfeit . . . ffortie pounds" if found guilty of carrying off any "apparell . . . or any propertie belonging to the . . . company."[3] Various other entries of Henslowe's,[4] not to mention other documents,[5] suggest that some of the actors were not above helping themselves to company property when in need. These entries indicate that the companies were well-advised in safeguarding their interests. They give some incidental support also to the theory that besides apparel certain corrupt texts may haxe been filched by "traitor actors" who were unable to provide good copy except for the minor roles they themselves are thought to have played. Miss Albright has raised some valid objections (p. 300) against certain applications of this theory, and its exponents will be well advised to take these objections into account. But the theory is still very much alive,[6] nor is it likely to die until some better explanation is found for the curious textual conditions for which it does to some degree account. For, as Miss Albright admits by implication (p. 384) the unfavorable printing and publishing conditions of the period do not, in the final analysis, explain *all* the strange corruptions of its dramatic texts.

Of course such contractual provisions as those of the Whitefriars company and the Lady Elizabeth's Men would not have estopped publications duly authorized by the companies; but, as I have already suggested, it is not difficult to understand why the companies, especially in the early years, might have hesitated to authorize publication. In the long run some of them may have come to feel that publication instead of hurting them might actually "advertise the plays" (p. 236). *In the long run,* indeed, competition may be the life of trade, but most merchant-adventurers are

[3] *Henslowe Papers*, ed. Greg, p. 125.

[4] See *Henslowe's Diary*, ed. Greg, I, 63 (and 69) concerning loans to Jones, Shaw, and Downton, to enable them to redeem from pawn certain "rich cloaks"—"wch. the stock is not to paye but thes meane."

[5] Cf. Wallace, *Three London Theaters*, p. 38, concerning charges that Christopher Beeston stole "furniture & apparel" from Queen Anne's Men in 1619.

[6] Cf. Professor H. D. Gray's "Thomas Kyd and . . . *Hamlet*," *P. L. M. A.* LXXII, 721.

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more than willing, in their pioneering days, to monopolize their field as long as possible.

And there is still another motive, insufficiently recognized in this monograph, for company opposition to publication. Miss Albright has demonstrated that the printing of plays did not technically abrogate acting rights—but does it not remain true that to keep a live acting play out of print was the most rudimentary, the most obvious protection against infringement of such rights? The fact that printing did not legalize the infringement of acting rights does not alter the fact that printing removed the greatest practical obstacle against infringement, nor the fact that damages for infringement were all but uncollectable (cf. p. 220, n.). A chemist who has discovered a valuable formula or process, even though he has legally protected his property rights therein and is free to sue invaders of these rights, is none the less likely to put his formula into his safe-deposit box rather than into the hands of the reporters. Of course, as Miss Albright observes, there were many "loop-holes of escape." "The retention of manuscripts" was doubtless not "the sole, or even chief, safeguarding of theatrical companies' rights in plays." No doubt—but why not the most simple and, after all, in some cases the most practical? If so, may there not have been something of fact now and then in "that fiction of the close guarding of the manuscript" (p. 290)?

To emphasize these points is not to play the devil's advocate, since it is worth while to remember that some of these questions are not altogether closed. But the essential fact remains that this study in the large will help to dispose of many fictions which have too long been allowed to masquerade as fact. Its interpretations in the main are sound and valuable. And it is full of information from which students may independently deduce truth as they see it.

University of Tennessee. ALWIN THALER.

Philippe Quinault. Sa vie et son œuvre. Par ETIENNE GROS. Paris, Champion; Aix-en-Provence, éditions du "feu," 1926. xii, 827 pp.

Although one of the most important among French dramatists of the seventeenth century, Quinault had not received much attention from contemporary scholars before the appearance of this exhaustive work. For this neglect M. Gros has amply atoned. He has collected, in the first place, all the details about his remarkable life, distinguishing as far as possible between fact and legend. The son of a baker and beginning his career as a valet, this "bonne pâte d'homme" was able to become a favorite at the aristocratic court

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of Louis XIV, a frequenter of exclusive salons, a prominent dramatist, the leading author of opera librettos. He espoused a wealthy bourgeoise, married one of his daughters to the nephew of the celebrated artist, Le Brun, grew rich, was received into the Chambre des Comptes, the French Academy, the Academy of Inscriptions. Ever soft and pliable as the paternal dough, he resisted hostile thrusts more effectively than if he had been composed of better ingredients. Even Boileau was unable to deprive him of success, for whatever "la raison" might suggest, his rimes continued to charm throughout the eighteenth century and Voltaire was one of his most enthusiastic admirers.

He wrote 31 plays and librettos. In comedy he made much use of his French predecessors and helped develop the genre in Molière's direction. His *Mère coquette,* a critical edition of which has been made by M. G. as his subordinate dissertation,[1] and his *Comédie sans comédie* hold an honorable place in the history of comedy. In tragedy aand tragi-comedy he was inspired by the contemporary novel with its emphasis upon love and its reflection of the aspirations and manners of court society. M. G. compares these plays to

> ces étoffes anciennes, dont le temps a flétri les couleurs trop vives, et qui ont pris, avec un charme un peu vieillot et un peu fané, une teinte plus harmonieuse et plus discrète.

He believes that one must read them in order to appreciate the value of Racine's reform and to account for the survival in the latter's tragedies of some of the same characteristics. Finally, M. G makes a careful study of Q. as the first important author of librettos and shows that, while imitating his Italian predecessors in their choice of ancient mythology and of modern legend as a subject and in their efforts to appeal to the eye, he also adapted the opera, as they had not done, to the taste of audiences who had been accustomed, through the influence of tragedy, to demand greater unity and simplicity and a less illogical plot than one finds in earlier operas.

M. G. shows himself to be a master of his subject and to have an unusually good knowledge of the seventeenth century stage. His presentation is clear and interesting. There is an enormous amount of information in his book. It would, it is true, be more effective if it were not so long, but it is somewhat ungracious of the reader to make this criticism when the author has devoted himself so generously to his task. The mistakes noted below are not of great importance. They concern details rather than essentials and are remarkably few if one considers the fact that the volume contains some 400,000 words.[2]

H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER.

[1] Paris, Champion, 1926.

[2] In spite of the corrections in the Errata, a few misprints remain,

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Histoire de la Mise en scène dans le théâtre religieux français du Moyen-âge. Par GUSTAVE COHEN. Paris: Champion, 1926. lvi + 332 pp.

Une réimpression mais en fait un livre nouveau. En effet un avant-propos de 56 pages met à jour le livre de 1906 qui était épuisé et autant dire introuvable. D'autre part les procédés anastatiques ont permis d'introduire dans le texte même des corrections de détail, de remplacer certaines planches et d'insérer entre autres le beau décor de la *Folie de Clidamant* d'après le Mahelot de Lancaster. Enfin la trouvaille de Mons faite par M. C. lui-même (*Le Livre de Conduite du Régisseur . . .*) et dont nous

notably 1531 for 1631, or rather 1630, as the date of performance of Durval's *Ulysse* (p. 97) and Criserie written twice for Crisère (p. 192). The dates assigned to plays are not always satisfactory. Corneille's *Place royale* was performed before 1635 (p. 29). The *Baron de la Crasse* was first published in 1662, not in 1667 (p. 249). There is no evidence that *Dynamis* was played in 1650 except the date of its publication, or that *Alcionée* was first performed in 1640 (p. 345). The *Heureuse Constance* was certainly played before 1635 (p. 416), for Mahelot mentions it. To say that *Proserpine* was written "vers 1611" (p. 544) is to follow too closely the frères Parfaict. The *Gazette* shows that Rigal was right in dating the opening of the Marais on the last day of 1634 (p. 21). What evidence is there that Floridor was in the troupe of the Marais before Mondory was stricken? (p. 22). Jal proved that the maiden name of la Beauchâteau was du Pouget, not Bouget (p. 29). The fact that the title of a play is given differently in a notice concerning its performance and in the published work does not prove that it had not been performed at the time the notice was written, for the title may have been changed before the play was printed (p. 52). It was Astolfo, not Roland, who flew upon the hippogriff (p. 154). The type represented by the marquis in the *Mère Coquette* can be traced back to Claveret's *Esprit fort* (p. 221). The subject of *Dynamis* had a certain amount of historical basis (p. 259). The term *tragi-comédie pastorale* was in use long before 1626 (p. 264). Du Ryer's *Amarillis* was acted nearly a score of years before 1650 (p. 264). Stiefel has shown that Rotrou's *Diane* is derived, not from Montemayor's pastoral novel, but from Lope's *Villana de Xetafe* (p. 268). The scene from the *Mariage de Cambyse* in which the king watches his rival from a closet should be compared with Rotrou's *Bélisaire*, its Spanish source, and *Britannicus* (p. 282); the scene in *Amalasonte* in which the wrong man is murdered, with *Venceslas* (p. 301). Racine's "c'est toi qui l'as nommé" comes only indirectly from Euripides, for its direct source must have been Gilbert's *Hippolyte* (p. 308). Not only Du Ryer's *Thémistocle*, but his *Saül*, *Scévole*, *Lucrèce*, and *Esther*, all in fact of his tragedies except *Alcionée*, can be said to "situer l'action" (pp. 345-6). In the list of editions of the *Mère coquette* (p. 776) no mention is made of that of Antwerp, Pierre de Coup, 1714, 12°. If the date assigned to the second impression of *Bellerophon* (p. 777) is correct, there was a third impression, unmentioned by M. G., like the second except that it was dated 1688. The index of proper names is, unfortunately, by no means complete.

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parlerons en temps et lieu est venue enrichir et sur quelques points rectifier le premier état du livre.

Le présent ouvrage contient dans l'Avant-propos une bibliographie vivante et pratique, faite en fonction du texte et non un vaste et stérile étalage de titres. En ce qui concerne les Etats-Unis M. C. est très averti et cite les travaux de J. K. Bonnell, Lily B. Campbell, R. C. Flickinger, Grace Frank, Th. S. Graves, P. E. Kretzmann, H. C. Lancaster, M. J. Rudwin, W. P. Shepard, D. C. Stuart, R. Withington, K. Young, etc. On ajoutera avec fruit l'article de Hope Traver, "The Four Daughters of God" (*PMLA,* XL, March 1925) aux réferences que M. C. nous donne (XLII-XLIV et pp. 184-86) à propos du *Procès de Paradis.* De même, au sujet des pageants anglais (XVI), l'auteur n'a pu indiquer le trop récent article de Oscar Cargill, "The Authorship of the Secunda pastorum" (*PMLA,* XLI, December 1926). Enfin, pour la bibliographie américaine, on devra supplémenter les références de M. C. au sujet de la brûlante question de l'Enfer dans le théâtre médiéval: D. C. Stuart dans un article, "The Stage-setting of Hell and the iconography of the Middle-Ages" (*RR,* IV, July-Sept. 1913) arrive à des conclusions différentes de celles de M. C. Pour l'érudit américain qui s'appuie sur des données iconographiques la classique tête de dragon n'est pas le seul mode de figuration de l'Enfer. De plus l'Enfer peut également être situé ou révélé en profondeur, au dessous du niveau de la scène.

Pour ma part je me permets de signaler un document qui contient de précieux jeux de scène dont certains entre autres montrent clairement le déplacement du jeu et des acteurs de l'extérieur à l'intérieur de l'église. C'est le *Miracle de Monseigneur Saint Nicolas* qui paraît dater de la fin du XV^{e} siècle et qui a été réimprimé en 1868 par Horemans à Lille. L'oeuvre en question est anonyme mais je crois avoir de bonnes raisons pour l'attribuer au "facteur" religieux Jean Drouyn.

Dans l'ensemble, le livre de M. C. mis à jour et au point par l'Avant-propos manifeste cette ampleur et cette sûreté de vues comparatives, cette précision verveuse auxquelles l'auteur nous a accoutumés. Il a le sens des époques et de la vie. Il ne connaît pas seulement des choses que beaucoup de gens ignorent comme le théâtre néérlandais mais il se souvient aussi d'une chose que beaucoup de gens oublient: Le théâtre du Moyen âge n'est pas qu'une collection de manuscripts et d'incunables, c'est aussi un grouillement de foules, de rêves, de curiosités. Cela M. Cohen l'a bien vu et bien rendu. C'est par là que son livre a le souffle et l'accent de la vie.

LOUIS CONS.

Illinois University.

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The Peasant Vocabulary in the Works of George Sand. By ALEXANDER HERMANN SCHUTZ. The University of Missouri Studies, 1927. v + 114 pp.

The University of Missouri Studies were revived only last year and this monograph is the first of the new series to deal with the humanities. It is Professor Schutz's doctor's thesis, prepared under the direction of Professor Jenkins at the University of Chicago, with certain expansions and additions rendering it thoroughly up to date. The list of dialect dictionaries which were consulted is amazing. They were available to the author at the Newberry Library (Chicago), which contains the best lexicographic material in this country. He also utilized the Gröber collection at the University of Illinois. The work is divided into three main divisions: Chapter one, containing a list of dialect forms not found in the standard dictionaries (e.g., Darmstetter, Hatzfeld, and Thomas; Littré); Chapter two, words used in a sense different from the standard; Chapter three, an analysis of the word formations. The material studied was gathered from twenty-eight of the novels of George Sand, and, in addition, from two dramatized versions. The etymology of each word is ably discussed.

Of special interest are the pages in the Introduction devoted to the study of *patois* as a literary device. Emphasizing the use of conventional and artificial *patois* in the plays of Molière, Dancourt, and Marivaux, Dr. S. says with Nyrop that Romanticism was the first to introduce realism in language. He dwells a bit too strongly, perhaps (p. 12), upon George Sand's interest in the philologic theories of her day. George Sand, Charles Nodier, Victor Hugo, and the Grimm brothers did not have an identical point of view. Mme Sand was writing "folk novels," convinced that the peasant is an unconscious artist, and *patois* was necessary for her local color. An analogous situation is to be found in the "folk drama," so popular in America at the present day.

Of the 180 words in Chap. I the philologist will be attracted most by such as *ahannier* 'laborer,' *biger* 'to kiss,' *bouinotte* 'small opening,' *calabre* 'corpse,' *oche* 'goose,' and *sauret* 'earless.' There are ninety-nine words in Chapter two of which I shall give only a few examples: *disette* 'joke,' *grand'bête* 'weir-wolf,' and *livrée* in its ancient sense of 'wedding gifts in the form of garments.' It would have added to our interest if Dr. S. could have made occasional reference to the peasant vocabulary in Hughes Lapaire's recent Berrichon novels and poems. In conclusion the author establishes that George Sand used not only Berrichon forms but an occasional Provençal expression and some archaic words

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gathered from her reading. This study is a valuable contribution to French lexicography, a field in which American scholars have contributed too little. The University of Missouri Press is to be congratulated upon the appearance of the book; particularly when so much special phonetic type was necessary.

URBAN T. HOLMES.

University of North Carolina.

The Oxford Book of Eighteenth-Century Verse. Chosen by DAVID NICHOL SMITH. New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch, 1926, pp. xii + 727. $3.75.

The poetry of the age of prose and reason is slowly coming into its own. Until Professor Bernbaum's small volume appeared nine years ago there were no anthologies devoted exclusively to this period, whereas just now two or three are in active preparation. Unlike all of these, however, the present selection is not intended for the classroom and hence is comparable rather with *The Shorter Poems of the Eighteenth Century* which I. A. Williams brought out four years ago. It is superior to Mr. Williams's work in three important particulars: it includes a third more poetry without (thanks to the use of thin paper) any increase in bulk, it is not limited to pieces under one hundred lines in length and on the whole it is a better selection. Yet Mr. Smith has done some strange things. Swift has over 26 pages but Blake only 16 (2 more than Isaac Watts); Addison and William Whitehead each 8, and Pope's Homer 7½, but Young less than 6; Bowles only 2, Savage nearly 3, Isaac Hawkins Browne 4, and Thomas Russell (I am glad to say) 5. None of the Countess of Winchilsea's 7½ pages, Akenside's 12, Byrom's 12, or Watt's 14 could well be spared but why does Crabbe have only 10? The explanation is, in part, that Mr. Smith has chosen to include nothing written after 1800 but this does not account for the omission of John Bampfylde, Richard Glover, Richard Graves, Egerton Brydges, James Grahame, Thomas Gisborne, William Crowe, or the authors of *The Rolliad* and the *Probationary Odes.* Surely the 11 pages devoted to the early poems of Wordsworth and Coleridge could better have been transferred to some of these men, especially since none of Landor's contemporary verse is given. From the writers who are included the most suprising omission is that of several of Cowper's best known passages notably those beginning "Oh for a lodge in some vast wilderness," "I was a stricken deer," "Now stir the fire, and close the shutters fast." Yet the extracts from Cowper are excellent and so are those from Thomson, Blair, Gold-

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smith, and Akenside though many will miss some of their favorite passages in *The Seasons* as well as the conclusion of *The Grave* and the beginning of *The Traveller* and will regret that there is nothing from the *Hymn to the Naiads.* Since we have Pope's Homer why not Gray's *Fatal Sisters* which is excellent poetry and is significant in more ways than one? And why was Thomas Warton's *Verses on Reynolds's Painted Window* chosen rather than *The Crusade, The Grave of King Arthur,* or *The Suicide*? But there is much to be grateful for: the complete *Song of David,* the little-known *Duke of Benevento,* John Brown's description of moonlight at Keswick, and the all-too brief introduction. Furthermore, the impression the book gives of the century as a whole is the true one. Recent text-book anthologies in their desire to quote only the most significant passages have unintentionally but unduly stressed the more romantic aspects of the mid and later eighteenth century. In reality, as this Oxford Book makes us feel, the great body of the verse of the period belongs with Pope, Addision, and Prior rather than with Blake, Coleridge, and Keats.

RAYMOND D. HAVENS.

Probleme der englischen Sprache und Kultur. Festschrift Johannes Hoops zum 60. Geburtstag überreicht von Freunden und Kollegen. Germanische Bibliothek, II. Abteilung: Untersuchungen und Texte. Heft 20. Carl Winter, Heidelberg, 1925. M. 15.

The volume under review, published to honor one of the most revered of living Anglicists, is made up of 16 articles varying widely in length and in subject-matter. Professor Arnold Schröer, that veteran in things English, opens the volume with an interesting paper called *Völkerpsychologie* (pp. 1-54). He deals chiefly with the national characteristics of the English, as he sees them, and he is surely more competent to speak than most. And yet his paper is too impressionistic and subjective to be looked upon as a strictly scientific monograph, as he, no doubt, would be the first to allow. Professor Lorenz Morsbach follows (pp. 55-71) with a sturdy and, I think, succcessful defense of the historical method in grammatical studies. Otto Funke comes next, with a closely reasoned paper *Zur Definition des Begriffes "Eigennamen"* (pp. 72-79). Wolfgang Keller, the editor of the volume, gives us a startling paper called *Skandinavischer Einfluss in der englischen Flexion* (pp. 80-87). He begins by remarking that whereas formerly English was regarded as a language which had come into being through a mixing

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of "Anglo-Saxon" and Norman-French, nowadays the language is thought of as the result of a mixture of the speech of the Angles and Saxons with that of the Scandinavian invaders of England. He supports this thesis in some detail, interestingly but not convincingly. His chief premise, viz., that Germanic *z* did not become an *r*-sound in the Scandian dialects until the tenth century, suffers shipwreck on the *Fervir* of Jordanes (see Noreen, *Altisl. Gram.* 4th ed., § 224). His assumption that *she* comes from the demonstrative *seo* is likewise unsound. In general, his paper is suggestive, but establishes nothing, since he does not give enough evidence to prove his contentions. Wilhelm Horn follows, with a careful study called *Der altenglische Zauberspruch gegen den Hexenschuss* (pp. 88-104). Max Förster contributes an exhaustive examination of *Die Legende vom Trinubium der hl. Anna* (pp. 105-130). Alexander Cartellieri gives a short sketch of the life of Richard I (pp. 131-148), Walter Fischer has a note on Chaucer's Prioress (pp. 149-151), and F. Holthausen translates into German the well-known moral play *The Pride of Life,* with a few critical notes (pp. 152-168). Otto Cartellieri tells us about a duel which took place in Valenciennes in the year 1455—an interesting yarn, but a contribution hardly suitable for the volume in which it appears (pp. 169-176). Otto Ritter has a valuable discussion (with word-lists) on English words of the type *salvo,* with *-o* for *-a* (pp. 177-183). L. L. Schücking contributes the first part of what promises to be an important study on *Literatur und Familie zu Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts in England* (pp. 184-194). R. Imelmann presents some interesting letters written to his father, J. Imelmann, by Lord Acton (pp. 195-207). Heinrich Spies gives us information about the censorship of the theater now in force in England (pp. 208-230). S. B. Liljegren of Lund (now of Greifswald) has an interesting paper on the name of James Harrington's *Oceana* (pp. 231-249). The wide range of Professor Liljegren's erudition is as imposing in this paper as in his edition of Harrington's work. J. Schick contributes an inconclusive but interesting essay on *Indische Quellen zu Longfellows Kavanagh* (pp. 250-262). Hermann Hasselkuss concludes the volume with a careful *Register* (pp. 263-270).

It is to be regretted that Anglo-Saxondom is left unrepresented in this volume brought out in honor of a notable Anglicist. Such tributes ought to have an international character, so far as possible, and certainly Professor Hoops does not lack pupils, friends and admirers in England and America who would have welcomed an opportunity to contribute to a *Festschrift* in his honor. But all workers in English philology will rejoice that the volume has appeared, and will join the editor and contributors in felicitating their revered colleague.

KEMP MALONE.

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Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the British Museum, vol. I (pp. xi + 706), by S. H. O'GRADY, vol. II (pp. xxxvi + 634), by R. Flower. Printed for the Trustees. London, 1926.

The catalogue under review was started as early as 1886, and nearly all the first volume was printed by 1892; the completion and publication of the catalogue was however delayed by a variety of causes: the ever widening scope of the work, the illness and final resignation of the first editor, the difficulty of finding a new editor, and the World War. Even now a third volume, containing the general introduction and the index, remains to be published. The volumes now at last available are most welcome; they are indispensable, indeed, to the Irish philologist and historian. They differ markedly in method and execution. Standish Hayes O'Grady, the author of the first volume, has given us a work as readable as a romance! He is chiefly concerned to describe the literary contents of the MS. which he is cataloguing, and this description he writes in sprightly manner and adds comments entertaining as well as accurate. Lest by any chance the reader know no Irish, he translates his Irish quotations into English, and what delightful English it is! Let me give a taste of his quality:

> Ms. Add. 27946 . . . 70. Poem, headed *Laoidh mheallta na mban* i. e. Lay of the Deceitfulness of Women: 26 quatrains . . . very severe on the unfortunate sex; replete with wise saws, and instances ancient as well as modern 71. Song . . . For one cause or another (especially for one: their in every respect spacious mode of life, which now and then brought them into collision with the parish priest, the bailiff or the magistrate) the chief county Limerick poets had occasionally to absent themselves from their favorite haunts until things were either patched up or cooled down.

Volume II is very different in character. It makes no concessions to the unlearned. Mr. Flower is concerned to give the professional scholar a full collation and comparison of the texts. As he puts it in his preface, "an attempt is made . . . to study the literature in its growth, to delimit its different classes, periods and districts, and, in particular, to isolate the foreign influences by the method of determining the sources of translated texts." Both volumes must be called successful, each in its own way. Mr. Flower, in his preface, has given a short but welcome sketch of the life of his predecessor. We look forward with eagerness to the appearance of the third volume of this invaluable and admirable catalogue.

KEMP MALONE.

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Celtic Myth and Arthurian Romance. By ROGER SHERMAN LOOMIS. Columbia University Press, 1927. Pp. ix and 371.

In 1925—in this journal—Mr. Loomis, to whom we owe valuable studies in mediaeval iconography, protested rightly against those who attributed the rise of Arthurian Romances either to "la seule imagination de leurs auteurs," or to "une œuvre de clerc," Geoffrey of Monmouth! It is an old truth that the pendulum makes but one swing at a time. Foerster, Golther, Bruce, and Faral unjustly minimized or denied the Celtic background. On the other hand, Loomis now swings to the opposite extreme and sees in the Arthurian stories the remnants of a Celtic (solar) pantheon, which he endeavors to reconstruct for us from extant Arthurian and Celtic (mainly Irish and Welsh) material.

Mr. Loomis' treatise has many engaging features. It is well constructed: Book I attempts to explain the Modena Archivolt in terms of Celtic myth; Book II deals with the symbolism of the Young God and the Old; Book III, with the cult of the Grail; Book IV, with the Brides of the Sun; Book V, with the transition from Gods to Heroes, culminating in Arthur—a vivid and, it must be admitted, a dramatic progression. It is unusually well written; Loomis has the trait, rare in mediaevalists, of enfolding the reader in the atmosphere of his subject; he has a flair for the Celtic magic and he conveys it to the printed page. Lastly, his book has a bold and comprehensive sweep: the author has read widely, he is "up" on his bibliography, and he uses his references skilfully without suffocating his page under an avalanche of foot-notes. In this last respect, praise is due the Columbia Press for the artistic makeup of the volume as a whole.

In view of these obvious advantages, the reader will regret that Mr. Loomis did not take time to digest his material (see p. vii for the admission that the theory was new to him in 1924) before committing himself to the decision that "the main contentions of the book be upheld or condemned together—channels of transmission, nomenclature, mythological interpretation." If this test were rigorously applied, it would, I fear, turn out to be negative. Such a work based mainly on an hypothesis, has precisely the value that every serious (careful) hypothesis possesses: It can be tried at the bar of "fact," and if found wanting, be altered or rejected, in whatever degree is necessary. Scholars are no exception to the universal rule that:

> Patience et longueur de temps
> Font plus que force ni que rage.

Let us now turn to the "details" of Mr. Loomis' work.

As regards the Modena sculpture, thanks to the studies of A. K.

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Porter, a strong body of evidence exists to show that it was executed between 1099 and 1106. Until some scholar can overthrow the value of this evidence, we must agree with Loomis (as against Faral) that the Arthurian story in the sculpture is early, some thirty years earlier than Geoffrey of Monmouth. What does it represent? Loomis argues: *a* version of the abduction and rescue of Guinevere, as follows: The central figure of the sculpture is called *Winlogee* (and there are documents proving that *Winlogee* is elsewhere interchanged with *Guinevere*); she is imprisoned in a tower; by her side is Mardoc; the two entrances of the tower are being defended, on the right by Carrado, on the left by Burmalt, a ruffian swinging on a *baston cornu;* against Galvagin (Gauvain), Galvarium, and Che (right); and against Artus, Isdern, and an unnamed knight (left).

On the face of it, Loomis' hypothesis, at this point, is plausible—much more so than Foerster's, who held that the sculpture represented the abduction of Gawain (see *Vulgate Lancelot*). But it should have taken account of every piece of evidence. For example, Mardoc, according to Loomis, is *Mordred,* for whom Carrado (Caradoc) has abducted the queen; but see Bruce, *Evolution,* I, 16, note, where Mardoc is equated with Meriadoc (compare the *Historia Meriadoci* and the *Chevalier as deus espees,* as well as the *Mariadoc* of the *Tristan*). Again, Burmalt, according to Loomis, is one of the "appearances" of Curoi, who in the Irish *Fled Bricrend* is disguised as a *bachlach* ("churl" or "giant"), carrying an axe. This is Loomis' strongest case, inasmuch as Bercilak in the *Gawain and the Green Knight* (compare Barzelach, Bartelak, Bercelai, and Bertolais)[1] may well be a substitution for the unfamiliar *Bachlach,* by the process of "volksetymologie." Burmalt occurs as Brunout or Brumaut in the *Vulgate Lancelot,* and as Bromel in Malory. But how one gets from *bachlach* to the last-named forms is not made clear, and before launching into other even more tenuous identifications Loomis would have done well to collect all available evidence on this one, important case. By not doing so he runs the risk of jeopardizing not only his theory of solar symbolism but the, to me, far more vital thesis[2] that the Modena sculpture is in fact a Celtic abduction story, carried to Italy by Breton bards in the wake of the Norman invasion via Sicily.

Turning now to the mythological side of the treatise, its contentions hinge on the question of whether the abductor Carrado is identical with the Irish Curoi, and whether the latter, in turn, is a sun god. On page 15 we are told: "the name of the abductor Carrado is close enough to that of the abductor Curoi mac Daire

[1] See J. R. Hulbert, *Manly Anniversary Studies,* pp. 12 ff.

[2] Originally proposed in the *Romanic Review,* XV, 266. See Loomis' most recent treatment of the subject in *Romania,* LIII, 94 ff.

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(cf. the 'Tragic Death of Curoi mac Daire') to make one suspect that it is a corruption of the Irish name." Now, Carrado (French Caradoc) is of course the German Karadas, the name of the "hospitable host" in Heinrich von dem Türlin; and if Curoi, in his function as the Irish *bachlach,* is a parallel to the "hospitable host" in *Gawain and the Green Knight,* Loomis is presumably on the right track. But, again, he fails to mass such evidence as exists; see Bruce I, 89, and particularly Lot, *Romania,* XXVII, 568, where Caradoc [3] is shown to be a hero of the Britons of Strathclyde and Cumberland; and Loomis makes no consecutive attempt to show how Curoi became Carrado (Caradoc), either by confusion or by substitution. Strange to say, the chart he gives (p. 365) of the "derivations" from Curoi or Curi, which include Gauvain and even Galaad, does not refer to Caradoc. A cynical reader might infer that Mr. Loomis derives names from each other in the manner that *Middleton* has been derived from *Moses;* one omits the *-oses* and adds the *-iddleton.* This is not the case. Loomis is aware of the danger (p. 35), but he does not seem to me wholly to escape it.

On the other hand, his suggestion that Curoi and Cuchulinn, as well as Gawain, "betray the dual nature of sun and lightning god" is not to be rejected offhand. The question remains: to what extent? But the "beheading game," the "waxing and waning strength," the "revolving castle or fort"—so familiar to all readers of the Celtic and Arthurian stories—must have some such explanation.[4] It is useful to remember that Thurneysen (*ZcP.,* IX, 231) had defined Curoi as "one who can be killed only with his own sword." Loomis (p. 57) thinks that Cuchulinn "may mean 'Little Curoi.'" Certainly Cuchulinn was known—at one period—as a rebirth of Lug, with whom MacNeill (see *ZcP.,* XII, 331) also associated Curoi. On heliolatry in Ireland we have the testimony of St. Patrick himself (Loomis, pp. 41 ff.). Finally, in the Welsh "abduction story" of *Math Son of Mathonwy,* Loomis has found a clear case of solar symbolism: here Llew (Irish, Lug), husband of Blodeuwedd (cf. Irish, Blathnat and French, Floree), can be slain "only by a spear which required a year to make, and only when he stood under a thatched roof with one foot on a bath-caldron (Aquarius) and the other on a buck's back (Capricornus).[5] Moreover, the equation Loomis sets up (pp. 91 ff.)—partly in imitation of Lot [6]—of Lancelot, Lancelin, Llwch Lleminawc or Llen-

[3] The appellative *breichbras,* "strong-arm," may be a link.

[4] Cf. the "slayer succeeding the slain" (*Ivain, Bel Inconnu,* etc.) and the "storm" that overtakes Carados (B. N., ff., 12576, fo. 66r) and Gauvain (*Perlesvaus,* p. 92).

[5] See my remarks in *PMLA,* XXIV (1909), 404.

[6] *Romania,* LI, 423.

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lleawc[7] with the Irish "Lug of the mighty blows" [Lugh Loinnbheimionach] properly belongs here. Had Loomis taken this Welsh story, which he connects directly (p. 17) with the subject of the Modena sculpture, as the basis of his Book III, he might have found a norm whereby he could differentiate the grain from the chaff and thus ascertain which part of his material is really mythological.

Book III (and following) appears to the present reviewer as the least satisfactory part of Loomis' treatise. Here he drops into correspondences that seem fairly Swedenborgian in manner (*e. g.*, p. 157: "Claudin himself would be young Curoi, and would correspond to Gawain, Galaad, and Bors."). It is true this section abounds in useful suggestions (see especially Chaps. XVIII, XX, XXI, XXII, and XXIV), largely based on the investigation of other scholars. Yet, on p. 263, Loomis accepts Miss Weston's idea that "the question form of the test [Grail] is a *sexual* [the italics are mine] initiation ceremony;" on p. 140 he follows Brown in the erroneous belief that the word *oiste,* in the *Conte del graal,* is a scribal interpolation; and on p. 351 he rejects Malone's "identification with L. Artorius Cassus [*sic*]." In all of this section he forgets that stories grow by accretion and that, therefore, the details may be important. As an example, Arthur may be legendary and historical in origin and yet have acquired mythical traits.[8]

In conclusion, then, this is a suggestive and interesting book. Loomis has shown that it is foolish to sneer at primitive myth by dismissing it as "highly poetical talk about the weather." He has also raised the question of Celtic provenience—in connection with the Modena sculpture—in such way that it cannot again be ignored. The pity is that, endowed as he is with enthusiasm and the ability to write, he should fail to apply a rigid scholarly method to such fascinating but alas! elusive material. It might still repay him to make the attempt.

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The Seventeenth-century English Essay. E. N. S. THOMPSON. University of Iowa, Iowa City. (U. of I. Humanistic Studies, vol. III, No. 3, 1926.) Pp. 149.

There have been a number of attempts to describe the natural, inherent, and necessary character of the essay—as also, of course, of all the other literary *genres.* Professor Thompson's volume

[7] How Lucius got into the picture (from Josephus) is now shown by J. J. Parry, *Speculum,* II (1927), 446.

[8] See also what Ridgeway, *Proc. Brit. Acad.* (1905-06), p. 135, has to say about Cuchulinn.

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is more valuable and important than any of these. For it cannot be too often said that the *genres* have no natural or necessary character. They are products of social conditions which happen at certain historical moments to converge in a certain manner. When this nexus of conditions melts and resolves itself, the *genre* no longer has a real existence.

The scope of Professor Thompson's book can be briefly described. He shows in a series of chapters that there was a cluster or nebula of seventeenth-century prose-types of which the essay is the center: the moral letter, the 'character,' the aphorism or *pensée,* the 'paradox' or 'problem,' the meditation and vow. This has never been done before; and it is extremely useful to have it done. For we can now see more clearly the nature and intention of all these types, and that the explanation of them all is to be found in the intellectual and imaginative conditions which produce the essay itself. We can see too that many long treatises which do not look like essays, the *Religio Medici,* for instance, do in fact consist of series of short essays. The essay is in fact the expression of the seventeenth-century mind; and we must understand this fact clearly if we are to interpret properly what it did even in sermon, poetry, and drama.

Professor Thompson's writing is pleasant and unpedantic. But we could wish that he had excised some hundreds of facts and 'mentions' and relegated them to a commented bibliography, which would itself have been a fascinating work. As it is, the chronicle-and-comment method inevitably wins out over the philosophical, that is, the truly historical, one which we so much desire. The picture of the whole is often lost in the record of facts, and it is hard for us to see the true significance of the Essay in that great century which formed the modern mind—though the main situation has been descried by Professor Thompson and the reader catches glimpses of it now and again. The work, therefore, must be considered as an invaluable gathering and arrangement of materials (some of them quite new) for a history to come. Professor Thompson himself may well be the author of it.

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Digitized by Google

INDEX

PAGE

Abencerraje, El 529
Adam 129
Aesthetic Norm 444
Albright, Evelyn M., Dramatic Publication in England, 1580-1640 547
Allison, T. E., On the Body and Soul Legend 102
All's Well That Ends Well 79
Allusion, Chaucer 401
——s to Spenser 314
Almeida, Juan de 365
Amelia, or the Distressed Wife. 32
America in German Literature. 204
——, Eighteenth Century 53
American Indian 335
Analogues to the Story of Cædmon 390
Andersen, Hans Christian 351
Andrews, A. L.: H. Brinkmann, Entstehungsgeschichte des Minnesangs 66
——: W. H. Holl, Über den Einfluss der lateinischen Vagantendichtung auf die Lyrik Walthers von der Vogelweide und die seiner Epigonen im 13. Jahrhundert 64
——: C. von Kraus, Mittelhochdeutsches Übungsbuch 477
——: P. Merker und W. Stammler, Vom Werden des deutschen Geistes. Festgabe G. Ehrismann 349
Anglo-Manx Dialect 208
Anglo-Saxon 60
Anglo-Saxon Chronicle 60
Anibal, C. E., Mira de Amescua and *La ventura de la fea* 106
Anthology, Spanish 420
Antichrist 129
Armstrong, E. C., The Authorship of the *Vengement Alixandre* and of the *Venjance Alixandre* 266
Arthur, King, in English Literature 417
Arthurian Romance 52, 560
Assisi, St. Francis of 475

PAGE

Aufklärung 347
Ault's, Norman, Elizabethan Lyrics 184
Austin, H. D., Dante Notes, IX 305
Authorship of *The Queen of Corinth* 94

Bacon's Influence 239
Baker, H. T., Shakespeare misquoted 87
Balderston, Katharine C., A Census of the MSS. of Oliver Goldsmith 494
——, Goldsmith's Supposed Attack on Fielding 165
Baldwin, T. W., Sir John Denham and *Paradise Lost* 508
——, Elizabethan Players as Tradesfolk 509
Ballanche, Pierre-Simon, *La Ville des Expiations* 481
Balzac's *Comédie humaine* 525
Banks, T. H., The Personal Relations between Denham and Waller 372
Barbeau, M., and E. Sapir, Folk Songs of French Canada 274
Barnouw, A. J.; L. Grootaers en G. G. Kloeke, Handleiding bij het Noord- en Zuid-Nederlandsch Dialectonderzoek 265
Barrow, Sarah F., and W. H. Hulme, *Antichrist* and *Adam*, translated 129
Baxter's, Richard, Autobiography 184
Beach, J. W.: Mary S. Gretton, Writings and Life of George Meredith 117
Becqueé, La 112
Beginnings of English Literary Periodicals 126
Belis, A., La Critique française à la fin du XIXe siècle 486
Bense, J. F., A Dictionary of the Low-Dutch Element in the English Vocabulary 426
Benson, A. B.: Mary Howitt,

Digitized by Google

PAGE

Hans Christian Andersen, by Himself 351
Beowulf 173, 202
Berm 246
Bernbaum, E., Recent Works on Prose Fiction before 1800.... 281
Biblia Sacra Polyglotta..... 84
Bibliography of Chaucer..... 343
Bila, C., La Croyance à la magie au XVIIIe siècle en France. 199
Biography, Goldsmith and Johnson on— 198
Bismarck in Sudermann's *Heimat?* 522
Bissell, B., The American Indian in English Literature of the Eighteenth Century..... 335
Blankenagel, J. C., Titus in Hebbel's *Herodes und Mariamne* 451
Blondheim, D. S.: W. v. Wartburg, Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch..... 137
——: Thérèse Labande-Jeanroy, La Question de la langue en Italie..... 424
Bodley Head Quartos..... 179
Body and Soul Legend..... 102
Borchling, C., Das Landrecht des *Sachsenspiegels*..... 203
Bourdin, H. L., R. H. Gabriel and S. T. Williams, Sketches from Eighteenth Century America 53
Boylesve's, René, *La Becquée*.. 112
Bradner, L., A Test for Udall's Authorship 378
Brandin, L., *Berthe au Grand Pied*, d'après deux romans en vers du XIIIe siècle..... 127
Bray, R., La Formation de la Doctrine Classique en France; La Tragédie cornélienne devant la critique classique d'après la querelle de *Sophonisbe* (1663)..... 414
Briggs, W. D.: C. H. Herford and P. Simpson, Ben Jonson. 404
——: J. M. Murry, Keats and Shakespeare; C. M. Haines, Shakespeare in France; E. K. Chambers, Shakespeare, A Survey; Esther C. Dunn, Ben Jonson's Art; H. D. Sykes, Sidelights on Elizabethan Drama 539

PAGE

Brinkley, R. Florence, Nathan and Nathaniel Field..... 10
Brinkmann, H., Entstehungsgeschichte des Minnesangs 66
British Museum, Irish MSS. in— 559
Brooke, T., Shakespeare of Stratford 186
Brown, J. E., Goldsmith and Johnson on Biography..... 168
Browne, Sir Thomas..... 479
Browning, Robert, French Textbook by —..... 299
Brunanburh 238
Bruno, Giordano..... 427
Buck, H.: A. W. Secord, Studies in the Narrative Method of Defoe 121
Burning of Heorot..... 173
Bush, D., Some Allusions to Spenser 314
——, The Influence of Marlowe's *Hero and Leander* on early Mythological Poems... 211
Butler, E. M., The Saint-Simonian Religion in Germany.. 482
Byron's *Childe Harold*..... 34
—— *The Isles of Greece*..... 111

Cædmon 390
Campbell, K., Marginalia on Longfellow, Lowell, and Poe. 516
Canadian Folk Songs..... 274
Carlyle, Thomas..... 506
Carrière, J. M.: M. Barbeau and E. Sapir, Folk Songs of French Canada..... 274
Case, A. E., Aaron Hill and Thomson's *Sophonisba*..... 175
——, Some Stage-Directions in *All's Well that Ends Well*.. 79
Caskey, J. H., Two Notes on Uncle Toby..... 321
—— Tracing an Epigram..... 323
Castro, E., El pensiamento de Cervantes 275
Cazamian, Legouis and, *Histoire de la Littérature Anglaise*... 325
Celtic Myth..... 560
Cerf, B., Anatole France..... 194
Cervantes 275
Chambers, E. K., Shakespeare, A Survey..... 539
Chansons de geste..... 199
Characters, Shakespeare's..... 495

Digitized by Google

PAGE

Chateaubriand 280
Chaucer 251
——, Bibliography of..... 343
—— Criticism and Allusion.. 401
Chaucerian chronology..... 229
Chaucer, Thomas..... 53
Chaytor, H. J., Dramatic Theory in Spain..... 47
Chesse, A Queen at —..... 141
Childe Harold, Byron's..... 34
Chinard, G.: D. Mornet, La Pensée française au dix-huitième siècle..... 124
——: L. Reynaud, Le Romantisme 188
——: G. Roger, Chateaubriand: Selections..... 280
——: M. Rudwin, Satan et le Satanisme dans l'Œuvre de Victor Hugo..... 63
——: C. H. C. Wright, Background of Modern French Literature 119
Cibber's, Colley, *Richard III*.. 29
Clark, W. S., Dryden's Relations with Howard and Orrery 16
——, The Early Stage History of the First Heroic Play..... 381
Classen, E., and F. E. Harmer, *An Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.. 60
Classical Age of German Literature 263
Classique, Doctrine — en France 414
Clement, N. H., The Influence of the Arthurian Romances on the Five Books of Rabelais.. 52
Clerc, C., Le Génie du Paganisme 135
Coffman, G. R., A Note on Shakespeare and Nash..... 317
——: *Antichrist* and *Adam*, two Mediæval Religious Dramas Translated into English by Sarah F. Barrow and W. H. Hulme 129
——: F. Tupper, Types of Society in Medieval Literature 489
Cohen, G., Histoire de la Mise en scène dans le théâtre religieux français du Moyen-âge 553
Coleridge, Hazlitt and —..... 504
—— on Giordano Bruno..... 427
——'s Theory of Dramatic Illusion 436

PAGE

Coleridge, Hartley..... 28
Collitz, H.: K. Lokotsch, Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Europäischen Wörter Orientalischen Ursprungs..... 412
Color Vision, Milton's..... 146
Comédie humaine, Balzac's.... 525
Comédiens français en Hollande 416
Comedy *Lingua*.....150, 293
Cons, L., L'Auteur de la farce de *Pathelin*..... 327
——: G. Cohen, Histoire de la Mise en scène dans le théâtre religieux français du Moyen-âge 553
Cooper, L., A Note on Legouis and Cazamian, *Histoire de la Littérature Anglaise*..... 325
Corneille 269, 414
Courtilz, Gatien de..... 45
Cowling's Metrical Test..... 229
Crawford, D. H., *Beowulf*, translated into English Verse.... 202
Crawford, J. P. W., Francisco de la Torre and Juan de Almeida 365
Criticism, Chaucer..... 401
Critique française..... 486
Croll, M. W.: E. N. S. Thompson, The Seventeenth-century English Essay..... 563
Croyance à la magie..... 199
Curel, F. de., *Le Repas du Lion* 51
Curtiss, J. T., The Meaning of the Word "Dade"..... 100
Czech Phonetic Reader..... 125

"Dade," Meaning of..... 100
Dale, G. I., Spanish *Fondo en* once more..... 319
D'Annuncio's "Outa Occidentale" 325
Dante Notes..... 305
Davis, Rose M., Stephen Duck, the Thresher Poet..... 492
Defense of the Child..... 50
Deferrari, H. A., Trocho in *El Abencerraje* 529
Defoe's Narrative Method..... 121
Dekker's, Thomas, Plague Pamphlets 180
Denham, Sir John..... 508
—— and Waller..... 372
Deschamps and Eustace..... 527
Destouches' *Le Dissipateur*.... 162
Deutsche Romantik..... 207

Digitized by Google

PAGE

Dialects, Dutch..... 265
Dickman, A. J., Le Rôle du surnaturel dans les chansons de geste 199
——, A Reply..... 396
Dissipateur, Le, and *Timon of Athens* 162
Dix-huitième Siècle Français.. 423
Doctrine Classique en France.. 414
Downfall of the Three Unities. 1
Drama, Eighteenth Century .. 472
——, Elizabethan 539
——, Tudor..... 421
Dramatic Illusion..... 436
—— Publication in England.. 547
—— Theory in Spain..... 47
Draper, J. W., William Mason: A Study in Eighteenth Century Culture..... 478
——: P. Toynbee, Satirical Poems Published anonymously by William Mason..... 468
Dryden's Relations with Howard and Orrery..... 16
Du Bartas' *La Sepmaine*..... 293
Du Bellay,..... 138
Duck, Stephen..... 492
Dudek, J. B.: A. Frinta, Czech Phonetic Reader..... 125
Dunn, Esther C., Ben Jonson's Art: Elizabethan Life and Literature as Reflected Therein 539
Dunn, W. P., Sir Thomas Browne: A Study in Religious Philosophy..... 479
Dutch Dialects..... 265

Edwards, B., A Classification of the MSS. of Gui de Cambrai's *Vengement Alixandre*..... 266
Ehrismann, G., Festgabe..... 349
Eighteenth Century America... 53
—— —— Drama..... 472
—— —— Study of Shakespeare's Characters..... 495
—— —— Verse..... 556
Elizabethan Drama.....539, 547
—— Life..... 539
—— Players..... 509
—— Playwrights..... 133
—— Proverb Lore..... 484
Elmore, J., Johnston, O. M., and —, A French Grammar for High Schools and Colleges 139

PAGE

Emerson, O. F., Two Lexical Notes 244
Émile, Rousseau's..... 243
Englische Kalenderstäbe..... 422
—— Sprache und Kultur..... 557
English Essay..... 563
—— *Faustsplitter*..... 353
—— Literary Periodicals..... 126
—— Literature.....325, 335, 417
—— Magazine..... 108
—— Place-Name Society..... 259
—— Renaissance..... 178
—— Vocabulary..... 426
Epigram, Tracing an —..... 323
Essay, English..... 563
Et, Rose, elle a vécu ce que vivent les roses..... 528
Etymologisches Wörterbuch, Französisches 137
Eulenspiegel, Till..... 465
Euphues, Lyly's..... 484
Eustace, Deschamps and —... 527

Faerie Queene, Spenser's...150, 515
Farley, F. E.: B. Bissell, The American Indian in English Literature of the Eighteenth Century 335
——: R. L. Rusk, The Literature of the Middle Western Frontier 249
Faust, Goethe's, l. 1520..... 323
Faustsplitter, English..... 353
Feise, E.: C. von Klenze, From Goethe to Hauptmann..... 345
——: C. Stolle, Fritz Stavenhagens *Mudder Mews*..... 476
Fenton, F. L., The Authorship of Acts III and IV of *The Queen of Corinth*..... 94
Fichter, W. L.: J. F. Montesinos, Lope de Vega, *El Marqués de las Navas*..... 331
Fiction, Prose, before 1800..... 281
Field, Nathan and Nathaniel.. 10
Fielding, Goldsmith and —.... 165
Fite, A. G., F. de Curel's *Le Repas du Lion*..... 51
Fletcher, H., Milton and Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* 84
Fletcher's Phineas, *Venus and Anchises* 179
Flom, G. T.: A. W. Moore, Sophia Morrison and E. Goodwin, A Vocabulary of the Anglo-Manx Dialect..... 208
Flower, R., Catalogue of Irish

Digitized by Google

PAGE

MSS. in the British Museum, Vol I..... 559
Folkloristische Arbeitsmethode. 260
Folk Songs, Canadian..... 274
Fondo en, Spanish..... 319
Forsythe, R. S., Tacitus, *Henry VI, Part III*, and *Nero*..... 25
Foscolo, Ugo, and an English Magazine 108
Fourbe, Le..... 107
Fowler, H. W., Dictionary of Modern English Usage..... 201
Français, Comédiens —..... 416
Française, Critique —..... 486
France, Anatole..... 194
France, Eighteenth Century — 423
——, Shakespeare in —..... 539
Frank, Grace: E. C. Armstrong, The Authorship of the *Vengement Alixandre* and of the *Venjance Alixandre;* B. Edwards, A Classification of the MSS. of Gui de Cambrai's *Vengement Alixandre*..... 266
Fransen, J., Les Comédiens français en Hollande au XVII^e^ et au XVIII^e^ siècles. 416
Französisches etymologisches Wörterbuch 137
Freeman, E. L., A Note on Bacon's Influence..... 239
French Canada, Folk Songs of. 274
—— Dictionary..... 137
—— Grammar..... 139
—— Literature..... 119
—— Novelists..... 50
—— Text-book..... 299
French, J. C.: T. O. Mabbott and F. L. Pleadwell, The Life and Works of Edward Coote Pinckney 62
Frinta, A., Czech Phonetic Reader 125

Gabriel, R. H., H. L. Bourdin and S. T. Williams, Sketches from Eighteenth Century America 53
Galaut's *Phalante*..... 71
Gautier, Judith, and E. A. Poe 171
Gelzer, H., Guy de Maupassant 198
Génie du Paganisme..... 135
German *Krieg*..... 110
—— Literature..204, 263, 482,.531
—— *Trespe*..... 38
Geta of Vital de Blois..... 459

PAGE

Gifford, G. H., A Note on Rabelais I, 1..... 83
Gillet, J. E.: H. J. Chaytor, Dramatic Theory in Spain.. 47
Gillet, L., Sur les pas de Saint François d'Assise..... 475
Gilman, Margaret, *Le Dissipateur* and *Timon of Athens*.. 162
Goddard, Eunice R.: H. Gelzer, Guy de Maupassant..... 198
Goethe 345
——'s *Faust*, 1520..... 323
Goldsmith and Johnson on Biography 168
——, MSS. of..... 494
——'s Supposed Attack on Fielding 165
Gollancz, Sir Israel, Hoccleve's Works, II..... 59
Goodwin, E., A. W. Moore, Sophia Morrison, and —, A Vocabulary of the Anglo-Manx Dialect 208
Görte, Edna, Der junge Tieck and die Aufklärung..... 347
Gould, C. N., "Which are the Norns who take Children from Mothers?"..... 218
Graham, W., The Beginnings of English Literary Periodicals. 126
Grammar, French..... 139
——, Philosophy of..... 339
Gray, A. K., The Song in *The Merchant of Venice*..... 458
Greenlaw, E., Materials for the Study of the English Renaissance 178
——, Una and her Lamb..... 515
Gretton, Mary S., Writings and Life of George Meredith.... 117
Griffith, D. D., A Bibliography of Chaucer..... 343
Grootaers, L., en G. G. Kloeke, Handleiding bij het Noord- en Zuid-Nederlandsch Dialectonderzoek 265
Gros, E., Philippe Quinault, Sa vie et son œuvre..... 551
Gui de Cambrai..... 266

Haines, C. M., Shakespeare in France, Criticism, Voltaire to Victor Hugo..... 539
Hanford, J. H., A Milton Handbook 187

Digitized by Google

PAGE

Harington's, Sir John, Epigrams 181
Harmer, F. E., and E. Classen, *An Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.. 60
Harper, G. M., Wordsworth's "Vast City"..... 464
Harris, J. E.: L. Brandin, *Berthe au Grand Pied*, d'après deux romans en vers du XIIIe siècle 127
Hart, Elizabeth, The Heaven of Virgins 113
Hartl, E., Wolfram von Eschenbach. 6. Ausg. von K. Lachmann 58
Harvitt, Hélène: R. V. Merrill, The Platonism of Joachim du Bellay 138
Harzreise, Heine's..... 241
Hauptmann, Gerhart..... 345
Havens, R. D.: Katharine C. Balderston, A Census of the MSS. of Oliver Goldsmith... 494
——: E. de Selincourt, *The Prelude*, by W. Wordsworth.... 256
——: D. N. Smith, The Oxford Book of Eighteenth-Century Verse 556
Hawkins, R. L., A Letter by George Sand on World Peace 391
Haxo, H. E.: O. M. Johnston and J. Elmore, A French Grammar for High Schools and Colleges..... 139
Hazlitt and Coleridge..... 504
Heaven of Virgins..... 113
Hebbel's *Herodes und Mariamne* 451
Heimat, Sudermann's..... 522
Heine's *Harzreise*..... 241
Henry VI, Part III..... 25
Heorot, The Burning of..... 173
Herford, C. H., and P. Simpson, Ben Jonson..... 404
Hernani, Hugo's..... 523
Hero and Leander, Marlowe's.. 211
Herodes und Mariamne..... 451
Heroic Play, the first —..... 381
Hespelt, E. H., Irving's Version of Byron's *The Isles of Greece* 111
Heywood's, Thomas, Plays..... 510
Hill, Aaron, and Thomson's *Sophonisba* 175
Hillebrand, H. N., Thomas Middleton's *The Viper's Brood*.. 35
Hilles, F. W., "Mother of Dead Dogs" 506

PAGE

Hoccleve's Works, II..... 59
Holbrook, R. H.: L. Cons, L'Auteur de la farce de *Pathelin* 327
Holl, W. H., Über den Einfluss der lateinischen Vagantendichtung auf die Lyrik Walthers von der Vogelweide und die seiner Epigonen im 13. Jahrhundert 64
Holmes, U. T.: A. H. Schutz, The Peasant Vocabulary in the Works of George Sand... 555
Hoops, Johannes, Festschrift... 557
Howard, Sir Robert..... 16
Howell, A. C.: W. P. Dunn, Sir Thomas Browne: A Study in Religious Philosophy..... 479
Howitt, Mary, Hans Christian Andersen, by Himself..... 351
Hugo, Victor..... 63, 539
——'s Hernani..... 523
Hulme, W. H., Sarah F. Barrow and —, *Antichrist* and *Adam*, Translated..... 129
Hunt, Leigh, and *The Plain Dealer* 383
Hurtado, J., y A. G. Palencia, Antología de la Literatura Española 420

Ibershoff, C. H., Nietzsche the Romanticist 113
Illusion, Dramatic —..... 436
Indian, American..... 335
Influence of E. A. Poe on Judith Gautier 171
Irish MSS. in British Museum 559
Irving's Version of Byron's *The Isles of Greece*..... 111
Italian Borrowings in Sidney.. 77
—— Language..... 424

Jackson, J. F., Dating Balzac's Adoption of the Title of *La Comédie humaine*..... 525
Jenkins, T. A., Deschamps and Eustace 527
Jente, R.: M. P. Tilley, Elizabethan Proverb Lore in Lyly's *Euphues* and in Pettie's *Pe*-.... *tite Pallace*..... 484
Jespersen, O., The Philosophy of Grammar 339
Johnson on Biography..... 168
Johnston, O. M., and J. Elmore,

Digitized by Google

PAGE

A French Grammar for High Schools and Colleges..... 139
Jonson, Ben..... 404
——'s Art..... 539

Kalenderstäbe, Englische..... 422
Kane, E. K., Parrot and Pajarote 246
Keats and Shakespeare..... 539
King Arthur in English Literature 417
Klaeber, Fr., Analogues to the Story of Cædmon..... 390
Klenze, C. von, From Goethe to Hauptmann 345
Kloeke, G. G., L. Grootaers en —, Handleiding bij het Noord- en Zuid-Nederlandsch Dialectonderzoek 265
Knaplund, P., Correspondence relating to the Grant of a Civil List Pension to William Wordsworth, 1842..... 385
Kraus, C. von, Mittelhochdeutsches Übungsbuch..... 477
Krieg, German..... 110
Krohn, K., Die folkloristische Arbeitsmethode 260
Kultur, Englische..... 557
Kurrelmeyer, W., The Term *Sturm und Drang*..... 176
——: E. M. Butler, The Saint-Simonian Religion in Germany 482
——: E. Hartl, Wolfram von Eschenbach. 6. Ausg. von K. Lachmann 58

Labande-Jeanroy, Thérèse, La Question de la langue en Italie 424
La Calprenède's *Phalante*..... 71
Lachmann, K., Wolfram von Eschenbach 58
Lafenestre, G., La Légende de St. François d'Assise..... 475
Lake 'pit, grave'..... 244
Lambert, Mildred E.: O. Jespersen, The Philosophy of Grammar 339
Lancaster, H. C., Sidney, Galaut, La Calprenède: an Early Instance of the Influence of English Literature upon French..... 71
——: R. Bray, La Formation de la Doctrine Classique en France; La Tragédie cornélienne devant la critique classique d'après la querelle de *Sophonisbe* (1663)..... 414
——: N. H. Clement, The Influence of the Arthurian Romances on the Five Books of Rabelais 52
——: J. Fransen, Les Comédiens français en Hollande au XVIIe et au XVIIIe siècles.. 416
——: E. Gros, Philippe Quinault 551
Landré, L.: A. Rastoul, Pierre-Simon Ballanche, *La Ville des Expiations* 481
Language, English..... 557
——, Italian..... 424
Lasch, Agathe, Aus alten niederdeutschen Stadtbüchern... 203
Legend, Body and Soul —..... 102
Legouis and Cazamian, *Histoire de la Littérature Anglaise*.. 325
Lemmi, C. W., Italian Borrowings in Sidney..... 77
——, Leopardi's *Passero solitario* 316
Le Noble's *Le Fourbe* 107
Leopardi's *Passero solitario*... 316
Lexical Notes 244
Lineberger, Julia E., An Examination of Professor Cowling's new Metrical Test.... 229
Lingua, Comedy 150, 293
Literary Echoes 27
—— Periodicals, English..... 126
Literature, English ..325, 335, 417
——, French..... 119
——, German....204, 263, 482, 531
——, Medieval..... 489
—— of the Middle Western Frontier 126
Lokotsch, K., Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Europäischen Wörter Orientalischen Ursprungs 412
Longfellow Marginalia 516
Loomis, R. S., Celtic Myth and Arthurian Romance 560
Lope de Vega, *El Marqués de las Navas* 331
Lovejoy, A. O., "Nature" as Aesthetic Norm 444
Low-Dutch Element in English Vocabulary 426
Lowell Marginalia 516

Digitized by Google

PAGE

Luick, Karl, Festgabe 425
Lyly's *Euphues* 484

Mabbott, T. O., and F. L. Pleadwell, The Life and Works of Edward Coote Pinckney.. 62
Mabinogion 494
Macbeth 235
MacMillan, D.: A. Nicoll, A History of Late Eighteenth Century Drama 472
Magazine, English 108
Magie, Croyance à la —..... 199
Magoun, F. P., The Burning of Heorot 173
——: S. Rypins, The Old English Prose Tracts in MS. Cotton Vitellius A xv..... 67
——: Elisabeth Westergaard, Studies in Prefixes and Suffixes in Middle Scotch..... 196
Male-Friendship Cult 510
Malherbe 528
Malone, K., A Note on *Brunanburh* 238
——: J. F. Bense, A Dictionary of the Low-Dutch Element in the English Vocabulary 426
——: D. H. Crawford, *Beowulf*, translated into English Verse 202
——: English Place-Name Society, Vol. I and II..... 259
——: H. W. Fowler, A Dictionary of Modern English Usage 201
——: Sir Israel Gollancz, Hoccleve's Works. II..... 59
——: L. Mühlhausen, Die Vier Zweige des Mabinogi..... 494
——: Neusprachliche Studien, Festgabe Karl Luick..... 425
——: S. H. O'Grady and R. Flower, Catalogue of Irish MSS. in the British Museum 559
——: Probleme der englischen Sprache und Kultur. Festschrift Johannes Hoops..... 557
——: E. Schnippel, Die Englischen Kalenderstäbe..... 422
——: E. Weekley, Words Ancient and Modern..... 61
——: A. J. Wyatt, The Threshold of Anglo-Saxon; E. Classen and F. E. Harner, *An Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*..... 60

PAGE

Manly, J. M., Some New Light on Chaucer 251
——: Caroline F. E. Spurgeon, Five Hundred Years of Chaucer Criticism and Allusion .. 401
Marden, C. C.: R. Menéndez Pidal, Origenes del Español.. 40
Marginalia on Longfellow, Lowell, and Poe 516
Marlowe's *Hero and Leander*.. 211
Marques, El, de las Navas 331
Mason, William 468, 478
Materials for the Study of the English Renaissance..... 178
Matulka, Barbara, Voltaire and the Queen of Prussia: a Letter Recovered 394
Maupassant, Guy de 198
McKillop, A. D.: J. W. Draper, William Mason: A Study in Eighteenth Century Culture. 478
McCutcheon, R. P., *Amelia, or the Distressed Wife* 32
——: W. Graham, The Beginnings of English Literary Periodicals 126
Medieval Literature 489
Merchant of Venice 458
Meredith, George 117
Merker, P., und W. Stammler, Vom Werden des deutschen Geistes. Festgabe Ehrismann. 349
Merrill, R. V., The Platonism of Joachim du Bellay 138
Metrical Test, Cowling's 229
Middle Scotch 196
Middleton's, Christopher, *Chinon of England*..... 182
Middleton's, Thomas, *The Viper's Brood* 35
Milton and Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta*..... 84
——'s Color Vision 146
——'s *Paradise Lost*..... 508
Mira de Amescua and *La ventura de la fea* 106
Minnesang 66
Mise en scène, la 553
Mittelhochdeutsches Übungsbuch 477
Montesinos, J. F., Lope de Vega, *El Marqués de las Navas* 331
Mornet, D., La Pensée française au dix-huitième siècle..... 124

Digitized by Google

PAGE

Moore, A. W., Sophia Morrison, and E. Goodwin, A Vocabulary of the Anglo-Manx Dialect 208
Morrison, Sophia, A. W. Moore, —, and E. Goodwin, A Vocabulary of the Anglo-Manx Dialect 208
Morrill, Dorothy I., Coleridge's Theory of Dramatic Illusion. 436
Moryson, Fynes, and Till Eulenspiegel 465
"Mother of Dead Dogs"..... 506
Mudder Mews, Stavenhagen's . 476
Mühlhausen, L., Die Vier Zweige des Mabinogi 494
Murry, J. M., Keats and Shakespeare, A Study of Keats' Poetic Life from 1816 to 1820..... 539
Myth, Celtic 560
Mythological Poems..... 211

Narrative Method of Defoe.... 121
Nash, Shakespeare and —..... 317
"Nature" as Aesthetic Norm.. 444
Nero 25
Neusprachliche Studien 425
Nicoll, A., A History of Late Eighteenth Century Drama.. 472
Niederdeutsche Stadtbücher... 203
Nietzsche the Romanticist 113
Nitze, W. A.: R. S. Loomis, Celtic Myth and Arthurian Romance 560
Noad, A. S., Ugo Foscolo and an English Magazine 108
Nock, S. A., Denis Saurat on Milton's Color Vision 146
Norns who take Children from Mothers 218
Novelists, French..... 50
Noyes, E. S., Another Smollett Letter 231
Nykl, A. R., Old Spanish Terms of Small Value 311

O'Grady, S. H., Catalogue of Irish MSS. in the British Museum, vol. II..... 559
Old English Prose Tracts..... 67
Old Spanish Terms of Small Value 311
Orientalische Wörter 412
Origenes del Español 40
Orrery, Roger Boyle, Earl of — 16

PAGE

"Outa Occidentale," D'Annunzio's 325
Oxford Book of Eighteenth-Century Verse 556

Padelford, F. M.: F. E. Schelling, Elizabethan Playwrights 133
Paganisme, Le Génie du —... 135
Pajarote 246
Palencia, A. G., J. Hurtado y—, Antologia de la Literatura Española, ... 420
Paradise Lost 508
Parker, C. S., Defense of the Child by French Novelists... 50
Parrot and Pajarote 246
Parry, J. J.,: E. Van der Ven—Ten Bensel, The Character of King Arthur in English Literature 417
Passero Solitario, Leopardi's.. 316
Pathelin 327
Peasant Vocabulary 555
Peloux, C. du, Répertoire Général des Ouvrages Modernes Relatifs au dix-huitième siècle français..... 423
Pensée française au dix-huitième siècle..... 124
Pension, Wordsworth 385
Periodicals, English 126
Petersen, J., Die Wesensbestimmung der deutschen Romantik 207
Petite Pallace, Pettie's..... 484
Petrarcha, Francesco 277
Pettie's *Petite Pallace*..... 484
Peyre, H.: A. Belis, La Critique française à la fin du XIXe siècle 486
——: C. Clerc, Le Génie du Paganisme 135
Philosophy of Grammar..... 339
—— of Religions..... 479
Pidal, R. Menéndez, Orígenes del Español 40
Pierce, F. E., Some Literary Echoes 27
Pinckney, Edward C., Life and Works 62
Place-Names, English..... 259
Plain Dealer, The, ... 383
Platonism of Joachim du Bellay 138
Players, Elizabethan 509
Pleadwell, F. L. and T. O. Mabbott, The Life and Works of Edward Coote Pinckney 62

Digitized by Google

PAGE

Poe Marginalia 516
—— and Judith Gautier..... 171
—— Poem, A New —..... 158
Poems, Satirical..... 468
Pope, J. C.: Rose M. Davis, Stephen Duck, The Thresher Poet 492
Prefixes, Middle Scotch 196
Prelude, The, Wordsworth's.... 256
Primitivism of Joseph Warton 501
Prose Fiction before 1800 281
Proverb Lore, Elizabethan.... 484
Prussia, Queen of 394

Queen at Chesse..... 141
Queen of Corinth..... 94
Queen of Prussia..... 394
Quinault, Philippe..... 551

Rabelais 25, 83
Racine, Louis 20, 174
Rastoul, A., Pierre-Simon Ballanche, *La Ville des Expiations* 481
Raysor, T. M., The Downfall of the Three Unities..... 1
——, The Study of Shakespeare's Characters in the Eighteenth Century..... 495
Reed, A. W., Early Tudor Drama 421
Reese, Helen R.: Henri L. Bourdin, H. Gabriel and S. T. Williams, Sketches from Eighteenth Century America..... 53
Reeves, W. P.: E. H. R. Tatham, Francesco Petrarcha, The First Modern Man of Letters 277
Religieux, le Théâtre —..... 553
Religious Philosophy 479
Renaissance, English 178
Repas du Lion 51
Reply 396
Réponse 398
Reynaud, L., Le Romantisme . 188
——, Une Réponse 398
Richard III, Cibber's..... 29
Richards, I. T., A New Poe Poem 158
Riddle, L. M., The Genesis and Sources of Pierre Corneille's Tragedies from *Médée* to *Pertharite* 269
Rivailles, L.: L. M. Riddle, The Genesis and Sources of Pierre Corneille's Tragedies from *Médée* to *Pertharite*..... 269
Robles, J.: A. Castro, El pensamiento de Cervantes..... 275
——: J. Hurtado y A. G. Palencia, Antología de la Literatura Española 420
Roger, G., Chateaubriand: Selections 280
Rollins, H. E., *The Pack of Autolycus* 185
Romance, Arthurian 52, 560
Romanticist, Nietzsche the —. 113
Romantik, deutsche 207
Romantisme, Le 188
Root, R. K.: M. B. Ruud, Thomas Chaucer..... 56
Rousseau's *Émile* 243
Royster, J. F.: J. M. Manly, Some New Light on Chaucer 251
Rudwin, M., Satan et le Satanisme dans l'Oeuvre de Victor Hugo 63
——: A. J. Dickman, Le Rôle du surnaturel dans les chansons de geste; C. Bila, La Croyance à la magie au XVIIIe siècle en France.... 199
Rusk, R. L., Literature of the Middle Western Frontier.... 249
Ruud, M. B., Thomas Chaucer. 56
——: D. D. Griffith, A Bibliography of Chaucer..... 343
Rypins, S., The Old English Prose Tracts in MS. Cotton Vitellius A xv 67

Sachsenspiegel, *Der*..... 203
Saint-Amant, Strophes by —.. 467
Sainte-Beuve Material 97
St. Francis of Assisi 475
Saint-Simonian Religion 482
Sand, George 555
—— and World Peace..... 391
Samaran, Ch.: B. M. Woodbridge, Gatien de Courtilz, sieur du Verger 45
Sapir, E. M., M. Barbeau and —, Folk Songs of French Canada. 274
Satan et le Satanisme dans l'Oeuvre de Victor Hugo.... 63
Satirical Poems 468
Saurat, Denis, on Milton's Color Vision 146

Digitized by Google

PAGE

Schaffer, A., A Note on René Boylesve's *La Becquée*..... 112
Schelling, F. E., Elizabethan Playwrights 133
Schloss in Österreich..... 222
Schnippel, E., Die Englischen Kalenderstäbe 422
Schutz, A. H., The Peasant Vocabulary in the Works of George Sand 555
Schwartz, W. L., The Influence of E. A. Poe on Judith Gautier 171
——, The Significance of D'Annunzio's "Outa Occidentale" 325
Scudder, H. E., A Queen at Chesse 141
Secord, A. W., Studies in the Narrative Method of Defoe .. 121
Sepmaine, La, Du Bartas'..... 293
Sehrt, E. H., German *Krieg*... 110
——, German *Trespe* 38
——, Goethe's *Faust*, Line 1520 323
——: C. Borchling, Das Landrecht des *Sachsenspiegels;* Agathe Lasch, Aus alten niederdeutschen Stadtbüchern 203
Selincourt, E. de, *The Prelude*, by W. Wordsworth 256
Seventeenth-century English Essay 563
Shakespeare 539
—— and Nash 317
—— in France 539
——, Keats and —..... 539
—— misquoted 87
——'s *All's Well that Ends Well* 79
——'s Characters 495
——'s *Henry VI, Part III*..... 25
——'s *Macbeth*..... 235
——'s *Merchant of Venice*.....458
——'s *Timon of Athens* 162
Shanks, L. P., A Possible Source for Rousseau's Name *Émile*. 243
Sidney, Sir Philip 77
——, Galaut, La Calprenède... 71
Silz, W.: J. Petersen, Die Wesensbestimmung der deutschen Romantik 207
Simpson, P., C. H. Herford and —, Ben Jonson..... 404
Sleep-walking Scene 235
Smith, A. L., The Primitivism of Joseph Warton 501
Smith, D. N., The Oxford Book of Eighteenth Century Verse 556

PAGE

Smith, H., The New Sainte-Beuve Material 97
——: B. Cerf, Anatole France. 194
Smith, M. A.: F. de Curel, *Le Repas du Lion*, ed. by A. G. Fite..... 51
Smollett Letter 231
Snyder, Alice D., Coleridge on Giordano Bruno 427
Society, Types of, ... 489
Sophonisba, Thomson's 175
Sophonisbe, Corneille's..... 414
Source for Rousseau's Name *Émile* 243
Spain, Dramatic Theory in,... 47
Spanish Anthology 420
—— *Fondo en* 319
—— Language 40
—— Terms of Small Value... 311
Spee, Friedrich von..... 242
Spenser, Allusions to —..... 314
——'s *Faerie Queene* 150, 515
Sprague, A. C., A New Scene in Colley Cibber's *Richard III* 29
Spurgeon, Caroline F. E., Five Hundred Years of Chaucer Criticism and Allusion 401
Stadtbücher, niederdeutsche... 203
Stage Directions in *All's Well That Ends Well* 79
—— History of the first Heroic Play 381
Stammler, W., P. Merker und —, Vom Werden des deutschen Geistes. Festgabe G. Ehrismann 349
Stavenhagen's *Mudder Mews* .. 476
Stein, H., A Note on the Versification of *Childe Harold* 34
Steiner, A., *Et, Rose, elle a vécu ce que vivent les roses*..... 528
Sterne's Uncle Toby 321
Stevenson, L., A French Textbook by Robert Browning... 299
Stewart, G. R., Jr., A Note on the Sleep-walking Scene 235
Stolle, C., Fritz Stavenhagens *Mudder Mews* 476
Storm and Stress 531
Stout, G. D., Leigh Hunt and *The Plain Dealer* 383
Studien, Neusprachliche..... 425
Sturm und Drang 176
Sudermann's *Heimat*..... 522
Suffixes, Middle Scotch 196

Digitized by Google

PAGE

Surnaturel, le, dans les chansons de geste 199
Sykes, H. D., Sidelights on Elizabethan Drama, A series of studies dealing with the authorship of Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Plays.. 539

Tacitus, *Henry VI, Part III,* and *Nero*..... 25
Tatham, E. H. R., Francesco Petrarcha, The First Modern Man of Letters..... 277
Taylor, A., *Das Schloss in Österreich* 222
——: K. Krohn, Die folkloristische Arbeitsmethode..... 260
Temple, Maud E.: G. Lafenestre, La Légende de St. François d'Assise; L. Gillet, Sur les pas de Saint François d'Assise 475
Terms of Small Value..... 311
Text-book, French..... 299
Thaler, A.: Evelyn M. Albright, Dramatic Publication in England, 1580-1640..... 547
Thompson, E. N. S., The Seventeenth-century English Essay 563
Thomson's *Sophonisba*..... 175
Théâtre religieux, le..... 553
Theory of Dramatic Illusion... 436
Three Unities..... 1
Thresher Poet..... 492
Tieck und die Aufklärung..... 347
——'s Library..... 21
Tilley, M. P., The Comedy *Lingua* and the *Faerie Queene*.. 150
——, The Comedy *Lingua* and Du Bartas' *La Sepmaine*.... 293
——, Elizabethan Proverb Lore in Lyly's *Euphues* and in Pettie's *Petite Pallace*..... 484
Timon of Athens..... 162
Titus in Hebbel's *Herodes und Mariamne* 451
Torre, Francisco de la..... 365
Toynbee, P., Satirical Poems Published anonymously by William Mason..... 468
Tragédie cornélienne..... 414
Trespe, German..... 38
Trocho in *El Abencerraje*..... 529
Trutz-Nachtigall 242
Tudor Drama..... 421

PAGE

Tupper, F., Types of Society in Medieval Literature..... 489
Turner, R. E., An Early Edition of the *Geta* of Vital de Blois 459
Types of Society..... 489

Udall's Authorship..... 378
Una and her Lamb..... 515
Uncle Toby, Sterne's..... 321
Unities, Three..... 1
Unpublished Letter by Louis Racine 174

Vagantendichtung, lateinische.. 64
Van der Ven—Ten Bensel, E., The Character of King Arthur in English Literature. 417
Van Roosbroeck, G. L., Neglected Strophes by Saint-Amant 467
"Vast City," Wordsworth's... 464
Vengement Alixandre..... 266
Venjance Alixandre..... 266
Ventura de la fea..... 106
Verse, Eighteenth-Century —.. 556
Versification of *Childe Harold*. 34
Ville des Expiations..... 481
Viper's Brood, Middleton's.... 35
Virgins, The Heaven of — ... 113
Vital de Blois..... 459
Vocabulary, English..... 426
—— of the Anglo-Manx Dialect 209
Voltaire 539
—— and the Queen of Prussia. 394
——'s *A Monsieur Louis Racine* 20
Vos, B. J., Two Notes on Heine's *Harzreise* 241

Waller, Denham and..... 372
Walther von der Vogelweide... 64
Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* 84
Walz, J. A., An English *Faustsplitter* 353
——, Fynes Moryson and the Tomb of Till Eulenspiegel... 465
——: E. H. Zeydel, Early References to Storm and Stress in German Literature..... 531
Warren, F. M., Some Notes on *Hernani* 523
Warburg, W. v., Französisches etymologisches Wörterbuch.. 137
Warton's Joseph, Primitivism. 501
Watts, G. B., An Early Version

Digitized by Google

PAGE

of Voltaire's *A Monsieur Louis Racine*..... 20
——, Eustache Le Noble's *Le Fourbe* 107
——, An Unpublished Letter by Louis Racine 174
——: C. du Peloux, Répertoire Général des Ouvrages Modernes Relatifs au Dix-huitième Siècle Français..... 423
Weber, P. C., America in Imaginative German Literature in the First Half of the 19th Century 204
Webster, John..... 27
Weekley, E., Words Ancient and Modern..... 61
Westergaard, Elisabeth, Studies in Prefixes and Suffixes in Middle Scotch..... 196
Western Frontier..... 249
Whiting, G. W., The Date of Hazlitt's First Visit to Coleridge 504
Williams, S. T., H. L. Bourdin, R. H. Gabriel and —, Sketches from Eighteenth Century America 53
Willoughby, L. A., The Classical Age of German Literature 263
Wolfram von Eschenbach..... 58
Woodbridge, B. M., Gatien de Courtilz, sieur du Verger... 45
——: C. S. Parker, The Defense of the Child by French Novelists 50
Wordsworth, William.....28, 385
——'s "Vast City"..... 464
Wordsworth's *The Prelude*.... 256
Words Ancient and Modern... 61
World Peace..... 391
Wörterbuch der europäischen Wörter orientalischen Ursprungs 412
Wright, C. H. C., Background of Modern French Literature 119
Wright, L. B., The Male-Friendship Cult in Thomas Heywood's Plays..... 510
——: A. W. Reed, Early Tudor Drama 421
Wyatt, A. J., The Threshold of Anglo-Saxon 60

Young Germany..... 482

Zeitlin's, Jacob, Seventeenth Century Essays..... 184
Zeydel, E. H., Early References to Storm and Stress in German Literature..... 531
——, Ludwig Tieck's Library.. 21
——: Edna Görte, Der junge Tieck und die Aufklärung.. 347
——: P. C. Weber, America in Imaginative German Literature in the First Half of the 19th Century..... 204
——: L. A. Willoughby, The Classical Age of German Literature 263
Zucker, A. E., Bismarck the Father in Sudermann's *Heimat* 522
——, A Note on the Poet of the *Trutz-Nachtigall* 242

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